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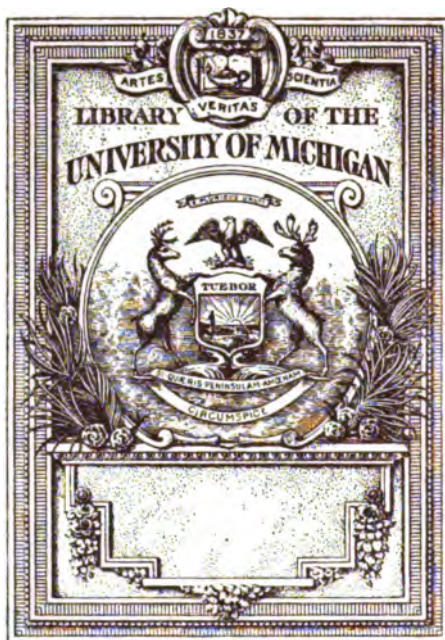
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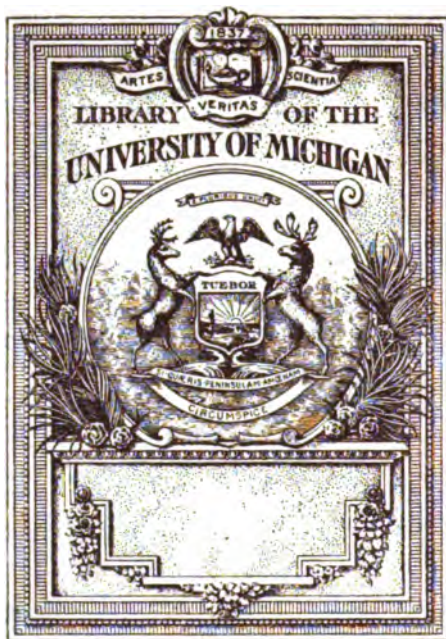
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THE
HISTORY OF CANADA,

FROM

Its First Discovery

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

By John M'Allen,
Mercur

AUTHOR OF "CAMP AND BARRACK ROOM, OR BRITISH ARMY AS IT IS."

BROCKVILLE, C. W.

J. M'MULLEN, PUBLISHER.

1855.

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ERRATA.

On Page 3 of Preface, line 12 for *this* read *these*.

- " 11 of Introduction, line 18, for *part* read *point*.
- " 8 line 35, for fifteenth century read sixteenth.
- " 19 line 12, from bottom, for *being* read *been*.
- " 43 line 16, for last *hour* read last *moments*.
- " 81 line 5, for *was* read *were*.
- " 138 line 9, for *were* read *was*.
- " 154 line 14, for *letter* read *Letters* of Junius.
- " 330 line 6 from bottom, for *adding* read *added*.
- " 384 line 13 from bottom, for *Mirabeau* read a *Mirabeau*.
- " 392 line 22, for *form* read *forum*.
- " 435 line 17, for *hairbreath* read *hairbreadth*, and line 23, for *exciting* read *inciting*.
- " 446 line 24, for *routed* read *routed them*.
- " 456 in foot-note, for 1855 read 1839.
- " 488 line 15, for *proportion* read *portion*.

In addition to the foregoing, there are a few ordinary typographical errors and tautologies, which any educated reader will be able to discern and correct. These in no way affect the general accuracy of the work.



P r e f a c e.

The present condition of Canada points to a future national greatness of no ordinary magnitude. Her inland seas and noble rivers, have already become the highways of a vast and rapidly increasing commerce. The silent forest of by-gone days has disappeared before the progress of civilization, and the matin voice of a mighty nation resounds over a scene as varied as it is beautiful. In the foreground, stand the populous cities and flourishing towns, which stud the margins of her rivers, and the shores of her lakes : in the perspective, repose the free and happy homes of her rural population. The farmer is the owner in fee-simple of the soil he tills, and rejoices in an independence of the most sturdy and complete character. In the various industrial professions, enterprize, economy, and prudence, rarely fail to secure a competence : in numberless instances they are the avenues to wealth. This country abounds with merchants, who by the exercise of these qualities, have been eminently successful : and every-day experience presents to our notice mechanics who, as the architects of their own fortunes, have won their way to positions alike well merited and honorable.

PREFACE.

The present of Canada supplies a kaleidoscope, brilliant with promise, through which we may gaze at the future. The philanthropist discerns all the *desiderata* necessary to human happiness ; the patriot the true basis of national prosperity. There are, it is true, the difficulties arising from a diversity of race to be overcome ; but these may easily be removed by wise legislation. Past experience proves that identity of interests weakens the antagonism of races, as well as of individuals, and gradually wears out their mutual prejudices and dislikes. The commercial and agricultural interests of all the Canadian people are alike : in every district they stand upon the same social basis, and produce similar political results.

In these respects we occupy a much better position than our relatives of the United States ; the only people, if we except the other British American Colonies, whose social and political condition is closely assimilated to ours. With them, the interests of the South are arrayed in continual conflict against those of the North, while the West has separate and distinct interests of its own. With them, also, germs of sectional strife and disunion expand day after day into intensely antagonistic principles ; in Canada, on the contrary, the body politic presents an almost unruffled surface, and a total absence of injuriously opposing causes. With us the sun of fierce party antagonism, there is every reason to hope, has set forever ; in the United States it rapidly ascends towards the meridian of bitterness.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand," is a truism that applies with peculiar force to national dissensions. The slave interests of the Southern States, can have no sincere fellowship with Northern freedom. The breach grows wider and wider with the progress of intelligence and enquiry ; and each fresh assault, gives additional intensity to the hatred and distrust, with which they regard

PREFACE.

one another. The present century can hardly fail to witness a separation. In that case the Western States must be sufficiently old to take care of themselves ; and secure of a route to the Ocean by the Lakes and the St. Lawrence, will be wholly independent of the mercantile and manufacturing interests of the American seaboard. California has a distinct national mission of her own. Whenever a separation takes place, a result heralded by the very progress of the race itself, Canada cannot fail to occupy a prominent position in the great transatlantic family of Anglo-Saxon nations.

With events like this already looming on the distant horizon of the future, a continued connection with the mother country is our true line of policy. It involves no sacrifice of interests—no compromise injurious to Canadian welfare, while it secures to us an independent national existence. Short sighted indeed must that policy be, which possibly to insure a mere temporary benefit, would involve this country in the Maelstrom of American dissension. Let us rather as a people watch sensibly and calmly the current of events ; prepared when the time comes, to take that position as a nation, which the keeping of the portals of the Great West and our other advantages, entitle us to fill.

But, there is even a higher and holier motive to this course, than is presented by the abstract considerations of material prosperity. The interests of humanity—the preservation of our good name demand that Canada should continue to be a land of genuine freedom, and the “city of refuge” to the oppressed man of color, where he can fearlessly breathe the air of heaven. This position may possibly entail upon us occasional inconveniencies ; but for these the moral strength, which must be the inevitable result of the vindication of a righteous principle, will be the most ample recompense.

PREFACE.

To infuse a spirit of Canadian nationality into the people generally—to mould the native born citizen, the Scotch, the English, and the Irish emigrant into a compact whole, a purely Canadian literature, aside from that supplied by the public press, however excellent, is a most important element. A popular history of Canada, issued at a price which places it within the reach of every working man, is a step in this direction. To this task have I devoted myself. If I do not accomplish all that may be looked for, I shall at least clear the way, and lighten the task of some more able writer in time to come; and meanwhile effect a modicum of national good, in directing public attention, to a source of information and instruction too long neglected.

To enable us to judge accurately of the present—to regard our national future with confidence, an acquaintance with the past is an absolute necessity. What can be more instructive to the lover of his country, than to watch “the small cloud like a man’s hand” of Canadian existence, gradually expand itself along the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. How interesting is the task of tracing the sorrows and the joys, the disappointments and the triumphs of that existence, as it is gradually developed down to the present time, in which it involves the destinies of two millions of human beings, and material interests of the most gigantic description.

To the great bulk of the Canadian people such a study has hitherto been almost an impossibility, from the simple fact, that what might properly be called a history of their country did not exist, I design to supply this *hiatus valde deflendus* in our literature; and faithfully to depict the past as an aid to illuminate the present, and as an index to the future. In carrying out this design, I shall not restrict myself to a mere detail

PREFACE.

of political occurrences. To illustrate the social progress of a people is an equal necessity in genuine history. The axe of the backwoodsman, and the ploughshare of the farmer, have hitherto been far more potent elements in Canadian civilization, than the wisdom of the legislator. The one was a cause, the other merely a consequence.

It is true, that many books have been published which supply detached portions of Canadian history; that several excellent statistical works have been compiled from time to time; that much valuable information, relative to this country may be gleaned from the miscellaneous writings of travellers and residents: but, it is also equally true, that these are not accessible to the general reader. I shall endeavor to arrange methodically whatever of value is to be gleaned from these sources, and to present the people of Canada with a useful and impartial history of their country, from its discovery to the present time.

It need scarcely be said, that the compilation of a work of this kind entails a great amount of mental and physical labor; that its publication involves a large pecuniary risk. I neither shrink from the one, nor desire to avoid the other, confident that a generous and enlightened public will sustain me in this enterprize, as it has in every other; and, I trust, receive with favor the first complete history of this magnificent heritage of the Anglo-Canadian people.

Brockville, May, 1855.



Introduction.

The discovery of America, revealed to the wondering gaze of civilized humanity, a people in the rudest and most primitive condition.* The annals of the Old World have no corresponding spectacle to present. Even the earliest philosophers of Greece and Rome, have not left a fact on record, as evidence of an acquaintance with any portion of the human family, in the primal stages of existence. In every region within the sphere of their observation, society had already made considerable progress; and the several nations of their day, had long before emerged from the social dimness, and historical uncertainties, which belong to a first condition. The Scythians and Germans, the barbarians of antiquity, were acquainted with the useful metals; possessed flocks and herds, and other property of various descriptions; and

*In the New World, the state of mankind was ruder and the aspect of nature extremely different. Throughout all its vast regions, there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of this continent was possessed by small independent tribes, destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the defects, nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries occupied by such people were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabitants. Rob. Amer. vol. 1, p. 128.

when compared with the aborigines of this continent, had already attained to a high degree of civilization.

In some instances the Red Man appeared in the rudest state, in which it is possible for our species to exist. Accompanied solely by his wife and children, he roamed like a beast of prey, through the forests and over the savannas of South America, subjected to no restraints, but those imposed by the imperious necessities of his condition, or the caprices of his own will ; and revelling in that primeval simplicity, which in the other continents was known only by the imaginary descriptions of the poet.* In other instances, his wants were compelling him to seek a closer union with his fellow-man, and accordingly communities were beheld in the first process of formation. In Brazil, in Tierra Firme, and Paraguay, many of the ruder tribes were unacquainted with every description of cultivation. They neither sowed nor reaped ; and lived upon the spontaneous productions of the soil, the fruits and berries which they found in the woods, the products of their teeming rivers, and the lizards and other reptiles, so numerous in those warm and prolific regions.

The Iroquois,† the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the other principal North American tribes, occupied a point in social progress, as far in advance of these barbarous

*Man, in some parts of America, appears in a form so rude that we can discover no effects of his activity, and the principle of understanding, which should direct it, seems hardly to be unfolded. Like all other animals, he has no fixed residence ; he has erected no habitation to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather ; he has taken no measures for securing certain subsistence ; he neither sows nor reaps ; but roams about as led in search of the plants and fruits which the earth brings forth in succession ; and in quest of game which he kills in the forest, or of the fish which he catches in the rivers. Rob. Amer. vol. 1, p. 152.

†The Iroquois or Five Nations, occupied the greater part of the State of New York, and were the bitterest enemies of the French as well as of the Canadian Indians.

natives of the South, as it was inferior to the condition of the Mexicans and Peruvians. They cultivated maize and a few vegetables, lived in villages, had made some progress in two or three of the more necessary arts of life, and recognized certain fixed principles of public policy in their intercourse with other tribes.

When Canada was first discovered by the French, the Algonquins and the Hurons* held the chief sway within its limits. The territory of the former extended along both banks of the St. Lawrence as high as Cornwall, and also embraced the district watered by the Lower Ottawa. They were a bold and warlike race, subsisting principally by the chase, for which the vast forests of the North afforded the most ample scope, and were reputed to be more advanced in their public policy and in general intelligence, than any of the neighboring tribes.† The Hurons occupied the left bank of the Upper St. Lawrence, and the Northern shore of Lake Ontario. Their close alliance, however, with the Algonquins, induced them frequently to establish themselves lower down the river; and in 1534, Cartier met with them at Anticosti, and the Bay of Chaleur.‡ At Hochelaga he found them

*This tribe were frequently called Wyandots.

†Colden.

‡When the tribes were all settled, the Wyandots were placed at the head. They lived in the interior, at the mountains east, about the St. Lawrence. They were the first tribe of old, and had the first chieftanship. The chief said to their nephew, the Lenapees, go down to the sea coast and look, and if you see anything bring me word. They had a village near the sea side, and often looked but saw nothing except birds. At length they espied an object, which seemed to grow and come nearer, and nearer. When it came near the land it stopped, but all the people were afraid, and fled to the woods. The next day, two of their number ventured out to look. It was lying quietly on the water. A smaller object of the same sort came out of it, and walked with long legs (oars) over the water. When it came to land two men came out of it. They were different from us and made signs for the others to come out of the woods. A conference ensued. Presents were exchanged. They gave presents to the Lenapees, and the latter gave them their skin clothes as curiosities. Schoolcraft, p. 199.

occupying a well defended and populous village. Regarding the chase as a precarious mode of subsistence, they did not, like the Algonquins, disdain the cultivation of the soil, and partially devoted themselves to agricultural pursuits, from which, imperfect as their mode of tillage was, the fertile glebe and favorable climate of Western Canada, usually enabled them to reap a most abundant return.* A few unimportant tribes, or rather clans, were scattered over the remaining portions of the country : but all these, like the Nipissings, were merely off-shoots of the Algonquin and Huron races, and spoke their language. No *data* exist, on which to base anything approximating to a correct estimate of the population of Canada at this period : but it certainly did not exceed thirty thousand souls. These were scattered here and there, over the vast area extending from Gaspé to Goderich, which could easily sustain a population of twenty millions, and which is now peopled by two millions of inhabitants.†

*As the country was thinly inhabited; and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals which civilized nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable productions, to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, often remained untouched, and, being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment, from air and water ; if they were not destroyed by man or other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the unoccupied soil of America may have gone on enriching for many ages. The vast number as well as enormous size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigour of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a state fit for profitable culture. Rob. vol. 1, p. 129. Charlevoix History New France, vol. III, p. 405.

† While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on which they depend for food diminish, or fly to

The History of the Canadian Indians, prior to the arrival of the French amongst them, is shrouded in the deepest obscurity. In this respect they resembled the other Northern tribes, whose numerous wars and frequent migrations, had effectually neutralized whatever benefits, in a historical point of view, they might have derived from their knowledge of pictorial writing.* Unlike the Aztecs and Peruvians, who from memorials of this kind, could give a correct outline of their histories for several centuries, the Canadians possessed only a few meagre traditions, and crude reminiscences of the past; equally unreliable, and unworthy of serious attention. Their social condition was in accordance with the rude state of mental culture, which this fact bespeaks. Their weapons of war and of the chase, were a hatchet of stone, a knife of bone, the bow and its flint-headed arrow. Their culinary utensils, were restricted to a coarse description of pottery, and rough wooden vessels, which on the arrival of the French traders were speedily superseded by the more portable and convenient brass

a greater distance from the haunts of the enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse, like the game which they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial, they go not forth to the chase in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy undisturbed. A nation of hunters resembles them both in occupation and in genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence; and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own. This was the state of all the American tribes; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of great extent; they were far removed from one another, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalry. In America, the word *nation* is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies, not exceeding, perhaps, two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces, greater than some kingdoms in Europe. Marest's Letters, vol. II, p. 360

*The Iroquois and Hurons made hieroglyphic paintings on wood which bear a strong resemblance to those of the Mexicans.—La Hinton, p. 193. Schoolcraft also alludes to the pictorial writing of the Canadian Indians.

or iron kettle. Their agricultural implements were equally primitive. Patches of forest were occasionally cleared by the united efforts of a tribe or clan, who felled the trees with their light stone hatchets at an enormous sacrifice of time and labor :* and months passed over in producing results, which are now exceeded by a single backwoodsman in as many days. This duty devolved on the men, who only performed it when absolutely necessary to their subsistence, after they had exhausted the open glades of the forest by continual cropping. To the women and children, the proud and indolent savage left the labor of slightly loosening the rich loam with hoes roughly made of wood, or stakes hardened in the fire: of sowing the crop of maize, and the few vegetables with which they were acquainted: of freeing these from weeds: of harvesting and storing them in pits dug in the earth, to protect them from the winter frosts, the wild animals of the forest, and, not unfrequently, from their own improvident husbands and fathers.† With wheat, and the other cereal grains,

*All the savage tribes, scattered over the continent and islands, were totally unacquainted with the metals which their soil produces in great abundance if we except some trifling quantity of gold, which they picked up in the torrents that descended from their mountains, and formed into ornaments. Their devices to supply this want of the serviceable metals were extremely rude and awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense difficulty and labour. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone, was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape, and to hollow it, consumed years; and it frequently began to rot before they were able to finish it. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and defective. In a country covered with woods of the hardest timber, the clearing of a small field destined for culture required the united efforts of a tribe, and was a work of much time and great toil. This was the business of the men and their indolence was satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labor of cultivation was left to the women, who, after digging, or rather stirring the field, with wooden mattocks, and stakes hardened in the fire, sowed or planted it; but they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil than to their own rude industry. Rob. Amer. vol. 1, p. 160.

†Their houses are smaller in the summer, when their families be dispersed, by

the American Indian was wholly unacquainted: and, aside from the products of the chase and the fruits of his fishing labors, maize constituted his principal article of food. Although vast herds of Buffaloes traversed the prairies and forests of his native land, his knowledge, unlike that of the aboriginal of Hindostan, had not taught him to use them for the purposes of the dairy, nor to subdue them to the labors of the field. Of the horse he was wholly ignorant; and not even the dog submitted to his intelligence, or rendered him the smallest service in the dangers of the chase, or in his frequent forays on the territories of his foes.

While in a primitive condition, the wants and desires of mankind are few and simple in their character. Protection from the weather, a sufficiency of food, and safety from his enemies, constitute the chief objects of his existence. In summer, the tough bark of the birch tree, enabled the Indian to erect entirely to his satisfaction, a dwelling by the side of some pleasant stream or grateful forest glade. In winter this was exchanged by the more provident, for a hut substantially constructed of earth and wood; and which was frequently occupied in common by several families. The skins of

reason of heats and occasions. In Winter they make some fiftie or thereescore foote long, fortie or fiftie men being inmates under one rooffe; and as is their husbands occasion these poor taconists are often troubled like snails, to carrie their houses on their backs sometimes to fishing places, other times to hunting places, after that to a planting place, where it abides the longest; another work is their planting of corne wherein they exceed our *English* husband-men keeping it so cleare with their Clamme shell hoes, as if it were a garden rather than a corne-field, not suffering a choaking weede to advance his audacious head above their infant corne, or an undermining worme to spoile his spurnes. Their corne being ripe, they gather it, and drying it hard in the Sunne, convey it to their barnes, which be great holes digged in the ground in forme of a brass pot, sealed with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corne, covering it from the inquisitive search of their gurmardizing husbands, who would eate up both their allowed portion, and reserved seede, if they knew where to find it. New England Prospect, 1744,

the beaver, the fox, the marten, the buffalo, and the deer, which fell victims to his skill or courage in the chase, after undergoing a simple yet effectual process of tanning, were readily converted into garments such as he required.* In ordinary seasons, his exertions as a hunter, and the labors of his wife and children, supplied him with abundance of wholesome and nutritious food : but his improvident and indolent habits usually prevented him from making provision for seasons of deficiency in his patch of maize, or of an unusual scarcity of game. Hence, he occasionally experienced periods of great distress, and after devouring the carcasses of the dead animals, which chance threw in his way, the skins he had accumulated for clothing or traffic, and everything around him capable of sustaining life, he became the victim of starvation in its most protracted and direst form.

Like the other natives of North America, the peculiar condition of the Canadian Indian, gave a coloring to his religious tenets. He believed indeed in a future state ; but did not like the christian, regard it as a heaven of rest, or an eternity of punishment. It was simply with him another experimental world, peopled with the souls of animals as well as men, in which the Great Spirit would be alike merciful to all irrespective of their conduct in this life.† After death the soul was still

*Their intercourse with Europeans soon taught the Indians that it was more profitable to exchange their furs for clothing, powder, &c.

†They believe, at least to some extent, in a duality of souls, one of which is fleshly, or corporeal, the other is incorporeal or mental. The fleshly soul goes immediately, at death, to the land of spirits, or future bliss. The mental soul abides with the body, and hovers round the place of sepulture. A future state is regarded by them, as a state of rewards, and not of future punishments. They expect to inhabit a paradise filled with pleasures for the eye, and the ear, and the taste. A strong and universal belief in divine mercies absorbs every other attribute of the Great Spirit, except his power and ubiquity ; and they believe, so far as we can gather it, that his mercy will, be shown to all

supposed to experience all the necessities of a corporeal existence. It hungered, and food must be deposited on the grave : it suffered from cold, and the body of the departed must be wrapt in clothes : it was in darkness, and a light must be kindled by its resting place. The spirit wandered over tedious plains, paddled its bark canoe across mighty rivers, and traversed the pathless forest in search of the paradise of happy hunting grounds ; where it arrived at length to find game in abundance, and freedom from the privations of hunger and cold, which had beset it in the body.*

There is not, in general, a very discriminating sense of moral distinctions and responsibilities, and the faint out-shadowings, which we sometimes hear among them, of a deep and sombre stream to be crossed by the adventurous soul, in its way to the land of bliss, does not exercise such a practical influence over their lives, as to interfere with the belief of universal acceptance after death. So firm is this belief, that their most reverend term for the Great Spirit, is *Gezba Monedo*, that is to say, Merciful Spirit. *Gitchy Monedo*, which is also employed, is often an equivocal phrase. The term *Wazheaud*, or *Maker*, is used to designate the Creator, when speaking of his animated works. The compound phrase *Waosemigoyan* or universal Father, is also heard. School. p. 204.

*With respect to the other great doctrine of religion, concerning the immortality of the soul, the sentiments of the Americans were more united ; the human mind, even when least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thoughts of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man in his highest state of improvement ; nor has nature withheld from him this soothing consolation, in the most early and rude period of his progress. We can trace this opinion from one extremity of America to the other, in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but nowhere unknown. The most uncivilized of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be forever exempt from the calamities which imbitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labor or toil. But as men, in forming their first imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, suppose that there they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world ; they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction, in that state to the same qualities and talents which are here objects of their esteem. Rob. vol. I. p. 182.

Although debased by superstition, a degrading deference to his priest or medicine man ; and a mythological faith in his manitou, and numerous other inferior deities ;* The Indian firmly believed in the existence of a Supreme being, or Great Spirit, as he termed him, who made the heavens, and all material things by the power of his will. He next created animals and man out of the earth, and subsequently a good and evil spirit, who continually strove for mastery. These in the characters attributed to them, closely resembled the Ariman and Hormuzd of the Guebre creed, as well as the Shiva and Vishnu of Hinduism. The idea embodied in this belief might be said in fact to constitute the groundwork of his religion, his sacrifices, and his worship. He endeavored continually to appease the evil spirit ; to disarm its malignant tendencies. He was persuaded that his good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their natures, would bestow every blessing in their power without solicitation or acknowledgement. Hence, his only anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of those

* Rob. Amer. vol. 1. p 184. Charl. N. F. vol. 3. p. 422.

Whenever men acknowledge the reality of supernatural power and discernment in one instance, they have a propensity to admit it in others. The Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be confined to one subject. They had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous, when they met with unforeseen disappointment in hunting, when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon their conjurors to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretell what would be their issue. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the sorcerer, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, as well as to direct his conduct in the latter. Even among the rudest tribes in America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. Long before man had acquired such knowledge of the deity as inspires reverence and leads to adoration, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand to draw aside that veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from human knowledge ; and we find him laboring with fruitless anxiety to penetrate

powers, whom he regarded as the enemies of mankind.* Antagonistic as a believe of this kind is to the pure genius of Christianity, it merits nevertheless the closest attention of the philosopher. Amid all his wars and wanderings, the dim traditions of a creation, and of a general deluge, were perpetuated from generation to generation by the Indian : who separated from his fellow man from remotest time, bears like the silent ruins of Ninevah, in this very knowledge, most important testimony to the truths of Holy Writ, and the folly of the sceptic's theories and deductions.

The political condition, of the the North American Indians, was democratic in the extreme. Possessing their hunting grounds in common, and accustomed to divide their stores of provisions with one another when pressed for food, the distinctions arising from inequality of possessions were unknown amongst them. The greatest chief and the meanest warrior were on a par in part of "real estate." Their huts were constructed alike, and furnished in the same rude manner : their weapons were precisely similar : to the river and the forest they had equal claims. Exulting in their freedom, they acknowledged no superiority, but that resulting from personal prowess, or superior intelligence. When they found it necessary to attack an enemy, the warrior of the most approved courage led them to the combat : in the chase, the hunter of the greatest experience directed their mo-

into the mysteries of the divine administration. To discern and to worship a superintending power is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding ; a vain desire of prying into futurity is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

From this weakness likewise proceeded the faith of the Americans in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events ; and if any one of these prognostics is deemed unfavorable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent. Rob. Amer. vol. 1, p. 185.

* Ibid. p. 182.

tions : in the council lodge, the most eloquent orator swayed their decisions.* During periods of tranquility, all superiority ceased : the entire community occupied the same position, and scarcely seemed to feel the ties of political union. Destitute of any form of local government, they knew nothing of the duties of the magistrate, and were left at liberty to follow the dictates of individual inclination ; without questions of property to decide, or suits to institute, they had no occasion for the services of the lawyer. If any scheme of public utility was proposed, each member of the community adopted it, and aided in its execution, or otherwise, as he deemed proper. Nothing was compulsory with him : all his resolutions were voluntary, and flowed from the impulse of his own mind.

It does not appear, that even the first step had been taken among either the Algonquins or the Hurons, towards the establishment of a public jurisdiction. In the extreme case of murder the right of vengeance belonged to the friends of the party slain, and not to the community. Their resentment was usually implacable, and not unfrequently transmitted from father to son for generations. The instinct of self defence, one of the first aroused in the human breast, evidently was their great bond of Union. They united in communities, and obeyed the authority of a leader in time of war, simply because such a course was necessary for personal safety and the protection of their hunting grounds.†

* War. Con. of Can. vol. 1, p. 175.

† Hunting on their grounds without leave, robbery, and personal violence, are the motives to an Indian war. Before they set out on their expeditions, a feast on dogs' flesh, is generally prepared, which is invariably followed by the war dance. Then the Chiefs recite the glorious achievements of the forefathers of the young warriors, to excite their valor, after which they paint themselves with vermilion in the most frightful manner. The route they are to pursue is usually traced on a piece of the bark of a tree. Their conduct of their wars is certainly

Like the other aborigines of America, the Canadian, when thoroughly aroused, displayed all the fierceness characteristic of the savage. Cruel and unrelenting in warfare, the remembrance of his massacres still lingers over many a neighborhood in the New England states. His murders alike of old and young, his cruel treatment of his prisoners, his partial cannibalism, are too generally known to require more than a passing notice in this brief introductory sketch. But, if the Canadian Indian possessed the vices of the savage, he also inherited his virtues in an eminent degree. Bold in war, skilful in the chase, eloquent at the council fire, and thoroughly independent; he was capable of acting on many occasions with great force and dignity. At the same time, he was sincerely attached to his tribe: the Algonquins especially evinced the most chivalric spirit touching the preservation of its honor, and frequently braved the greatest dangers, and endured the most excruciating torments without a groan, that it might not be disgraced.

The gentler affections too, exercised a much more powerful influence among the Indians of Canada, than has been generally supposed. They were strongly attached to their children, treated their parents in many instances with tenderness,* and had a profound veneration for their

not calculated to admit of their taking many prisoners, for instead of marching in strong parties they often go out singly and surprise the foe, whom they kill and scalp. If the prisoners are unable to march, or dangerous by their numbers, they are destroyed. Such as are brought into a state of safety, they generally adopt as their own children. They are almost universally brave, and meet death with heroic firmness. Intolerable contempt is the sure consequence of pusillanimity. Smith's *Hist. Can.* vol. 1, p. 47. *Char. N. F.* vol. 3, p. 266, 467, 469.

*There lived a noted chief at Michilimackinac, in days past called Gitshe Naygow, or the Great-Sand-Dune, a name, or rather a nick-name, which he had, probably, derived from his birth and early residence at a spot of very imposing appearance, so called, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, which is east of the range of the Pictured Rocks. He was a Chippewa, a warrior and a councillor of that tribe, and had mingled freely in the stirring scenes of war and border foray, which marked the closing years of French domination in the Canadas.

dead. The ties of relationship were respected and acknowledged, and in some cases accurately traced for generations. The relation of husband and wife was clearly understood and well defined, and polygamy although permitted by custom was rarely practised.

Such were the prominent characteristics of the tribes, who once held possession of this country. But a few generations have since passed away, and flourishing cities, and towns, and villages, and thousands of happy homesteads, occupy those districts where they chased the deer, and trapped the beaver in the silent depths of the primeval forest. Instead of the war-whoop of the Algonquin or the Huron, the church bell now swells out on the vesper breeze, and the silence of the wilderness has given place to the matin song of the milkmaid and the blithesome whistle of the ploughman. A poor and thinly scattered community of improvident savages, has been succeeded by an orderly, industrious, and enterprising people, whose genius and resources embody all the germs of a mighty nation. With a commercial credit as sound as the merchants of any country in the world can boast of; possessed of several good lines of railroad, and of a noble water communication; blessed with great mineral and agricultural resources, Canada must ere long attain to a high position in the scale of nations, and thus leave little room for regret that the possession of her soil, has been transferred to the Anglo Saxon race, and that the rule of the fierce Indian has forever passed *away*.

They were then inland on the Manistee river, which enters the Northern shores of Lake Michigan. It was his last winter on earth; his heart was gladdened by once more feeling the genial rays of Spring, and he desired to go with them, to behold, for the last time, the expanded lake and inhale its pure breezes. He must needs be conveyed by band. This act of piety was performed by his daughter then a young woman. She carried him on her back from their camp to the lake shore where they erected their lodge and passed the spring, and where he eventually died and was buried. School. p. 191.

History of Canada.

CHAPTER I.

More than three centuries and a half have elapsed, since the discovery of America constituted a new epoch in the annals of civilization. The vague dreamy ideas of unknown climes indulged in by Strabo,* the dim prophecies of Seneca,† the romantic theories of Plato,‡ the philosophic speculations of the middle ages,§ had at length pointed to an actual reality : and the return of Columbus to Spain on the 4th of January 1493, after an absence of seven months, dispelled every doubt regarding the existence of hitherto unknown regions, amid the waters of the Western Atlantic.

The wise and politic Henry VII. who then sat upon the throne of

* "It is very possible that in the same temperate zone, and almost in the same latitude as Athens, there are inhabited worlds distinct from that in which we dwell." Strabo lib. 1, p. 65.

† "Seneca held that a vast country was originally situated in the Atlantic Ocean, and rent asunder by a violent earthquake. The portion which still remained unsubmerged by the Ocean, would one day be discovered. Malte Brun.

‡ Buffon quoting Plato's *Timæus*, relative to the destruction of *Atalantis*, says, it is not devoid of probability. The land swallowed up by the waters were perhaps those which united Ireland to the Azores, and the Azores to the continent of America ; for in Ireland there are the same fossils, the same shells, and the same sea-bodies as appear in America : and some of which are found in no other part of Europe. Buffon's *Natural History*, vol. 1. p. 306.

§ In the middle ages, the prevalent opinion was, that the sea covered but one-seventh of the Globe, an opinion which Cardinal d'Ally founded on the book of Ezra. Columbus, who always derived much of his cosmological knowledge from the cardinal's work, was much interested in supporting this opinion of the smallness of the sea. He also used to cite Aristotle, Seneca, and St. Augustine in its support.—Humbolt.

England, was not a little moved by the intelligence which so profoundly agitated the maritime nations of Europe. The mere accident of the capture of the brother of Columbus by pirates, when on his way to the English Court, had in all probability robbed him of the glory of the great navigator's discoveries being made under his auspices, and deprived the nation at large of the vast commercial benefits which he foresaw, they must sooner or later produce. Henry, however, was not discouraged. Wisely judging that other countries were yet to be discovered, he fitted out a small fleet in 1497, and placing it under the command of John Cabot, a celebrated Venetian navigator, sent him forth in quest of new climes, as well as of a North West passage to the Indies and China, then sought after as earnestly as it has been in our own times.

Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol about the middle of May 1497; and following very nearly the same course now pursued by vessels, making the voyage from Great Britain to North America, discovered, on the 26th of June, the Island of Newfoundland, which he named St. John's Island in honor of the day. After a brief stay here he continued his westerly course, and arrived off the coast of Labrador on the 3rd of July. He had, therefore, the honor of being the first discoverer of the Continent of America, which was not seen by Columbus, until some thirteen months afterwards. Having made a partial survey of Hudson's Bay, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he sailed south as far as Virginia: when, being anxious to announce his success to Henry, he returned to England; where shortly after his arrival he received the honor of Knighthood.

At this period Britain possessed no royal navy, and in cases of emergency, the crown had to arm merchant vessels. Encouraged by the success of Cabot, Henry determined, that this condition of affairs should no longer continue, and promptly applied himself to the construction of a national fleet; on one large ship of which he expended the immense sum, for those times, of fourteen thousand pounds.* This, with some smaller vessels, he placed in the following year (1498) under the command of Sebastian, one of Sir John Cabot's sons, with instructions to search for a North-West passage. Beyond the barren glory of mere discovery, Henry derived no result from this, or two subsequent expeditions. No settlements were formed; and his death in 1509 terminated for several years all efforts, on the part of the British nation, to profit by a more intimate connection with this

*Hume, vol. 3, p. 76.

continent. For the next fourteen years, Spain and Portugal were the only nations who derived any solid benefits from settlements in the New World. In 1524 the French Sovereign, Francis I, with a view to the partition of these benefits in his own favor, resolved to acquire a claim on a portion at least of America by further discoveries. "What," said he to his courtiers, "shall the Kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother. I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them." Francis accordingly prepared a squadron of four ships, which he placed under the command of Giovanna Verazzano, a Florentine navigator of great repute, who explored the American coast from Carolina northward. He called the entire region New France, (*La Nouvelle France*), and utterly regardless of the prior claims of England, took formal possession of it in the name of his sovereign. Verazzano, like Cabot, returned without gold or silver. He was in consequence unfavorably contrasted with the adventurers to Mexico and Peru; met with a cold reception; and died in obscurity. In 1527, Henry VIII. resolved to make another attempt to discover a North-West passage to the East Indies. One of his ships was lost: and the remainder returned to England without having made any fresh discoveries, or effecting a settlement.

In 1534 the French King fitted out a second expedition, the conduct of which he entrusted to Jaques Cartier, a fearless and skilful mariner who had previously been engaged for several years in the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland; and which, even as early as 1517, already gave employment to some fifty English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese vessels. This expedition, consisting of two vessels of sixty tons each, sailed from St. Malo on the 20th of April, and on the 10th of May arrived at Newfoundland, where it remained ten days. Proceeding northward, Cartier passed through the straits of Belleisle, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and landed at Gaspe; where on the 24th of July he erected a cross surmounted by a fleur-de-lys, to commemorate his advent on the coast. A friendly intercourse with the natives enabled him to kidnap two men, with whom he sailed for France where he was well received by his sovereign.

In the following year Cartier obtained a new commission from Francis, and sailed with three vessels* direct for the Gulf of St. Lawrence; with instructions to explore its shores carefully; to establish a settlement, if at all practicable; and to open a traffic for gold with the in-

*These were the *Hermine* of 110 tons, The little *Hermine* of 60 tons, and the *Hermerillon* of 40 tons burden.

habitants. In the month of August 1535, on the festival day of the martyr Lawrence, this navigator entered the great father of the northern waters, which he called after the saint. Proceeding up its course, he found himself in a few days opposite the Indian village of Stadacona, then occupying a portion of the ground on which the city of Quebec now stands. As the vessels came to an anchor the terrified natives fled to the forest, whence they gazed with mingled feelings of awe and wonder, on the "winged canoes" which had borne the pale-faced strangers to their shores. These feelings were, however, much less intense than they must have otherwise been, owing to the rumors which, from time to time, had preceded Cartier's approach; and to the fact, that they were well acquainted with the circumstance of his visit to Gaspé the previous year, and the outrage he had there perpetrated on their countrymen. This knowledge led the inhabitants of Stadacona to resolve on a wary intercourse with the strangers. Their chief, Donacona, approached the vessels with a fleet of twelve canoes filled with his armed followers, ten of these he directed to remain at a short distance, while he proceeded with the other two to ascertain the purport of the visit—whether it was for peace or war. With this object in view he commenced an oration. Cartier heard the chief patiently, and with the aid of the two Gaspé Indians, now tolerable proficient in the French language, he was enabled to open a conversation with him and to allay his apprehensions. An amicable understanding having thus been established, he moored his vessels safely in the river St. Charles, where, shortly afterwards, he received a second visit from Donacona, who this time came accompanied by five hundred warriors of his tribe.

Having thoroughly rested and refreshed himself and his men, Cartier determined to explore the river to Hochelaga, another Indian town, which he learned was situated several days' journey up its course. With the view of impressing the Indians with the superiority of the white man, he caused prior to his departure several cannon shots to be discharged, which produced the desired result. Like their countrymen of the South on the arrival of Columbus, the red men of the St. Lawrence were alarmed by the firing of artillery; and as its thunders reverberated among the surrounding hills, a feeling of mingled terror and astonishment took complete possession of their minds.

Leaving his other ships safely at anchor, Cartier, on the 19th of September, proceeded up the river with the *Hermerillon*, which owing to the shallowness of the water he had to leave in Lake St. Peter, and two boats; and frequently came into contact with small parties of the natives, who treated him in the most friendly manner. Bold and lov-

ing adventure for its own sake, and at the same time strongly imbued with religious enthusiasm, Cartier watched the shifting landscape hour after hour, as he ascended the river, with feelings of the deepest gratification, which were heightened by the reflection, that he was the pioneer of civilization and of Christianity in that unknown clime. Nature presented itself in all its primitive grandeur to his view. The noble river on whose broad bosom he floated onwards day after day, disturbing vast flocks of water fowl; the primeval forests of the north, which here and there presented, amid the luxuriance of their foliage, the parasitical vine loaded with ripe clusters of luscious grapes, and from whence the strange notes of the whip-poor-will, and other birds of varied tone and plumage, such as he had never before seen, were heard at intervals: the bright sunshine of a Canadian August; the unclouded moonlight of its calm and pleasant nights: with the other novel accessories of the occasion, made a sublime and profound impression upon the mind of the adventurer.

Delighted with his journey, Cartier arrived on the 2nd of October opposite the Huron village of Hochelaga, the inhabitants of which lined the shore on his approach, and made the most friendly signs for him to land. Supplies of fish and maize were freely tendered by the Indians, in return for which they received knives and beads. Despite this friendly conduct, however, Cartier and his companions deemed it most prudent to pass the night on board their boats. On the following day, headed by their leader, dressed in the most imposing costume at his command, the exploring party went in procession to the village. At a short distance from its environs they were met by a sachem, who received them with that solemn courtesy, so peculiar to the aborigines of America. Cartier made him several presents: among these was a cross, which he hung round his neck and directed him to kiss. Patches of ripe corn encircled the village, which consisted of fifty substantially built huts, secured from attack by three lines of stout palisades.* Like the natives of Mexico and Peru the Hochelagians regarded the white men as a superior race of beings, who come among them as friends and benefactors.† Impressed with this idea they conducted them in state to their Council Lodge, and brought

* There is no doubt that Cartier gave a most exaggerated description of Hochelaga, being desirous that his discoveries should bear some resemblance to those of Cortes and Pizarro. Hochelaga was simply an ordinary Indian village, surrounded by wooden palisades, and containing probably, a thousand or fifteen hundred inhabitants.

† Jesuit's Journal.

their sick to be healed. Cartier was at once too completely in their power, and too politic to undeceive them. It is recorded that "he did everything he could to soothe their minds : that he even prayed with these idolators, and distributed crosses and other symbols of the Catholic faith among them."

The introductory ceremony concluded, Cartier ascended the mountain behind Hochelaga, to which he gave the name of Mont Royal, subsequently corrupted into Montreal. From a point near its summit a noble prospect met his view. Interminable forests stretched on every side ; their deep gloom broken at harmonious intervals by hills, and rivers, and island-studded lakes. Simple as were the natives of Hochelaga, they appeared to have some knowledge of the geography of their country. From them Cartier learned that it would take three months to sail in their canoes up the course of the majestic river which flowed beneath them, and that it ran through several great lakes, the farthest one of which was like a vast sea. Beyond this lake was another large river, (the Mississippi,) which pursued a southerly course through a region free from ice and snow. With the precious metals they appeared but very partially acquainted. Of copper they had a better knowledge, and stated that it was found at the Saguenay.

Favourably as Cartier had been received, the lateness of the season compelled his immediate return to Stadacona. The Indians expressed their regret at the shortness of the visit, and accompanied the French to their boats, which they followed for some time, making signs of farewell. The expedition did not, however, find all the natives equally friendly. While bivouacing one night on the bank of the river, they would probably have all been massacred, but for a timely retreat to their boats. Cartier had a narrow escape, and owed his life to the intrepidity of his boatswain, an Englishman.

The adventurers wintered in the St. Charles River, and continued to be treated with apparent kindness and hospitality by the Stadaconians, who had fortunately laid up abundant stores of provisions. Unaccustomed, however, to the rigour of a Canadian winter, and scantily supplied with warm clothing, Cartier and his companions suffered severely from the cold. To add to their other misfortunes scurvy, the terror of the seamen in those days, made its appearance, and in conjunction with a disease produced by a licentious intercourse with the natives, speedily carried off twenty-five of their number. To a decoction from the bark of the spruce fir, taken on the recommendation of the Indians, the remainder ascribed their restoration to health.

The long winter at length drew to a close ; the ice broke up, and although the voyage had produced no gold discoveries nor profitable

returns, in a mercantile point of view, the expedition prepared to return home. Like other adventurers of that age they requited the kindness and hospitality of the aborigines with the basest ingratitude. They compelled Donacona, with two other chiefs and eight warriors, to bear them company to France, where the greater part of these unfortunate men died soon after their arrival.

Disappointed in their expectations of discovering the precious metals in the regions explored by Cartier, the French nation for the ensuing four years gave no adventurers to the New World. That navigator's favorable representations of the valley of the St. Lawrence, however, still continued to attract a large portion of attention. In 1540 a new expedition was organized under the direction of the Sieur de Roberval, an opulent nobleman of Picardy, to proceed to Canada, as it now began to be called from the Indian word Kanata, (a collection of huts,) which had been mistaken for the native name of the country. In consideration of his bearing the expenses of the expedition, and effecting a permanent settlement on the St. Lawrence, or in the adjacent districts, Roberval was created Lieutenant General, and appointed viceroy of all the territories claimed by the French in the New World. Circumstances having arisen which prevented him from proceeding with the expedition, which embraced five ships, he transferred its command to Cartier, who accordingly sailed the third time to New France, and arrived safely at his old anchorage in the neighborhood of Stadacona. He was at first received with every appearance of kindness by the Indians, who expected that he had brought back their chief Donacona, as well as the other chiefs and warriors who had been taken to France. On learning that some of these were dead, and that none of them would return, they showed themselves averse to any further intercourse, and to the formation of a settlement in their neighborhood.

Finding his position with the inhabitants of Stadacona, becoming daily more and more unpleasant, Cartier moved higher up the river to Cape Rouge, where he laid up three of his vessels, and sent the other two back to France, with letters to the king and Roberval, stating the success of his voyage and asking for supplies. His next proceeding was to erect a fort which he called Charlesbourg. Here, after an unsuccessful attempt to navigate the rapids above Hochelaga, he passed a most uncomfortable winter. During the ensuing summer, he occupied himself in examining the country in every direction, and in searching for gold, but of which he only procured a few trifling specimens in the dry beds of some rivulets. A few small diamonds were discovered in a headland near Stadacona, which

was therefore called Cape Diamond, a name which it still retains.

The promised supplies not having arrived, another severe winter completely disheartened Cartier, and he accordingly resolved to return home. Putting into the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, he encountered Roberval on his way to Canada (1542,) with a new company of adventurers and abundance of stores and provisions. The viceroy endeavored to persuade Cartier to return with him, but without effect. He and his companions were alike disheartened with the extreme cold and prolonged duration of a Canadian winter, and this circumstance in connection with the other hardships to which they had been exposed, caused them to long earnestly to return to their own sunny France. To avoid further importunity, a possible quarrel, and forcible detention, Cartier caused his sailors to weigh anchor during the night. After a tolerably quick passage, he arrived safely in his native country, where he died shortly after his return, having like many others sacrificed health and fortune to a passion for discovery, and a desire to acquire gold.

Roberval sailed up the St. Lawrence to Charlesbourg, which he strengthened by additional fortifications, and where he passed the ensuing winter. Leaving a garrison of thirty men behind, he returned in the following spring (1543) to France, where he was detained by his sovereign to assist in the war against Charles V. The death of the latter put an end to the quarrel; but although six years had elapsed in the interval, Roberval had not forgotten Canada. In company with his brother Archille and a numerous train of adventurers, he again proceeded to this country. This fleet was never heard of after it put to sea, and was supposed to have foundered, to the regret of the people of France, who greatly admired the Brothers Roberval for the gallant manner in which they had borne themselves in the war. This loss completely discouraged Francis, who made no further attempts to effect a settlement in Canada. The distracted state of France occasioned by the religious wars tended likewise to withdraw, during the succeeding half century, the attention of its government from projects of transatlantic colonization.

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, the idea of discovering a North-West passage, still occupied the attention of the people of Europe. England now rapidly rising in maritime importance, sent out several expeditions to the northern coasts of America to search for this passage. None of these, however, had any connection with Canada, the first colonization of which was reserved for France, and the private enterprize of whose merchants was already accomplishing what the countenance and decrees of royalty had failed to effect. The

discovery that a lucrative trade in furs could be prosecuted with the Indians, led to the formation of trading posts on the St. Lawrence, the principal of which was at Tadoussac near the mouth of the river Saguenay.

The fact, thus established, that a profitable connection with Canada could be maintained, and tranquility having been restored by the accession of Henry IV. to the throne, the attention of the French Government was again turned to founding a colony in this country. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, encouraged by Henry fitted out a large expedition which convicts were permitted to join, as it was found difficult to procure voluntary adventurers, owing to former disasters. Armed with the most ample governmental powers, the Marquis departed for the New World under the guidance of Chedotel, a pilot of Normandy. But he lacked the requisite qualities to insure success, and little is recorded of his voyage, with the exception that he left forty convicts on Sable Island, a barren spot off the coast of Nova Scotia. Owing to the failure of this adventure, and his attempts to equip another being thwarted at Court, the Marquis fell sick shortly after his return home, and literally died of chagrin. The unfortunate convicts whom he left behind were completely forgotten for several years, and suffered the most intense hardships. Their clothes were soon worn out, and their provisions exhausted. Clad in the skin of the sea wolf, subsisting upon the precarious supplies afforded by fishing, and living in rude huts formed from the planks of a wrecked vessel, famine and cold gradually reduced their number to twelve. After a residence on the island for twelve years, these wretched men were found in the most deplorable condition, by a vessel sent out by the Parliament of Rouen to ascertain their fate. On their return to France they were brought before Henry, who pardoned their crimes in consideration of the great hardships they had undergone, and gave them a liberal donation in money.*

The unsatisfactory result of the expedition under de la Roche, had not the effect of checking French enterprise very materially. In the following year (1599) another expedition was resolved on by Chauvin of Rouen, a naval officer of reputation, and Pontgrave, a sailor merchant of St. Malo, who in consideration of a monopoly of the fur trade, granted them by Henry, undertook to establish a colony of five hundred persons in Canada. This monopoly once secured, Chauvin displayed very little energy in fulfilling his engagements. To save

* Champlain's Voyages.

appearances, however, he equipped two vessels in the spring of 1600 and taking out a party of settlers with him, arrived safely at Tadousac. Here, contrary to the representations of some of his companions, who stated that much more desirable locations for a settlement might be found higher up the river, he erected a small fort. During the summer he obtained a considerable stock of very valuable furs, for the most trifling consideration. Being anxious to dispose of these to advantage, he returned to France on the approach of winter, leaving sixteen settlers behind. These were slenderly provided with provisions and clothing, and in the cold weather were reduced to such distress, that they had to throw themselves completely on the hospitality of the natives. From these they experienced much kindness, yet so great was the hardships they endured, that several of them died before the arrival of succor from France. Chauvin made a second voyage to Tadoussac, and obtained another valuable cargo of furs, but failed to establish a permanent settlement. During a third voyage he was taken ill and died.

The death of Chauvin did not damp the spirit of enterprise, which had now taken firm hold of the more adventurous among the French. The fur trade held out a certain and lucrative reward to perseverance and courage, and in 1603, de Chaste, the Governor of Dieppe, organised a company to conduct it. He prevailed upon several wealthy merchants to second his views, and made a most valuable auxiliary, at the same time, in Samuel Champlain, who had just returned from the West Indies, and was destined to be the founder of the French Colony of Canada. Accompanied by Pontgrave, the former associate of Chauvin, and who had made several voyages to the St. Lawrence, Champlain proceeded to that river, with instructions from the French Court, to ascend it as far as possible, and make a survey of the country towards its source. He traversed its course to the Sault St. Louis, but effectually stopped by these rapids, had to content himself with an observation made from the summit of Mont Royal.*

On his return to France Champlain found de Chaste had died during his absence, and that the company he had formed was broken up. Proceeding to Paris he laid before Henry a chart, with a description of the district he had surveyed, and was graciously received. Shortly after his return de Chaste's scheme was taken up by De Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of opulence then very popular at

*Champlain makes no mention of Hochelaga. The village had no doubt been abandoned.

the French Court, and who had already received substantial marks of his sovereign's favor. He was instructed by Henry to establish the Catholic religion among the natives, but he and his friends were to be allowed the free exercise of the Calvinistic faith. He also obtained many other valuable privileges, and an entire monopoly of the fur trade.

De Monts put to sea on the 7th March, 1604, with a much larger expedition than had ever before left France. Erroneously supposing that the higher he ascended the St. Lawrence the colder the weather must become, he remained some months trading with the natives of Nova Scotia, where he seized an English vessel for interfering with his privileges, and afterwards wintered on an island near the mouth of the river St. John in New Brunswick. In the following spring he formed a settlement on the coast of the Bay of Fundy, which was called Port Royal; and shortly afterwards returned to France, where, owing to complaints made against him, he was deprived of his commission, notwithstanding it had been granted for ten years. De Monts had not, however, wholly lost his influence with Henry, and obtained in 1607 another commission for one year. Owing to the representations of Champlain, he now resolved to establish a settlement on the St. Lawrence. Fitting out two vessels, he placed them under the command of that experienced navigator, with whom he associated Pontgrave as lieutenant. The expedition sailed from Harfleur on the 13th of April, 1608, and arrived at Tadoussac on the 3rd of June. Here Pontgrave remained to trade with the natives while Champlain proceeded up the river to examine its banks, and determine upon a suitable site for the settlement he was to found. After a careful scrutiny he fixed upon a promontory distinguished by a luxuriant growth of vines, and shaded by some noble walnut trees, called by the natives (very few of whom now resided in the neighborhood,) *Quebio*, or *Quebec*;^{*} and situated a short distance from the spot where Cartier had erected a fort, and passed a winter, sixty seven years before. Here, on the 3rd July, he laid the foundation of the present city of Quebec. Rude buildings of wood were first erected on the high grounds to afford shelter to his men. When these were completed an embankment was formed, above the reach of the tide where Mountain Street now stands, on which the houses and battery were built. With the exception of Jamestown, in Virginia, this was the first permanent settlement established in North America.

Champlain and his companions passed the winter at Quebec with-

^{*} Champlain, Book III. chap. 2.

out suffering any of those extreme hardships, which during the same period of the year, had distinguished the residence of former adventurers in Canada. Their dwellings being better protected from the cold, their persons more warmly clothed, more abundantly supplied with provisions, and with a greater amount of experience than their predecessors possessed, they discovered that a winter existence among the snows of the North was not only possible, but even possessed its pleasures.

While providing for the present comfort of himself and his companions, Champlain was not forgetful of the future. Already had he devoted his attention to the agricultural capabilities of the country. The land in the neighborhood was discovered to be fertile, and in the Autumn of 1608, he planted the first wheat crop on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Winter gradually merged towards Spring without producing any incidents of very great importance to the infant colony. Meanwhile everything had been done to preserve a good understanding with the Indians who visited the Fort; Champlain wisely perceiving, that the success of the settlement chiefly depended on their friendship. Nor were the Indians themselves, who belonged to the Algonquin nation, averse to the cultivation of a friendly understanding with the French. A fierce war was then waged between them and the Iroquois, or Five Nations, over whom they anticipated an easy victory, were they but aided by the white men. To secure this aid a son of one of their principal chiefs had already visited the fort, and as an inducement to the alliance he proposed, promised that his nation should assist Champlain in exploring the country of their enemy.

About the middle of February a scarcity of food began to prevail among the Indians. Some of these people on the opposite side of the river were reduced to great extremities, and resolved to cross it at all hazards, in the expectation of receiving assistance at the fort. Death stared them in the face on either hand, and they had only to choose the mildest alternative. The huge floes of ice that crashed against each other, as they drove hither and thither, threatened instant destruction to their trail canoes which, nevertheless, were boldly launched in succession, death by drowning being preferable to that by lingering starvation. Presently mid-channel is gained. Vast fields of ice encircle the canoes which are speedily crushed to pieces. The Indians seek to save themselves by jumping on the ice which fortunately floats to the shore. But Champlain could only spare them a very scanty supply of food, and the unfortunate people were obliged to subsist for a time on the putrid carcasses found in the neighborhood.

The spring appears to have been an early one; and no sooner had

the weather became sufficiently warm to make travelling agreeable, than Champlain prepared to ascend the river, and explore it above Mont Royal. When twenty five leagues from Quebec, he was met by a war party of the Algonquins on their way to attack the Iroquois, who without much difficulty induced him to promise his aid. He accordingly retraced his steps to the fort, procured a reinforcement from Tadoussac, where another settlement had been formed, and made the other necessary arrangements for the expedition. On the 28th of May, in company with his Indian allies, he again ascended the St. Lawrence, diverged into the Richelieu river, after traversing Lake St. Peter, and proceeded along its course till he encountered rapids which prevented the further passage of his boats. Finding it useless to attempt cutting a road through the woods, he resolved to commit himself and his companions to the canoes of the natives, and to share their fate. Only two of his men had sufficient courage to accompany him : the hearts of the remainder failed them when they perceived the dangers of their position, and he permitted them to return. The bark canoes of the Algonquins were easily carried past the rapids, and Champlain soon found himself on the waters of the beautiful lake which still bears his name. The party saw nothing of the Iroquois until they had entered Lake George, on the shores of which a pitched battle took place, which with the aid of fire arms resulted in their favor. A number of the Iroquois were killed, and twelve taken prisoners, all of whom were subsequently tortured.

On Champlain's return from this expedition, he was greeted with unfavorable tidings from France. Its merchants had again made loud complaints of the injury they sustained by the fur trade being confined to a single individual. De Monts's commission had in consequence been revoked, and Champlain was obliged to return home to give an account of his conduct, which the king listened to with apparent satisfaction. All attempts, however, to procure a renewal of the monopoly proved abortive. Still de Monts determined, even without royal patronage, to continue the settlement. To lighten the expense, he made an arrangement with some traders at Rochelle to give them the use of his buildings in Quebec, as a depot for their goods, while they in return engaged to assist him in his plans of colonization. He was thus enabled, in 1610, to fit out another expedition for his lieutenant, and to furnish him with considerable supplies and a respectable reinforcement.

On Champlain's return to the St. Lawrence, he received a fresh application from the Algonquins to aid them in another war. Undeterred alike by fear or principle he accepted the proposal; but upon his

arrival at the mouth of the Richelieu, found affairs more urgent than he had anticipated. An Indian brought the intelligence that one hundred of the enemy were so strongly entrenched in the neighborhood, that without the aid of the French it must be impossible to dislodge them. The Algonquins imprudently advancing to the attack unsupported were repulsed with loss; and had to fall back and await the assistance of their less impetuous allies. As soon as Champlain came up, he proceeded to reconnoitre the Iroquois' position. He found it very strong, and formed of large trees placed close together in a circle. Thus protected they continued to pour forth showers of arrows, one of which wounded him in the neck. His ammunition soon began to fail, and he urged the Algonquins to greater exertions in forcing a way into the barricade. He made them fasten ropes round the trunks of single trees, and apply all their strength to drag them out, while he undertook to protect them with his fire. Fortunately at this crisis a party of French traders instigated by martial ardor made their appearance. Under cover of their fire the Algonquins pulled so stoutly, that a sufficient opening was soon effected, when they leaped in and completely routed the enemy, most of whom were killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. Of the assailants three were killed and fifty wounded. Champlain before taking leave of his allies, who were too well pleased to refuse his request, readily prevailed on them to allow one of his people to remain among their tribe to learn their language; while he, at their request, took a native youth with him to France, whither he went soon after.

In 1611 Champlain again returned to America, bringing the young Algonquin with him; and on the 28th of May, proceeded in search of his allies, whom he was to meet by appointment. Not finding them he employed his time in choosing a site for a new settlement, higher up the river than Quebec. After a careful survey, he fixed upon an eligible spot in the vicinity of Mont Royal. His choice has been amply justified by the great prosperity to which this place, under the name of Montreal, has subsequently risen. Having cleared a considerable space of ground, he fenced it in by an earthen ditch, and planted grain in the enclosure.

At length on the 13th of June, three weeks after the time appointed, a party of his Indian friends appeared. They evinced great pleasure at meeting their countryman, who gave a most favourable report of the treatment he received in France, and after a liberal present to Champlain, the cause of their long delay was unfolded. They stated that it was altogether owing to a prisoner, who had escaped the previous year, spreading a report that the French, having resolved to espouse

the cause of the Iroquois, were coming in great force to destroy their nation. Champlain complained of their having paid attention to such an idle rumor, the truth of which all his actions belied. They protested that it had never been credited by themselves, and was believed by these only of their tribe, who never had an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the French. Having now received solemn protestations of friendship, and being satisfied with Champlain's sincerity, they declared their firm determination of adhering to his alliance; and of promoting, to the best of their ability, his projects of penetrating into the interior. As an evidence of their good will, they imparted much valuable information respecting the geography of this continent, with which they seemed to be tolerably well acquainted as far south as the Gulf of Mexico. They readily agreed to his proposal, to return shortly with forty or fifty of his people to prosecute discoveries, and form settlements in their country if he thought proper. They even made a request that a French youth should accompany them, and make observations upon their territory and tribe.

Champlain again returned to France with a view of making arrangements for more extensive operations; but this object was now of very difficult accomplishment. DeMonts, who had been appointed governor of Saintonge, was no longer inclined to take the lead in measures of this kind; and excused himself from going to court by stating the urgency of his own affairs. He therefore committed the whole conduct of the settlement to Champlain, advising him, at the same time, to seek some powerful protector, whose influence would overcome any opposition which might be made to his plans. The latter was so fortunate as to win over, almost immediately, the Count de Soissons to aid him in his designs. This nobleman obtained the title of lieutenant-general of New France; and by a formal agreement transferred to Champlain all the functions of that high office. The Count died soon after, but Champlain found a still more influential friend in the Prince of Conde, who succeeded to all the privileges of the deceased; and transferred them to him in a manner equally ample. These privileges including a monopoly of the fur trade gave great dissatisfaction to the merchants: but Champlain endeavored to remove their principal objection, by permitting as many of them as chose to accompany him to the New World, and to engage in this traffic. In consequence of this permission, three merchants from Normandy, one from Rochelle, and one from St. Malo accompanied him. They were allowed the privileges of a free trade, on contributing six men each to assist in pro-

jects of discovery, and giving one-twentieth of their profits towards defraying the expenses of the settlement.

In the beginning of March, 1613, the expedition sailed from Harfleur, and on the 7th of May arrived at Quebec. Champlain now engaged in a new project. A person named Vignau had accompanied him on several visits to the Indians, and spent a winter among them. He reported that the river of the Algonquins (the Ottawa) issued from a lake connected with the North Sea, that he had visited the shores of this sea, and there witnessed the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, eighty in number, had reached the shore, where they had all been killed and scalped by the inhabitants, except a boy whom they offered to give up to him, with other trophies of their victory. Wishing to have this narrative as well authenticated as possible, Champlain caused a declaration to be signed before two notaries, warning Vignau that if it was false he would be exposing himself to capital punishment. Finding that the man persevered, and having learned that some English vessels had really been wrecked on the coast of Labrador, his doubts were at length removed, and he determined to devote a season to the prosecution of discoveries in that part of North America.

Having this object in view he did not remain long at Quebec, and on the 21st of May arrived at the Lachine Rapids. With two canoes, containing four of his countrymen and one Indian, he proceeded on his voyage up the Ottawa, during the continuance of which, he experienced much severe hardship and encountered numerous difficulties. They met with a succession of cataracts and rapids, which they could only avoid by carrying the canoes and stores overland. In some instances the woods were so dense that this laborious plan could not be adopted; and their only alternative then was to drag them through a foaming current, exposed to the danger of being themselves engulfed. Another danger arose from the wandering bands of Iroquois, who, if they had the French in their power, would doubtless have treated them in the same manner as they did their Algonquin captives. The difficulties of the navigation increasing as they ascended the river, they were obliged at length to leave their corn behind, and trust entirely to their guns and nets for provisions. At length the party reached the abode of Tessonant, a friendly chief whose country was eight days journey from that of the Nipissings, where the shipwreck was said to have occurred. He received them courteously, and agreed to admit their leader to a solemn council. Champlain being asked the object of his visit, after many courteous expressions, requested four canoes to escort him into

the country of the Nipissings, which he earnestly desired to visit. The Indians were averse to granting this request, and only complied with it on the most earnest entreaty. The Council having broken up, he ascertained that his wishes were still regarded unfavorably, and that none of the natives were willing to accompany him. He, therefore, demanded another meeting, in which he reproached them with their intended breach of faith; and to convince them that the fears which they expressed were groundless, referred to the fact of Vignau having spent some time among the Nipissings without injury. This person was then called upon to state whether he had made such a voyage, and after some hesitation replied in the affirmative, when the Indians declared in the strongest terms that he had uttered a falsehood, having never passed the limits of their own country, and that he deserved to be tortured for his dishonesty. After a close examination of Vignau, Champlain was obliged to acknowledge that they were right; and that he had been egregiously deceived. He had not only encountered a long series of labours and fatigues in vain, but the whole season had been spent without promoting objects which he had much at heart. Leaving Vignau, with the Indians, as a punishment, he returned to Quebec, whence he sailed shortly afterwards for France, where he arrived on the 26th of August, 1614, and found that matters still continued favorable for the colony. The Prince of Conde retained his influence at Court, and no difficulty was consequently found in equipping a small fleet, to carry out settlers and supplies from Rouen and St. Malo. On board of this fleet came out four fathers of the order of the Recollets, whose benevolence induced them to desire the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. These were the first priests who settled in Canada.

Champlain arrived safely at Tadoussac on the 25th of May, 1615, whence he immediately pushed forward to Quebec, and subsequently to the usual place of Indian rendezvous, at the Lachine Rapids. Here he found his Algonquin and Huron allies full of projects of war against the Iroquois, whom they now proposed to assail among the lakes to the westward, with a force of 2000 fighting men. Always desirous to embark in any enterprise, which promised to make him better acquainted with the country, Champlain laid down a plan of operations, which he offered to aid the Algonquins in carrying out, at which they expressed the utmost satisfaction. He accompanied them in a long march first up the Ottawa, and afterwards over small lakes and portages, leading to Lake Nipissing. The Nipissings, about 700 or 800 in number, who inhabited the shores of this lake, received the party in a friendly manner. Having remained with them two days,

the Algonquins resumed their journey along the course of French River to Georgian Bay, which they crossed near the Great Manitoulin Island, and entered Lake Huron, which Champlain describes in his travels as a fresh water sea 300 leagues in length by 50 in breadth.* After coasting this lake for several leagues, they turned a point near its extremity, and struck into the interior with a view of reaching Cahagua, where they were to be reinforced by a detachment of the Algonquins, and some other friendly Indians. On arrival at this place a large body were found collected, who gave them a joyful welcome, and stated that they expected five hundred additional warriors of other tribes, who also considered the Iroquois as their enemies, to join them. While awaiting their arrival several days were spent in dancing and festivity, the usual prelude to Indian expeditions. These over, and the allies not arriving, they again set out, and occasionally employed themselves in hunting, until they came to Lake St. Clair, near the present city of Detroit, and descried the Iroquois fort, which in expectation of this attack had been rendered unusually strong. It was defended, by four rows of wooden palisades with strong parapets at top, and enclosed a pond whence water was conducted to the different quarters, to extinguish any fires which might occur. The Iroquois advanced from this fort, and skirmished successfully against their assailants for some time, until the firearms were discharged, when they retreated precipitately. They fought bravely, however, behind their defences; and poured forth showers of arrows and stones which compelled the allies, in spite of the exhortations and reproaches of Champlain, to withdraw beyond their reach. He now taught them to construct an enclosure of planks, called a cavalier, which would command the enemy's entrenchment. The discharges from this machine were meant to drive the latter from the parapet and afford the assailants an opportunity of setting fire to the defences. The Indians showed the utmost activity in constructing this work, which they finished in four hours, when 200 of the strongest moved it close to the palisade. The shot from it drove the Iroquois into the interior of their strong hold, whence, however, they continued to discharge missiles of various kinds. The fort might now with the greatest ease have been set on fire, but Champlain found to his mortification that he had to deal with men who would make war only as they pleased. Instead of following his directions, they preferred to pour out execrations upon the enemy, and shoot arrows against the strong wooden defences. At length they commenced throwing pieces of

*Champlain, Book IX. chap. 6.

burning timber so carelessly as to produce but little effect, and the voices of their European friends, instructing them how to proceed, were lost amid the tumult. The Iroquois, meanwhile, drew water from their reservoir so copiously that streams flowed through every part of the fortress, and the fires were speedily quenched, when taking advantage of the disorder in the adverse ranks, they killed several of their assailants. Champlain himself was twice wounded in the leg : and his allies finding the reduction of the fort likely to be attended with more loss than they had anticipated, resolved to retire. They justified their conduct by alleging the absence of the 500 auxiliaries, promising on their arrival to renew the assault. For two days a strong wind blew most favorably for another attempt to fire the fort ; still nothing could induce them to advance. Several petty attacks were made, but with such little success, that the French were obliged to come to the rescue. The enemy, in consequence, bitterly taunted the Algonquins as being unable to cope with them in a fair field, and obliged to seek the aid of a strange and odious race.

The reinforcement not appearing, the Canadian Indians determined to abandon the enterprise altogether, and to return home. Their retreat was conducted with a much greater degree of skill than had been displayed in their offensive operations. The wounded were placed in the centre, while armed warriors guarded the front, brought up the rear, and formed flanking parties. The Iroquois followed them a short distance, but unable to make any impression on their ranks abandoned the pursuit. But if the safety of the disabled was well provided for, their comfort seemed to be a matter of trifling consideration. Their bodies were bent into a circular form, bound with cords, and thrown into baskets, where unable to stir hand or foot they appeared like infants. Champlain suffered the greatest agony while being carried twenty five or thirty leagues in this position, and at the termination of the journey, felt as if he had being released from a dungeon.

Arrived in the country of the Hurons, Champlain claimed the fulfilment of their promise to convey him to Quebec after the campaign. But they averred that guides and canoes could not be procured. He soon discovered that these were mere excuses, designed to conceal their desire to retain him and his companions, with a view to a more effectual defence in case of attack, and to aid them in future forays on their foes. He was consequently compelled to pass the winter with his faithless allies, during which he derived his principal amusement from accompanying them on their hunting excursions.

No sooner had the warm sun of April and May, melted the ice on the rivers and lakes, than Champlain, accompanied by some friendly

Hurons, secretly set out on his return to Quebec, where he arrived in the earlier part of July, 1616, and shortly afterwards sailed for France.* On his arrival there, he found that the interest of the colony were threatened with serious danger, owing to the disgrace and imprisonment of his patron, the Prince of Conde, for the part he had taken in the disturbances during the minority of Louis XIII. Some other powerful protector was necessary to enable Champlain to carry out his plans; and he accordingly induced the Marquis de Themines to accept the office until the Prince should be released, by agreeing to give him a share of the emoluments. The influence of the Marquis was not sufficient, however, to prevent his being involved in a serious controversy with several merchants, desirous to participate in the profits of the fur trade: and after a tedious negotiation of two years and a half, matters still remained in a most unsatisfactory condition for the colony. In this dilemma he sought the protection of the Duke de Montmorency, high admiral of France, who purchased his viceroyalty from Conde for 11,000 crowns. The merchants, however, still continued to make every effort to degrade Champlain from the governorship of Canada; but the protection of the new viceroy enabled him to overcome all opposition. A hot dispute was also waged between the different commercial cities, as to the respective shares they ought to have in the new expedition; which was still further delayed by the disputes between the Protestants and Roman Catholics.

After a tedious voyage, Champlain arrived at Quebec in the month of July, 1620; and found that his long absence had been of the greatest injury to the colony; which after all he had done for it, numbered on the approach of winter only sixty souls, ten of whom were engaged in establishing a seminary. In the following year the Iroquois* made a descent upon the colony, and caused considerable alarm, although they were easily repulsed. Owing to the representations of Champlain that they had neglected to furnish supplies, the associated merchants, who had fitted out the last expedition, were deprived of all their privileges by the Duke, who gave the superintendence of the colony to William and Emeric de Caen, uncle and nephew, both Huguenots. William proceeded to Canada during the summer, and had an interview with Champlain. He was disposed to act in a very arbitrary manner; and claimed the right of seizing the vessels of the associated merchants, then in the river. This conduct had the effect of further weakening the colony. Several quitted it in disgust: and towards the close of the summer of 1621, the

* Heriot's *His. Can.* p. 29. Champlain's *Voyages*.

European population of Canada only numbered forty eight souls.*

The high-handed course pursued by de Caen, and the numerous difficulties which otherwise beset the infant colony, must have quickly disheartened an ordinary man. But Champlain was not an ordinary man. Patient, self-denying, hopeful, and courageous : desirous to found a colony, and conscious that he possessed the qualities necessary to accomplish the arduous task, he did not permit himself to be turned aside from his object for a moment. No sooner had the difficulties produced by de Caen been partially arranged than he gave his attention to settlement and discovery in the interior ; and was so fortunate as to aid in the establishment of peace between his allies, the Algonquins and Hurons, and the Iroquoist ; but which as usual was only of very brief duration.

Champlain's judicious policy soon led to the arrival of additional settlers, and in 1623 the settlement at Quebec alone had fifty inhabitants. To afford these more effectual protection in case of danger, he now commenced the construction of a stone fort. The distressed state of the colony, however, compelled him to depart for France before its completion to procure supplies. On his arrival there he found that de Montmorency, disgusted with the trouble his viceroyalty had given him, had transferred it to his nephew, the Duke de Ventadour, for a very moderate consideration. The new viceroy was a member of a religious order, and had long retired from the noise and bustle of Parisian life. A zealous promoter of the interests of his religion, he at once avowed, that his object in becoming connected with Canada, was not so much to advance its temporal as its spiritual interests. This announcement was received with the utmost distaste by the French

* The first child of European parents was born in Canada this year. He was the son of Abraham and Margaret Martin, and was named Eustache. Parish Register of Quebec.

† The Iroquois, or Five Nations, destined to act the most conspicuous part among all the native tribes of North America, occupied a long range of territory, extending from Lake Champlain and the Mohawk River, to the western extremity of Lake Erie. This Confederacy embraced the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas. They were the most powerful of all the tribes east of the Mississippi. They uniformly adhered to the British during the contests that took place subsequently with the French. In 1714 they were joined by the Tuscaroras, since which time the confederacy has been called the Six Nations. Remnants of the once powerful Iroquois, are still found in Canada East at Sault St. Louis, or Caughnawaga, the usual rendezvous of Champlain at St. Regis, and at the Lake of the Two Mountains ; whilst a considerable body of the same people, under the title of The Six Nation Indians, are settled on the Grand River in Canada West.

Protestants, many of whom already looked forward to a secure refuge in the colony from persecution.

The Duke promptly applied himself to carry out his views, but soon found that his course was beset with numerous difficulties, and was likely to cause him much more trouble than he at first imagined. Apart from the opposition he received from influential Huguenots, and the de Caens, who secretly traversed his plans, among the rest, he soon ascertained that the most skilful and adventurous of the French mariners chiefly belong to the reformed faith, and that few Roman Catholics were willing to proceed to Canada either as settlers or as sailors. After much searching he found captains of his own faith to command his vessels; but he could not prevent the major part of the crews being Protestants. To satisfy his religious scruples, he directed that the means of exercising their religion should be restricted as much as possible; and, in particular, that they should not sing psalms on the St. Lawrence. The mariners, who had freely been permitted to perform this act of worship on the open sea, remonstrated in the strongest terms against the illiberal restriction; but the Duke's orders had to be obeyed, and the captains, by way of compromise, allowed them greater latitude in other parts of their ritual.*

The conversion of the Indians, as well as the establishment of his own faith in Canada on a secure and dominant basis, was a favorite project with the viceroy. It had already engaged his attention for years, and armed as he was now with the most ample powers, and possessed of the greatest possible facilities, he resolved to make every exertion for its accomplishment. Like many others of the French nobility at this period, the Jesuits had acquired a complete control over him. The order supplied him with a confessor, and were well acquainted with his views, which they readily entered into. Three Jesuits and two lay brothers, charged with the conversion of the Indians, accordingly embarked for Canada in 1635; and where, on their arrival, they were comfortably lodged by the Recollets, now ten years in the country, despite an attempt by the Protestant settlers to create a prejudice against the order.

Considering Champlain sufficiently orthodox to carry out his views as to religious matters; and satisfied, also, that no person could better direct the temporal affairs of the colony, the Duke continued him in

* Champlain who was also a strict Roman Catholic, constantly expressed a pious horror of the Huguenots, and granted them as few privileges as possible. He states in his memoirs that two thirds of the ships' crews were usually Protestants.

all his powers as Governor of New France. From one cause or another, however, over two years elapsed before Champlain returned to Canada, where he found matters in the same unsatisfactory condition as after his former absence. The fort was in the same unfinished state as he had left it, and the population of Quebec numbered only fifty-five persons, of whom but twenty-four were fit for labor. Shortly after his return, he found that a hostile spirit was brewing among the Indians ; and that a fresh war might soon be looked for between the Iroquois, on one hand, and the Algonquins and Hurons on the other. Champlain made the most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and strongly advised that several captive Iroquois, about to be tortured, should be restored to their nation, with presents to compensate them for the injuries they had already sustained. This salutary council was so far adopted, that one individual was sent back accompanied by a chief and Magnan, a Frenchman. Unfortunately for the colony this pacific course had a most tragical termination. An Algonquin who sought to produce a war, in which he expected that his nation aided by the French would be completely victorious, persuaded the Iroquois that this mission, though professedly friendly, was devised with the most treacherous intent. Regarding the strangers accordingly as spies, the latter prepared to take the most horrible revenge. The unfortunate men found a cauldron boiling, as if to prepare a repast for them, and were courteously invited to seat themselves. The chief was asked, if after so long a journey he did not feel hungry ? He replied in the affirmative, when his assassins rushed on him, and cut slices from his limbs, which they flung into the pot and soon after presented to him half cooked. They afterwards cut pieces from other parts of his body, and continued their torture until he expired in the greatest agony. The Frenchman was also tortured to death in the usual manner. Another Indian, more fortunate, while attempting to escape was shot dead on the spot : a third was made prisoner.

When news reached the allies of this dreadful tragedy, the war cry was immediately sounded, and the remaining captives were put to death with every refinement of cruelty. Champlain, himself deeply afflicted by the intelligence, saw no longer any possibility of averting hostilities ; and felt that as a countryman had been deprived of life, the power of his nation would be held in contempt if his death was not avenged.

* Nevertheless, he could effect but little in the way of punishing the Iroquois, owing to the impoverished state of the colony, which still continued to be known by the pompous title of New France. A few small houses lodged the inhabitants of Quebec, not yet increased to

sixty souls ; while at Montreal, Tadoussac, Three Rivers, and two or three other points along the St. Lawrence, the settlements were in a wretched condition.* To make matters still worse, religious dissensions agitated the colony. Champlain, a sincere Romanist himself, endeavored to carry out the views of the viceroy, while the de Caens on the other hand, being equally sincere Huguenots, sought to obtain liberty of conscience for those of their own faith, and an equal participation in every civil privilege.

Cardinal Richelieu having by this time firmly established his influence with his sovereign, Louis XIII., found leisure to turn his attention to New France, and to listen to the representations of its viceroy, whom Champlain had already acquainted with the condition of affairs. Apart from the suggestions of the Duke, the Cardinal had the desire of crushing the Huguenots too closely at heart, to miss any opportunity of doing them an injury. In 1627 he revoked the exclusive privileges which had been granted to the de Caens ; and at the same time, with the view of placing the colony in a more prosperous condition ; encouraged the formation of a new company composed of men of influence and wealth ; and to which a charter was granted under the title of "The Company of One Hundred Associates." To this company Louis made over the fort and settlement at Quebec ; and all the territory of New France, including Florida ; with power to appoint judges, build fortresses, cast cannon, confer titles, and take what steps they might think proper for the protection of the colony and the fostering of commerce. He granted them at the same time a complete monopoly of the fur trade, and only reserved to himself and heirs supremacy in matters of faith, fealty, and homage, as sovereign of New France, and the presentation of a crown of gold at every new accession to the throne. He also reserved for the benefit of his subjects, the cod and whale fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The company were also permitted to import and export all goods to and from New France free of all restrictions.

In return for these privileges this company engaged, firstly, to supply all their settlers with lodging, food, clothing, and implements for three years ; after which they would allow them sufficient land to support themselves, cleared to a certain extent, with the grain necessary for sowing it : secondly, that the emigrants should be native Frenchmen and Roman Catholics, and that no stranger or heretic should be introduced into the country ; and, thirdly, they agreed to settle three priests in each settlement, whom they were bound to pro-

* Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 49. See also Charlevoix,

vide with every article necessary for their personal comfort, and to defray the expenses of their ministerial labors for fifteen years. After which cleared lands were to be granted by the company to the clergy, "for maintaining the Roman Catholic Church in New France."

This scheme of Richelieu, if we except its religious illiberality, was equally able and adapted to the necessities of New France : and had it been carried out as he proposed would, no doubt, have placed that country at the head of the North American colonies. But a storm was now brewing in Europe which threatened serious interruption, if not total destruction, to his plans. The imprudent zeal of the Catholic attendants of the Queen of Charles I. in connection with Richelieu's persecution of the Huguenots, had aroused the hostility of the English people : and the Duke of Buckingham, to gratify a private pique against the Cardinal, involved them in a war with France. The conquest of Canada was at once resolved upon at the English Court ; and Charles granted a commission for that purpose to Sir David Kirk, or Kirk, one of the numerous Huguenot refugees then in England. Aided by his two brothers, Lewis and Thomas, and the younger de Caen, who vowed vengeance against his native country for the loss of his exclusive privilege, he speedily equipped a squadron, and sailed for the St. Lawrence. On arrival at Tadoussac he sent a formal summons to Quebec, demanding its surrender. Champlain immediately called a meeting of the inhabitants to consult what was best to be done. On learning their determination to support him, he returned so spirited an answer, that Kirk, ignorant of the weak state of the defences, gave up his intention of capturing the town, and contented himself with seizing a convoy on its way thither with settlers and stores of all kinds.

But Champlain and his companions gained only a brief respite of a few months by their courage. The following summer, (1629) in the month of July, the English fleet again ascended the St. Lawrence. A portion of it under the Admiral remained at Tadoussac, while the vessels commanded by his brothers sailed up to Quebec to demand its surrender. Champlain distressed by famine, owing to the capture of his supplies ; and the settlement being severely harrassed by the hostile incursions of the Iroquois, at once resolved to comply with the summons of the Kirks, and accordingly surrendered the town and fort on the next day. The terms granted him were of the most honorable character. The inhabitants were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and were to be conveyed to France if they desired it ; but, owing to the kind treatment they experienced from the English, very few of them left the country. Leaving his brother Lewis

in command of Quebec, Sir David Kirk accompanied by Champlain, sailed for England in September ; and arrived safely at Plymouth on the 20th of October.

Shortly after his arrival Champlain proceeded to London, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the French ambassador, who was now endeavoring to adjust the differences between the two nations. The ambassador, like a numerous party in France, had no very exalted opinion of Canada ; and seemed to regard its restoration, as one of the conditions of the proposed peace, as a very unimportant matter. Champlain's representations, however, prevailed at the French Court. He clearly proved the vast national importance of the fur trade and the fisheries ; and that the latter formed an admirable nursery for seamen. These facts, backed by his strong solicitations, induced Richelieu to negotiate for the restoration of Canada, Acadia, and Cape Breton, which by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye again became appendages of the French crown. The establishment of peace, placed the company of One Hundred Associates in possession of all their former privileges. They promptly reinstated Champlain as Governor of Canada, and commenced extensive preparations for a fresh expedition, which several Protestants offered to join. This the company would not permit, and stringent measures were resolved on to prevent the spread of "*Heresy*" in their transatlantic possessions.

From various causes Champlain was detained in France until the Spring of 1633, when he arrived once more at Quebec with considerable supplies, and several new settlers. He found the colony in nearly the same state as he had left it, both as regarded numbers and poverty. His first care was to place its affairs in a more prosperous condition, and establish a better understanding with the Indians, and was tolerably successful in both respects. He next directed his attention to the establishment of a college, or seminary, for the education of the youths of the colony, agreeable to a scheme proposed by the Jesuits, one of whom (a noble who had lately entered the order) gave six thousand crowns in gold to aid in carrying it out. The foundation of the seminary was laid in the fall of 1635, to the great gratification of the inhabitants. Champlain, however, was not destined to see its completion. He died in the following December, deeply regretted by the colonists, and by his numerous friends in France. At once possessed of great experience of human nature ; of energy, perseverance, enterprise, and courage, he was eminently fitted to be the founder of a prosperous colony. The tenacity with which he clung to his projects, and the earnestness, with which he sought to carry them out, prove that he foresaw clearly the future greatness of Can-

ada, and that he was creating for himself an imperishable niche in her history. His memoirs afford the most ample testimony of his extensive professional knowledge, and prove him to have been a faithful historian, a most intelligent traveller, an acute geometrician, and a skilful navigator. They also prove, that the errors of his early colonial policy were principally owing to the novelty of his position, and his want of experience in Indian affairs. While the pen can record his chequered fortunes, and printing presses multiply copies to infinity, he will never be forgotten. The flourishing cities and towns of these noble provinces are perpetual monuments of his foresight, and the waters of the beautiful lake that bears his name, chaunt a grateful requiem to his memory, as they break in perpetual murmurings on their shores.

CHAPTER II.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE MONTMAGNY.

M. de Montmagny, the successor of Champlain, and a Knight of Malta, arrived in Canada in 1637. He was accompanied out by M. de Lisle, who had been appointed to the command of Three Rivers, then next in importance to Quebec, and who was also a Knight of Malta. The new Governor found the affairs of the colony in a very unsatisfactory condition. The "Company of One Hundred," after their first great effort, speedily relaxed in their exertions, and neglected to supply the necessary troops and stores. In other respects, also, the colony was in a very critical condition. The Algonquins and Hurons, unaided by the French, were utterly unable to resist the assaults of the Iroquois, who, from their intercourse with the Dutch and English traders, were just becoming acquainted with the use of fire-arms, and had rapidly ascended to supremacy of power among the northern tribes. They had already completely humbled the pride of the Algonquins, and now closely pressed the Hurons; scarcely allowing them to pass up or down the St. Lawrence, and capturing their canoes laden with furs as they descended to Quebec. They also threatened the settlement at Three Rivers, and their scouting parties occasionally appeared almost under the very guns of that fort. While matters remained in this condition, de Montmagny very readily entered into a plan for the settlement of the Island of Montreal by the Sulpicians, and which promised to check the future encroachments of the Iroquois from that direction. Accordingly, in 1638, M. Maisonneuve was formally invested with the government of the island on behalf of the order: and on the 17th of May, in the following year, the site of the town and fort was solemnly consecrated by the Jesuit fathers. Apart from this event the zeal and enterprise of the religious orders made up, to a very great extent, for the supineness of the company. In 1639 they organised a mission at Sillery for the conversion of the Indians. They founded, shortly afterwards, the Hotel Dieu at Quebec as an

hospital for the sick, and also an Ursuline Convent, with a view to the education of female children.

The audacity which the Iroquois had shown, in appearing in arms before Three Rivers, and the insolence of their conduct generally, rendered it necessary for Montmagny to guard against a surprise. However desirous he might be to punish them for the injuries done to the French and their allies, and to compel them to abate the arrogance of their pretensions, (their aim now being evidently to give law, either by policy or force, to the whole country,) the want of resources compelled him to act on the defensive. In pursuance of this policy, he determined to erect a fort at the entrance of the River Richelieu, by which the Iroquois usually made their descents, having first mustered their forces on Lake Champlain. The latter quickly perceived the important advantages this fort would give the French, and detached a body of seven hundred warriors, rapidly drawn together, to prevent its erection. They made repeated assaults to effect their object, but were always gallantly repulsed; and the Richelieu Fort was soon completed, and supplied with as strong a garrison as the means of the colony would permit.

The courage and address displayed by the Governor on this occasion, made a salutary impression on the Iroquois, who felt that they were not yet sufficiently strong to cope effectually with the French. Although apparently disposed to carry on the war with vigor, they indicated at the same time an inclination for peace, a consummation earnestly desired by the colonists, who were in a poor condition to continue hostilities, and from which they could not hope for any solid advantages. The native allies of the French being equally solicitous for peace, it was finally arranged that the deputies to settle its conditions, should meet at Three Rivers; and whither de Montmagny also went to be present at their interview.

The Iroquois had provided themselves with seventeen belts of wampum, (one for each proposition they proposed to discuss,) which they arranged along a cord fastened between two stakes. On their orator coming forward he addressed the Governor by the title of Ononchio, (great mountain,) a name which they continued ever after to apply to him and his successors. He declared the sincerity of the peaceable professions of the confederated tribes, "their wish to forget the war song, and to resume the voice of cheerfulness." The wampum belts were to mark the calming of the spirit of war, the opening of the paths of peace, the mutual visits to be paid, the feasts to be given, the restitution of the captives, and other friendly proceedings. In conformity with Indian etiquette, de Montmagny delayed his answer

for two days, when, at another general meeting, he gave as many presents as he had received belts, and expressed, through an interpreter, the most pacific sentiments. Piskaret, one of the principal Algonquin chiefs, then said, "Behold a stone which I place on the sepulchre of those of my people who were killed in the war, that no one may attempt to remove their bones, and that every desire of avenging their deaths may be laid aside." The treaty was still further ratified, in the opinion of the natives, by three discharges of cannon. It was for some time faithfully observed; and unwonted tranquillity for ten years reigned along the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois, the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the few smaller Canadian tribes who were parties to the treaty, forgot their deadly feuds for a time, and mingled in the chase as though they were one nation.

While thus providing for the safety of the colony, de Montmagny was not insensible to its other necessities, and caused an accurate account of its condition to be drawn up and forwarded to France. But, the connection of the "Company of One Hundred" with Canada had not, by any means, produced the golden returns they had anticipated. The powerful incentive of individual profit was wanting; a deaf ear was accordingly turned to the Governor's applications for assistance, and the company appeared desirous to give themselves as little trouble in the premises as possible.

Like his predecessor, in whose steps he was desirous to follow as closely as possible, and whose views as expressed in his memoirs he labored to carry out, de Montmagny administered the affairs of the colony with singular ability, and won alike the respect of the Indians and of his own people, as well as of the French Court, by which he was long held up as a model for governors of new colonies.* Unfortunately however for Canada, the conduct of M. de Poinci, Governor General of the French West India Islands, who attempted to retain his situation in opposition to the orders of his sovereign, induced the latter to determine that in future three years should limit the powers of his principal colonial servants. In pursuance of this unwise policy, de Montmagny was recalled in 1647, and his successor appointed.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE AILLEBOUST.

M. de Ailleboust was the next governor of Canada. He was a man of probity and worth; was well acquainted with the wants of the colony,

* Charlevoix in Heriot, vol. 1, p. 56.

having already been commandant at Three Rivers; and although said to have been deficient in energy and ability to his predecessors, was perhaps the best choice the company could have made. He found matters in a tolerably prosperous condition, notwithstanding the neglect of the authorities in the mother country. Society was fast assuming an ordinary commercial appearance. From the Jesuits' Journal we learn, that wood for fuel was this year publicly sold at Quebec for one and three pence currency per cord, and the price of bread fixed at seven pence half-penny for the six pound loaf. Laborers received one shilling and three-pence (equal to two and sixpence at present,) per day and their board: servants' wages by the year averaged four pounds. Eels, continued this journal, were sold in the market for one shilling per hundred, forty thousand having been taken at Sillery from August to November.

The peace, now of nearly nine years' duration, had enabled the missionaries to make considerable progress in the conversion of the Indians. Among these they found the Hurons the most tractable and docile. Previous habits had partially trained them to agricultural pursuits; and at the suggestion of the missionaries they readily formed themselves into villages. At Sillery four hundred families, embracing in all nearly two thousand souls, were congregated together, and several of their other settlements were likewise very populous. Of this people alone, it was estimated that fully ten thousand had placed themselves under the guidance of the missionaries, who baptized over two thousand of their number on one occasion.* The Algonquins were found much less tractable, and less willing to receive religious instruction. Yet even among these fierce hunters the missionaries made considerable progress. Nor were they wholly unsuccessful among the Iroquois, over many of whom they exercised so great an influence, as to induce them to settle within the limits of Canada; and even, at a subsequent period, to turn their arms against their own relations.

De Ailleboust well aware, from personal experience, of the miseries attendant on Indian warfare; and desirous to preserve this comparatively happy state of things, sought in 1648 to strengthen the po-

* Charlevoix and the Jesuit records say three thousand: but probably two thousand are nearer the mark. The French missionaries usually required only a simple assent to the truths of Christianity to qualify for baptism. The same system was pursued by Xavier in Hindostan. Hence the great number of converts baptised in both cases. Protestantism requires that converts be more fully instructed before baptism.

sition of himself and his Indian allies, by forming a perpetual alliance with the New England colonies. To effect this object he despatched an agent to Boston ; but the English authorities refused to form an offensive alliance with the French against the Five Nations, which was one of the principal conditions of the proposed treaty, and the negotiation was in consequence broken off. Thoroughly incensed at this attempt to crush them, looking upon it as an instance of bad faith and tantamount to a breach of existing treaties, and desirous likewise of avenging some minor injuries, the Iroquois determined if possible to extirpate the French and their principal native allies, the Hurons and Algonquins. They commenced hostilities by a rapid movement on Sillery, where they arrived on Sunday while the inhabitants were engaged in the usual religious exercises. The cry was suddenly raised "we are murdered." An indiscriminate massacre of the unfortunate Hurons had already commenced. Old and young, male and female, alike fell victims to the Iroquois' thirst for blood. The village was soon enveloped in a general conflagration. Last of all the priest was murdered and flung into the flames ; and soon a smoking pile of ruins was all that remained of what had been a populous village a few hours before, and whose inhabitants fancied themselves in perfect security.

Notwithstanding this dreadful massacre, the Iroquois having disappeared for six months, the villages relapsed into their former security. The tranquillity, however, was disturbed in 1649 by a party of the enemy, a thousand strong, who made an attack on the mission of St. Ignace. Some resistance was offered and ten assailants fell ; but ultimately all the inhabitants were killed or carried off. St. Louis was next attacked, and made a brave defence, which, though it was finally stormed, enabled many of the women and children to escape. The missionaries could have saved themselves, but attaching a high importance to the administration of the sacrament to the dying, they sacrificed their lives to the performance of this sacred rite. They were not killed on the spot, but reserved for a dreadful series of torture and mutilation.

Deep and universal dismay now seized upon the Huron race. Their country lately so peaceable and flourishing was become a land of horror and of blood ; a vast sepulchre of the dead. Utterly bereft of hope, the nation broke up and fled for refuge in every direction, A few reluctantly offered to unite with their conquerors, who according to their usual policy readily accepted them. The greater number sought an asylum among the Cat, Ottawa, and other nations still more remote. The missionaries were at a loss how to deal with the rem-

nant of their converts, now nearly reduced to the single village of St. Mary. The Island of Manitoulin, in Lake Huron, was proposed as a safe asylum from danger; but although they wanted the means or courage to defend their country, the Hurons felt a deep reluctance to remove to such a distance from it. They preferred the insular situation of an island in Lake Ontario, which it was hoped would secure them against their dreaded foe. They enjoyed repose for some time, but were obliged by the difficulty of obtaining subsistence, a terrible famine having appeared among them, to form stations on the opposite coast at different localities. It was hoped that on any alarm the inhabitants might flee to the island for safety; but the Iroquois on learning the existence of these posts, came upon them successively with such suddenness and fatal precision, that it seemed as if a destroying angel had guided their steps. One after another was surprised and destroyed, till of many hundreds only a single individual escaped to tell the story of their massacre.

The unhappy remnant of the Huron nation, now reduced to three hundred, renounced all hope of remaining in their native country. One of their chiefs addressed the missionary, representing the extremity to which they were reduced, being ghosts rather than men, and hoping to preserve their wretched existence only by a speedy flight. "If he chose to remain where he was," continued the chief, "he could only have trees and rocks to instruct, as the deplorable remnant of his flock must soon be scattered in every direction by famine and the foe." He concluded by requesting the missionary to conduct them to Quebec, and place them under the immediate protection of its inhabitants. After mature consideration this course was considered the most advisable, and every necessary preparation for departure was speedily made.

Fugitives in the land where they had so long been sovereigns, the Hurons pursued their way in silence, fearful of being intercepted by some scouting party of Iroquois. Their path lay through scene after scene of desolation, terrible even to the savage, although so familiarised with rapine and ruin. As this famine stricken band occasionally emerged from the gloom of the forest into the clearings where populous villages had been so recently situated, the charred ruins and traces of havoc and slaughter mutely, yet forcibly, proclaimed the almost general destruction of the Huron name.

And thus Providence in its wisdom swept the aboriginal races from Canada, and left the unoccupied soil to be inherited by another and a more fortunate people, who, therefore, have not the crime of injustice to the Red Man to atone for.

Worn out with fatigue the fugitives finally arrived at Quebec, where their reception presented a mortifying contrast to that which they would have met with among the friendly tribes of their own race. The latter would have welcomed them as countrymen and equals, and supplied their wants to the best of their abilities; but now they were merely regarded as objects of charity. One hundred of the most destitute found refuge among the different religious houses. The remainder were thrown upon the compassion of the community at large; and although considerable exertions were made to sustain them, they had well nigh perished from cold and hunger, in the interval of a station being formed for them, which was named Sillery after their former chief settlement.*

But a more deadly foe than even the Iroquois began at this period to decimate the unfortunate Indians of Canada. The French traders had already discovered the fondness of the Red Man for fermented liquors, and now introduced it as an article of commerce among the Montagnez, a small tribe occupying the neighbourhood of Tadoussac, and the other Indians who frequented that post.† Drunkenness, and the malignant passions in its train, apart from the diseases it originated, soon produced the greatest disorders among the impulsive natives. The chase was forgotten for the time: they had other excitement. The lodge of the Indian drunkard was soon visited by poverty and want, as well as the house of the white inebriate. Society was disquieted, rude as were the restraints it imposed among the aboriginals of the St. Lawrence, and the Montagnez Chiefs solicited the Governor to erect a prison to restrain the disorderly and criminal. Much to their credit, the clerical order steadily set their faces against the introduction of liquor among the Indians; but the traffic soon became too lucrative to be seriously interrupted by their endeavors. For the present, however, they saved Three Rivers from the evil, and the converts there for a brief space longer were spared the blighting influence of intoxicating drinks.

The closing event of this year, so fruitful of disaster to Canada, was the accession of a new Governor. M. de Lauson, one of the 1650. principal members of the "Company of one Hundred," was appointed to succeed de Ailleboust, whose three years had expired. The latter retired without regret from an office, which the want of the necessary means prevented him from filling with dignity to himself, and benefit to the colony.‡

* Murray's Bri. Amer. vol. 1. p. 167, 170, 171.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 71-

‡ Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 72.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE LAUSON.

The new Governor, who arrived in Canada in 1651, must have been previously well acquainted with the wants of the colony. He had hitherto had the greatest share in the management of the company's affairs in France, and negotiated in England for the restitution of Quebec, while in the possession of the Kirks. He was a man of integrity, had always taken a great interest in the welfare of "New France," departed thither with the best intentions, and was expected to retrieve its affairs. But he found its situation much worse than he had expected. Disorder and distress everywhere prevailed, and the several settlements were rapidly on the decline. Elated by their recent victories, and the possession of fire-arms, of which they had procured several from the Dutch at Albany, the Iroquois no longer feared the French, and spread themselves over the colony in every direction, plundering and murdering the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. The remnant of the Huron and Algonquin nations had already fled to the north and west, whither also most of the smaller Canadian tribes retreated, leaving the Iroquois in full possession of their ancient hunting grounds. Even the French had to withdraw from all their smaller settlements, and were virtually blockaded in Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, from under the very cannon of which they and their allies were sometimes carried off by bands of the enemy, who also frequently set fire to the crops in these neighborhoods. At Three Rivers they routed a party of French who went out to attack them, and killed their officer; and so severely did they harrass the settlement at Montreal, that M. Maisonneuve, its Governor, was compelled to make a voyage to France, to solicit in person the succors which his letters had been insufficient to procure. He returned in the spring of 1653 with a reinforcement of one hundred men, and supplies of the more necessary descriptions.*

Finding themselves unable to make any impression on the fortified places of the French, and having inflicted upon them and their allies all the injury possible, the Iroquois now turned their arms against the Eriez or Cat Tribe, whose hunting grounds embraced the principal part of the Canadian peninsula extending from Lake Ontario westward. The Governor, with the view of making the most of this circumstance, resolved to send an agent to the Onondago Iroquois, who

* Smith's Hist. of Can. vol. 1. p. 29. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 78.

had always been more favourably disposed towards the French than the other confederated tribes, to ascertain whether it was possible to effect a peace. He chose for this purpose the Jesuit Father, Simon le Moyne, who departed on his hazardous mission the 2nd July.*

1654. In his progress upwards to the Onondago country, the Father was kindly entertained by the Christian Iroquois, whom he states in his Journal "to have enriched him from their poverty," and likewise met many of the Huron captives "who received him with joy." On the 10th of August he met the deputies of the Cayugas, the Senecas, the Oneidas, and the Onondagoes in council, whom he astonished by the knowledge he had of their language and of the principal men of their nation.

The council terminated satisfactorily, the various deputies expressing themselves disposed to form a lasting peace with the French, and treating the Father with the greatest consideration. The Mohawks, the most hostile of the confederates, and whose country lay nearest to Lower Canada, had no representative at this council, and consequently did not endorse the peaceable professions it originated. Subsequent events proved that in making these professions, the Onondagoes alone were sincere, and that the object of the other tribes was to amuse de Lauson, and to prevent him from assisting the Cats, who were a brave people, and had prepared for a most vigorous defence of their country. The Mohawks especially, never for a moment abated their hostility to the French, and irritated by this attempt to separate the confederates, and divert the trade of the western tribes from passing through their country to Albany and New York, they resolved upon wreaking their vengeance upon Canada, the moment the destruction of the Cats enabled them to turn their arms in that direction.

Father le Moyne arrived safely at Quebec in the month of September, and influenced by the gratifying report he made of his success, and the favourable report of the other missionaries, the Governor determined to comply with the solicitations of the Onondagoes to establish 1655. a settlement in their country. Fifty men were chosen for this purpose, the command of whom was entrusted to Dupuys, a clever officer of the garrison. Four Jesuit Fathers, one of whom was the Canadian Superior, accompanied the expedition (which their order aided most liberally to equip) to found the first Iroquois church.

On the 7th of May Dupuys put his little band in motion for their

* Vide Relation de la New France 1654, for the Father's own account of this journey.

destination. The Mohawks were fully apprized of the objects of 1656. the expedition, and had already made preparations for its destruction. Four hundred warriors of their tribe proceeded to intercept it, but failing in their object, they avenged themselves by pillaging some canoes, which had dropped behind the main body and were insufficiently guarded.

It was not deemed expedient at this time by de Lauson to make this insult a ground of quarrel, as hopes were entertained that the influence of the western Iroquois would be sufficiently strong to compel the Mohawks to make reparation. But the latter soon showed that no concessions need be looked for at their hands. Presuming on the vacillating conduct of the Governor, and whom no doubt they despised for the impolitic course he had pursued in countenancing their war against the Cats, and then leaving that tribe to their fate without daring to aid them, they made a descent on the Isle of Orleans one morning before sun-rise, fell upon a party of ninety Hurons of both sexes who were in the fields, killed six of these helpless people, and carried off the rest. As they retreated they boldly passed up the the river before Quebec, and compelled their prisoners to sing psalms when opposite the fort, as if to challenge the Governor to attempt their rescue. On arrival in their country the Huron chiefs were tortured, and the remainder of the prisoners held in severe captivity.*

The remainder of the Hurons on the Isle of Orleans, very justly considering themselves no longer in security there, took refuge in Quebec. Having found the French unable to protect them, in a moment of despondency they now secretly sent a proposal to the Mohawks, offering to unite with them, and become one people. To this arrangement the latter promptly acceded, and finding that the Hurons after a while regretted their offer, they at once took measures to compel them to fulfil it. Scouting parties were spread around Quebec in every direction, which massacred or carried into captivity every Huron whom they encountered; and when they had, as they supposed, sufficiently humbled this unfortunate people, they sent thirty deputies to M. de Lauson, to demand the surrender of such as still remained under his protection.

Nothing could equal the haughtiness with which these deputies acquitted themselves. They demanded to be heard in an assembly of the French and Hurons, to which the Governor pusillanimously acceded, and was most deservedly punished by the insolence of their language. "Lift up thy arm Ononchio," said their spokesman, "and allow thy

* Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 75. Murray's Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 174.

children whom thou holdest prest to thy bosom to depart; for, if they are guilty of any imprudence, have reason to dread, lest in coming to chastise them my blows may fall on thy head. I know," continued he, after presenting a belt of wampum, "that the Huron is fond of prayers: that he confesses and adores the Author of all things, to whom in his distress he has recourse for succour. It is my desire to do the same. Permit the missionary, therefore, who quitted me to return with the Hurons; and as I have not a sufficient number of canoes, to carry so large a number of people, do me the favour to lend me thine."

The Council broke up, without the Hurons having come to any definite conclusion as to their future course. One clan alone finally determined to keep their promise to the Mohawks, and departed with them to their country accompanied by Father le Moyne. The Governor was severely censured by the public, for the want of courage he had displayed throughout the entire transaction, and it was generally supposed that had he pursued a contrary course the Mohawks would not have dared, engaged as the confederacy were in a war, with the Cats, to press their demands in the insolent manner they had done. De Lauson finding that his pacific policy was disliked by the colonists, and tired of a government which he now felt sensible required the energy of a military man to control with effect, quitted his post without waiting to be recalled, and returned to France in disgust, leaving M. de Aillebourt in temporary charge of the Province.*

Meanwhile the Iroquois had pursued the war against the Cats with the utmost vigor, the possession of fire arms giving them a great superiority in the contest. Out-post after out-post was captured and broken up, and seven hundred warriors of the confederates finally stormed the principal stronghold of the enemy, although defended by 1500 fighting men. This success completely annihilated the Eriez, or Cats, as a distinct tribe. Those who were not killed or adopted by the victors fled westward and northward; and were it not that the great lake which washed the southern borders of their country still retains their name, every memorial of their existence would have passed into oblivion.

The Iroquois about this period likewise turned their arms against the Outawas or Ottawas, a branch of the great Algonquin race, whose hunting grounds lay along the Ottawa from Ottawa City upwards. This tribe did not make the slightest resistance, and sought shelter amid the marshes along their river, or fled to the islands of Lake Huron, whence a

* Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 38.

portion of them subsequently penetrated to the south-west where they joined the Sioux. A great part of Lower, and all Upper Canada, was now completely in the possession of the Five Nations. They had become the terror of all the Indian tribes of the north, and even on the side of New England, the cry of "a Mohawk," echoed from hill to hill, caused general consternation and flight.*

The Iroquois having attained to this formidable position among the native tribes, and esteeming the neutrality of the French as now no longer of any value, the destruction of the settlement in the Onondago country was resolved upon. The Christian Hurons were first massacred, some of them in the very arms of the Jesuit missionaries, and M. Dupuys, who still continued to command this post, saw at once that unless he and his people made a timely flight, they must shortly expect to share the same fate, an opinion in which he was confirmed by the secret warnings of some native converts. Day after day the position of this little band became more and more critical. Luckily for them, three Frenchmen had been scalped and murdered near Montreal by the Oneidas, which was promptly revenged by de Aillebourt seizing a dozen of Iroquois, and placing them in irons. This proceeding, although it added to the irritation of the confederates, now compelled them to proceed more cautiously, not wishing to endanger the lives of the prisoners.

Dupuys was destitute of canoes and other means of transport, but he remedied this want by having several light batteaux constructed in the garret of the Jesuits' dwelling, which stood apart from the other buildings. A day at length was appointed for departure, and every preparation made so secretly that the Indians knew nothing of what was going forward. To conceal the launching of the batteaux a great feast was given to them. As much noise as possible was made: the boats were speedily launched. Gorged with food and drugged with brandy, the Iroquois sleep, and awake to find the dwellings of the Frenchmen tenantless, and their occupants spirited away in a most mysterious manner.†

After a dangerous journey of fifteen days' duration, M. Dupuys conducted his detachment in safety to Montreal. But his gratification at this fortunate occurrence was diminished by the reflection, that his precipitous flight was highly discreditable to his coun-

* Colden's Hist. Five Nations, vol. 1. p. 3, 4. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 77. Missions to New France in 1759, 1660, p. 84. Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 174.

† Vide Father Paul's Ragueneau's Report to the Jesuit Superior in France, for full details.

try, and that had he been properly supported, he could have maintained his position among a people who only derived their power from the weakness of the French. He found the inhabitants of the Island of Montreal in a state of great alarm, owing to the appearance of parties of Iroquois, who, although they did not openly proclaim themselves enemies, were evidently there for some hostile purpose.

Towards the end of May, the Mohawks having conducted Father le Moyne to Montreal, agreeable to their promise to place him in a place of safety, in case of hostilities, which they thus honorably redeemed, threw off the mask in conjunction with the other confederated tribes, and openly declared their determination to drive the French from the country; a purpose their ignorance of siege operations alone prevented them from accomplishing.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE ARGENSON.

Meanwhile, the Viscount de Argenson had been appointed Governor of Canada, and landed at Quebec on the 11th of July. The morning after his arrival he was startled by the cry "to arms," in consequence of the appearance of the Iroquois under the very cannon of the Fort, where they had massacred some Algonquins. Two hundred French and Indians were promptly detached in pursuit, but the enemy fled without waiting to be attacked.*

Shortly after this occurrence a strong force of the Mohawks approached Three Rivers, designing to surprise that post if possible. Under pretence of holding a conference with the commandant, they sent eight men to ascertain the condition of the garrison; but these, instead of being treated as legitimate deputies, were promptly placed in prison. Disappointed in their object they retreated from the colony, which for a brief space enjoyed repose. Of this the missionaries promptly availed themselves to prosecute their labors among the northern tribes, and now discovered several routes to Hudson's Bay.

The principal events of the following year were the arrival
1659. of the Abbe de Montigny, the first Canadian bishop, on the 27th of June; and the establishment of a regular parish priesthood, entitled to one-thirteenth of all the natural and artificial products of the country as tithes. In the Spring of 1660, the Iroquois made
1660. a fresh irruption into Canada; and seven hundred of their warriors having defeated a strong body of the French and their Indian allies, sent to intercept them, advanced to Quebec, which they

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 29. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 87.

held in a state of blockade for the greater part of the summer. Their scouting parties during this period spread themselves over the country in every direction, and committed all the mischief possible. No succors arriving from France, a feeling of utter despondency now took possession of the colonists, many of whom prepared to return thither.

The first half of the succeeding year proved equally fruitful of disaster to the Colony. The enemy swept like a sirocco over the open country in every direction. Towards mid-summer, however, they retired satisfied for the present with the injuries they had inflicted; and, in the month of July, sent two canoes to Montreal, with a flag of truce to demand an exchange of prisoners, as well as to signify that they were not indisposed to peace. After some consideration the Governor acceded to the proposed exchange, which Father le Moynes was deputed to arrange, as well as to ascertain whether an honorable peace could not be effected. With these objects in view the Father accompanied the deputies, who belonged to the Onondago and Cayuga tribes, on their return home.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE AVAUGOUR.

The ill health of de Argenson, added to the chagrin he had experienced at the supineness of the company, and some private dissatisfactions, had induced him during the past year to desire his recall, when the government was committed to the Baron de Avaugour, who arrived out in the latter part of the summer, and shortly afterwards visited the several settlements throughout the country. The Baron, a military man, who had served in Hungary with distinction, was possessed alike of great integrity and resolution of purpose, and entered upon his government with the intention to administer it to the advantage of the colony. But he was astonished at the deplorable condition of affairs, and despairing of relief from the "Company of One Hundred," now reduced to forty-five members, he promptly complied with the solicitations of many of the inhabitants, to request the King to take Canada under his immediate protection. M. Boucher, commandant of Three Rivers, was sent to France to lay their memorial before Louis XIV., and was graciously received by his sovereign, who was much surprised to learn the deplorable state of matters in a country naturally so fruitful of resources. He promptly ordered M. de Monts to proceed to Canada as his commissioner to enquire into its condition, and whether it would be desirable to annul the Company's charter. He directed at the same time, that four hundred soldiers should hold themselves in readiness

to reinforce the posts most exposed to the assaults of the Iroquois.

The subsequent arrival of these troops at Quebec was productive of the greatest satisfaction to the inhabitants, and begat the hope that the Colony would soon attain to its merited importance and prosperity.*

Although Father le Moyne still remained in the Onondago country, his mission, beyond the exchange of prisoners, had produced no results of importance. The Indians, it is true, were greatly attached to him as an individual, and listened attentively to his religious instructions, but this did not prevent the Onondagoes and Cayugas from making a fresh irruption into Canada. On the Island of Montreal they attacked the inhabitants at work in the fields, and killed the Town-major and a party of twenty-six soldiers sent out to protect them, after a sanguinary conflict which lasted an entire day.

In the meantime the proud and unbending de Avaugour became involved in a serious controversy with the clergy, whom he disliked on account of the great influence they exercised in the affairs of the colony, and which not unfrequently clashed with his own authority. Hitherto he had prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians. A woman disobeyed this ordinance, but was screened from punishment by the interference of one of the Jesuit Fathers. This occurrence, in connexion with the dislike he had already conceived against the Order, so piqued the Governor that he stated, "that since the traffic of spirits was not deemed by ecclesiastics a fault punishable in a woman, no man should in future be punished for a similar offence." This decision, which the resolute old General refused to alter, was productive of the greatest disorders, and operated most unfavorably to the authority of the clergy. The lust of gain proved stronger with the people than the admonitions of their confessors, whom some persons even taunted with the heavy tithes they collected and their own avarice. The Bishop was finally under the necessity of going to France, to put a stop to this state of things, and succeeded in procuring from the King an order prohibiting the sale of liquor to the Indians. The Bishop's success in this respect, and the favor with which he was otherwise regarded at court, so disgusted the Governor, that he requested permission to resign his post. The agitation, however, had one good effect;—it ultimately led to the tithes being reduced from a thirteenth to a twenty-sixth part of the products of the country. But under the new arrangement the farmers

* Her. Hist. Can. p. 97. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1, p. 35. Char. vol. 2, p. 120. Con. of Can. vol. 1. p. 285.

were compelled to pay their tithes in clean grain, instead of in the sheaf as before.*

The earlier part of 1663 was distinguished by a memorable event in the annals of this country. On the 5th of February, about half-past four in the evening, a great noise was heard throughout the whole extent of Canada. It resembled the crackling and rushing sound of a great fire, and the inhabitants imagining their dwellings were in flames ran out of doors to save themselves. But their terror was if possible increased when they saw the buildings tottering backwards and forwards, the walls, in many instances, suddenly parting one moment, and closing again the next. The earthquake caused the bells in the churches to peal, the pickets of fences to bound from their places, great trees to be torn up by the roots, and dashed hither and thither against their fellows of the forest. Dogs howled, terrified cattle ran here and there, dense clouds of dust increased the prevailing darkness, and the cries and lamentations of women and children, who supposed their last hour had come, added to the horrors of the hour. The ice on the different rivers was broken into fragments and frequently thrown into the air, several small rivers and springs were dried up, and the water of others strongly impregnated with sulphur. In some instances hills were torn from their places, their broken fragments damming up the courses of rivers, and inundating the neighboring districts. But, derangements of this kind could only have been of a temporary character, for at the present moment the physical features of this country present the same general aspect as they did to Jaques Cartier.† The St. Lawrence, from Kingston to Quebec, bears no marks of having had its channel changed. The rapids of Lachine, or the Sault St. Louis, remain in the same state as when first seen by Europeans. There appears to be some grounds for the supposition that the St. Lawrence, at one period, diverged into two streams at Cape Rouge, which again united at Quebec. But if this has ever been the case, it must have happened long before the French visited this country. All the old writers on Canada are pretty unanimous upon this point, and there can be no doubt that had any important changes in the physical appearance of the country taken place, they would be easily traced even at the present day, as not belonging to that period which destroyed the coal beds originally lying in the limestone basins of the valley of the St. Lawrence.

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 33. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 160.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 102. Jesuits' Jour, 1663, Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 34. Hist. Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 175.

The first shock continued without intermission for half an hour. Three hours afterwards another violent shock was felt, and during the night no less than thirty shocks took place. Slighter shocks were subsequently experienced at intervals till the month of August. This earthquake extended throughout Canada, Nova Scotia, and New England. There can be no doubt that its effects were much exaggerated, owing to the novelty of the occurrence, and the extreme terror it produced. The Jesuits' Journal, which supplies very full details of the event, does not state that any buildings were destroyed, and it says that no person perished, a proof of itself that the danger was not very imminent. The geological formations in many parts of Canada, and particularly the islands of the St. Lawrence, prove the occurrence of severe earthquakes and volcanic eruptions at some very remote period, but there is no just grounds to suppose that the causes which originated these changes now exist, or that this country will ever again be subjected to severe visitations of this kind.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE MEZY.

The representations of his commissioner, as well as those of the Canadian Bishop, who strongly advocated the measure, determined 1663. Louis XIV. to demand their charter from "The Company of One Hundred Associates," and to place the colony in immediate connection with the crown. The profits of the fur-trade having been much diminished by the hostility of the Iroquois, the company readily surrendered their privileges, an act which inaugurated a new and better condition of things in Canada. As soon as the transfer was fully completed, and the necessary arrangements made for the conduct of the government, a new Governor, M. de Mezy, was appointed for three years, and an edict* published, which defined the powers of the principal officers of the colony.

Hitherto, with the exception of a tribunal for the decision of small causes, no court of law or equity existed in Canada, and the Governors decided according to their pleasure,† but provision was now made for the regular administration of justice, in conformity with the laws of France, and a sovereign council or court of appeal was created. It consisted of the Governor, the Bishop of Quebec, and the Intendant, together with four others to be named by them, one of whom was to act as Attorney General, and another as Clerk.

M. de Mezy, accompanied by the Bishop, to whom he owed his appointment, arrived at Quebec in the latter part of the summer, and at once assumed the government of the colony. He likewise brought with him M. de Gaudais, who came out as the King's Commissioner to take possession of the colony, to report on its condition, and also to investigate the charges against the Baron de Avaugour. The latter willingly

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 104. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1, p. 36.

resigned his authority and returned to France, where he found no difficulty in satisfying his sovereign how little he was to blame. He afterwards entered the service of the Emperor of Austria and was killed in 1664, while gallantly defending the fortress of Serin in Croatia against the Turks. M. de Mezy brought out with him the four hundred troops already alluded to, and one hundred families of emigrants, with cattle, horses, and every description of agricultural implements.

As the Governor was indebted for his post to the Bishop, the Jesuits supposed that he would prove much more tractable and more favorably inclined to them than his predecessor. On this point they soon found that they had made a serious mistake. The Governor, like de Avaugour, and a large party in France, viewed the growing influence of the order with the utmost dislike, and promptly applied himself to thwart its views in the colony.* But he soon discovered that the Jesuits exercised an influence and power superior to his own. Owing to their representations, or those of their creatures, Colbert determined on his recall. On the other hand, the statements of De Mezy in his 1664. own defence, had considerable weight at the French court, and led to suspicions that the Jesuits had attained to greater influence in the colony, than was consistent with the interests of the crown.*

While these events were in progress, Louis appointed the Marquis de Tracy viceroy of all the French possessions in the New World, with instructions to proceed to Canada, after making a tour of inspection through St. Domingo and the Windward Islands, and to provide for its future security by curbing the power of the Iroquois. The Mar- 1665. quis had scarcely departed on his mission, when M. de Courcelles was directed to proceed to Canada to supersede de Mezy. In conjunction with de Tracy, and Talon, the Intendant, he was to form a commission to investigate the complaints against his predecessor, and, if necessary, was instructed to bring him to trial. But de Mezy died before even the intelligence of his recall had arrived, and thus escaped the mortifications which he must have otherwise have been subjected to.†

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE COURCELLES.

The Marquis de Tracy arrived at Quebec in the month of June, bringing with him from the West Indies a portion of the regiment of

* Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 287. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 111.

† De Mezy died 5th May, 1665, before he knew of his recall,—*Jesuits' Jour.* The commission of his successor was dated 23rd March, 1665.

Carignan, and was soon afterwards joined by Governor de Courcelles, and the remaining companies of this corps. In the same fleet with the Governor came out 130 adult male emigrants, and 82 women and children; sheep and horses, and a large supply of stores.

The viceroy promptly applied himself to fulfil his instructions with respect to the Iroquois. The force at his command readily enabled him to repel their usual summer forays, and the harvest was consequently gathered in security. To check their future inroads, as well as to place troops in close proximity to their own country, and afford a secure base for offensive operations, forts were erected on the river Richelieu at Sorel, at Chambly, and at a point above the rapids, which was named St. Theresa. The vigorous manner in which these were constructed, as well as the bolder front now assumed by the French and their allies, discouraged the Iroquois for the time. The Onondagoes, the Cayugas, and the Senecas sent deputies to Quebec, to assure the Governor of their peaceable disposition, and their desire to maintain in future a good understanding with the French. One of the deputies (Garahonthie) pronounced an eloquent eulogium on Father le Moyne, who had died in his country a short time previous, and declared the sorrow of his people for the event.

But the Mohawks and Oneidas still kept haughtily aloof, and as this conduct left no doubt of their hostility, a winter expedition into their country was resolved upon to punish them for the numerous injuries they had inflicted on the colony.* This expedition, composed

1666. of 300 soldiers and 200 militia, left Quebec on the 9th January, under the command of de Courcelles. Each man carried, beside his arms and the necessary warm clothing, twenty-five pounds of biscuit. During the march to the Richelieu the greatest hardships were encountered, owing to the severity of the weather, and some men were lost, who had to be replaced from the garrisons on that river. Still de Courcelles resolutely persevered in the enterprise, and after a long and toilsome journey, the greater part of which his troops performed with snow-shoes, he found himself in the vicinity of Schenectady on the 9th of February. In the evening some Indians making their appearance, he detached sixty of his best marksmen in pursuit. These were led into an ambuscade, and had an officer and ten men slain and seven wounded.

Intelligence of this affair speedily reached Albany, three of whose principal inhabitants were despatched to enquire the cause of the inva-

* For full details of this expedition see *Relation, &c. la Nouvelle France, 1665, 1666.*

sion of English territory. M. de Courcelles stated, that he was not aware of being on ground belonging to England, that he had come solely to seek out and punish the Mohawks for the numerous injuries they had done to the people of Canada, declared himself willing to pay in money for provisions, and requested that his wounded men might be taken to Albany and attended to, which was done. Much to his chagrin, however, he learned that he was still three days' march from the villages of the Mohawks, which were well fortified after the usual Indian manner, and would be resolutely defended. Under these circumstances he resolved upon a retreat, and on the 12th of February put his little army in motion on their return. The Mohawks despatched a body of warriors in pursuit, but so rapidly did the French retire, that these had to rest satisfied with the capture of three stragglers from the main body, and the scalps of five men who had perished from hunger and cold.*

But, although this expedition failed in its object of surprising the Mohawks, and of inflicting a severe chastisement on them while unprepared to defend themselves, the hardihood and courage which it displayed, made a most salutary impression on the confederate tribes. They no longer felt themselves safe from attack; and feared that the evils of invasion and plunder, which they had so often inflicted on the Canadians, would now be retaliated on themselves. The statements of the prisoners captured by the Mohawks strengthened this supposition; and in the following May deputies again arrived from the three western tribes to demand the continuance of peace. The Oneidas speedily resolved to follow their example, and used their influence with the Mohawks to send deputies also to Quebec, to make peace with "Onon-thio." But these haughty warriors refused to become suitors in this way. The Oneidas, they said, might represent them, and they would be bound by their acts, but this was all they would concede. At the same time, they took the most effectual method of preventing the conclusion of peace. One of their scouting parties massacred three officers in the vicinity of Fort Anne, recently erected on an island in Lake Champlain, and captured some prisoners. To punish this outrage, Captain de Sorel promptly collected a force of three hundred men, and led them by forced marches towards the villages of the Mohawks. The latter were speedily acquainted with this movement, and feeling themselves unable singly to oppose the French, now resolved upon submission. Two deputies were despatched to meet de Sorel. These took their prisoners with them, and were instructed to offer reparation

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 71. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 117

for the murder of the three officers. The deputies met the French while still distant sixty miles from their villages, and their protestations so appeased de Sorel, that he returned and had them conducted to Quebec. Here they were treated with no small consideration, and the second day after their arrival were invited to dinner with the viceroy. The conversation chancing to turn on one of the murdered officers, one of the Mohawks boasted that it was he who had killed him. In a transport of rage de Tracy told him he should never kill another, and forgetful of his character as an ambassador, ordered him to be immediately strangled.

There was no course now left open to the viceroy, but that of a prompt and vigorous invasion of the Mohawks in their own country. The death of their chief could only strengthen their enmity towards the French, and his policy now was to extirpate them if possible, or, at all events, to so weaken their power that their hostility in future would not endanger the repose of the colony. Preparations for an expedition into the Mohawk country, on a larger scale than ever, were at once undertaken, and so vigorously were they prosecuted, that by 1666. the end of September a force of 1200 soldiers and militia, and 100 Indians, rendezvoused at Fort Anne in Lake Champlain.

The main body of this force was commanded by de Tracy in person, although he was now seventy years of age: de Courcelles led the vanguard. During the march provisions fell so short that the troops were on the eve of mutiny, but fortunately a chesnut grove enabled them to appease their hunger, and the deserted villages of the enemy, who fled at their approach, soon after supplied them with abundance of food.

Hitherto the Mohawks had waged war for years without having had their homes desecrated by a foe, but they were now subjected to a misfortune they had so often inflicted on others. Overpowered by a superior force, they were compelled to behold their homes, much more comfortably constructed than those of the other native tribes, given one after another to the flames; and the stores of corn, which they had prudently collected, plundered or destroyed by their invaders. One stronghold they resolved to defend. It was protected by a triple line of palisades twenty feet in height, flanked by bastions at the angles, and contained large stores of provisions. But as the French approached with two field-pieces to the assault their courage failed them, and they fled into the recesses of the forest, leaving a few old men and women to the mercy of their foes.*

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 69, 70. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 121. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 53.

Famine was now the fiercest enemy which the Mohawks could have to deal with. They must either await its destructive ravages in their own country, or scatter themselves among the other Iroquois to obtain sustenance during the coming winter. In both cases they would be powerless for offensive operations: so de Tracy satisfied with the success he had achieved, put his troops in motion on their return. After suffering from a storm on Lake Champlain, in which eight men were drowned, they arrived in Canada, where their return was welcomed by the acclamations of a grateful people, and a Te Deum in the Cathedral of Quebec.

The viceroy now strengthened the settlements on the St. Lawrence, as the surest mode to repress the future incursions of the Iroquois. At the same time an attempt was made to carry out a royal edict, directing the inhabitants to collect as much as possible in villages, so as to act in concert in case of attack. This was, however, found to be impracticable, owing to the scattered manner in which the clear-
1667. ings had already been made. One of the last acts of the viceroy, before his departure, was to confirm the "West India Company" in all the privileges previously appertaining to the "Company of One Hundred Associates;" and thus Canada was again subjected to a monopoly, which operated most injuriously to her prosperity.

The departure of de Tracy placed the chief authority of the colony in the hands of de Courcelles under most favorable circum-
1668. stances. The Iroquois earnestly sued for peace, which was now established with better prospects of continuance than ever before. In civil affairs the Governor had an able coadjutor in the Intendant, or chief colonial judge, M. Talon, who lost no opportunity to serve the colony, and develop its resources. This prosperous condition of
1669. matters induced the greater part of the officers and men of the regiment of Carignan to settle in the country. To supply the latter with wives the government sent out several hundred women from France. Many of these were not of the purest reputation, yet so great was the matrimonial demand, that the whole cargo was disposed of in a fortnight after their arrival.

In 1670 the peace which had so happily been established was seriously menaced. The robbery and murder of an Indian chief,
1670. on his way to dispose of his furs, by three French soldiers, and some quarrels between the Senecas and Outawas, threatened again to deluge the colony with all the horrors of warfare. The Governor promptly proceeded to Montreal, had the soldiers tried and executed for the murder in the presence of the assembled Indians, whom he declared he would punish with the same severity if they disturbed

the public peace. By this impartial conduct, and his prudent representations, he induced the Outawas and Senecas to send deputies to Quebec, where their disputes were satisfactorily arranged.

But a more destructive foe than even the Iroquois was now about to afflict the hapless red men of Canada. The small pox made its appearance amongst them this year with the most fatal virulence. Some of the small tribes resident north of Quebec were almost wholly swept away. Tadoussac, where 1200 Indians annually assembled to barter their rich furs, was completely deserted; and Three Rivers, once crowded with the Algonquins, was now never visited by a red man. Time did not abate the ravages of this fatal disease. A few years subsequently it attacked the Indians of Sillery, and out of 1500 not one survived.

The salutary dread with which the French had inspired the Indians, enabled de Courcelles, during the succeeding year, to interpose 1671. effectually between the Senecas and the Pouteouatamis, a western tribe, for the preservation of peace. At the same time, the religious and political zeal of the Jesuit missionaries, was fast building up an influential French party among the Onondago and Cayuga Iroquois. Many of the converts had already come to reside in Canada. These were now separated from the Huron Christians, and established in a distinct settlement of their own at Caughnawaga, near the Lachine Rapids. French influence was also strengthened among the distant tribes of the north-west by the mission of Nicholas Perrot, an experienced traveller, who had embraced the service of the Jesuits from necessity. This bold adventurer penetrated among the tribes dwelling on the borders of the upper lakes, took possession of their country in the name of his sovereign, and speaking their language fluently, he readily persuaded them to consider themselves under the protection of the Governor of Canada, and to send deputies to the Falls of St. Mary. Here they were met by the representative of de Courcelles, acknowledged the sovereignty of his king, and witnessed the erection of a cross bearing the royal arms of France, as an evidence that he had taken possession of their soil.

Although the Iroquois were at peace with the French and their native allies, they were far too restless not to carry their arms in other directions. On their southern borders they terminated a long and fierce struggle with two tribes, by a final defeat, and incorporation with themselves. Of this event de Courcelles was duly made aware, and he at once saw the necessity of imposing new barriers to their future forays into Canada. A fort at Cataraqui, at the foot of Lake Ontario and at the head of the St. Lawrence, would form an excellent base for opera-

tions at any time against the western Iroquois, as well as a valuable trading post. Here he accordingly met the deputies of those nations in person, explained that he wished to establish a trading post in the neighborhood, and obtained their consent thereto. Gratified at the success of his plans thus far, he returned to Quebec to find his successor already arrived in the person of Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac.

His failing health had previously compelled de Courcelles to solicit his recall, and he returned home followed by the regrets of the majority of the inhabitants, to whom his chivalrous courage and prosperous administration had endeared him. With the religious orders, now becoming an important element in Canadian society, he was far from popular; and the Jesuits, whose views he especially thwarted, regarded him with positive dislike. Wisely leaving the chief burden of the civil administration to the Intendant, M. Talon, an able and judicious man, whose greatest fault was that he deferred too much to the clerical orders, the colony flourished greatly under his rule taking the exactions of French monopoly into consideration. The Iroquois feared him for his courage, and respected him for his love of justice and moderation, qualities which also won for him the sincere respect of the Indian allies of the French. He sincerely desired the prosperity of Canada, and prior to his departure other cares did not prevent him from impressing upon his successor, the necessity of a fort at Cataraqui to insure its continuance.*

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

The Count de Frontenac was already a lieutenant general, and had frequently distinguished himself as a soldier. Brave, talented, and possessed of most of the virtues of the old nobility of France, he likewise inherited many of their vices. His noble descent as well his military education, made him haughty and overbearing in his manners. It was his nature to command—he wished to rule alone. This circumstance of itself soon rendered him unpopular with the Jesuit fathers, to whom his great personal influence at the French court and numerous friends made him very formidable. The free and easy manners of a colony, where equality of possessions, however limited in extent when compared with its Anglo-Saxon neighbor, (and burdened already with the "Seigniorial Tenure" system), had planted the incipient seeds of democracy, was little suited to the Count: and those who knew

* Heriot's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 298. Smith's Hist. Can. p. 62, 63

him best augured a new order of things on his arrival. To M. Talon especially, this prospect was most unpleasant. The indolence of de Courcelles in civil affairs, had hitherto given him a principal share in the internal administration of the colony. Unwilling to have his influence diminished he had some time before de Frontenac's arrival applied for his recall, but had been prevailed upon by the King to remain at his post, until its affairs should be placed on a more permanent footing.

Flattered by the compliment his sovereign had paid him, the zeal of M. Talon was stimulated to fresh exertions in his service. In 1673. 1673 he despatched Father Marquette, a Jesuit, and Joliet, a geographer of Quebec, to search for the great river which the Indians had so often described as flowing towards the south: These adventurous men, accompanied by six voyageurs, boldly navigated Lake Michigan in bark canoes, ascended Fox River, and finally struck the Mississippi in 42, 30 north latitude. Descending its stream till they satisfied themselves that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, they

1674. retraced their course towards Canada. Marquette subsequently decided to remain among the Indians of the north-west, while Joliet descended to Quebec to inform Talon of the gratifying results of the expedition. He found that the Intendant had already departed for France, his successor du Chesneau having arrived.

Canada now enjoyed a long repose from Indian warfare. Nevertheless, her prosperity was far less rapid than it might have been. The despotic conduct of the Governor led to continual quarrels between him and the other principal officials. He imprisoned a priest for inveighing against him from the altar, exiled, of his own authority, the Attorney General and all the councillors, came to an open rupture with the Intendant, filled the principal departments with his own creatures, and thus became the sovereign arbiter of the colony, which he ruled with a rod of iron. The surrender of its charter by the West 1685. India Company, rather increased than diminished his power, of the arbitrary exercise of which frequent complaints were made to Louis XIV., which, however, owing to the influence of his friends, received but very little attention.*

The departure of M. Talon and the death of Father Marquette, prevented for some time the prosecution of fresh discovery and 1676. settlement on the Mississippi. In 1676 this project was again resumed by the Sieur de la Salle, a young man of family, who had come to Canada to discover, if possible, some route to Japan and

* Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 149. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 68. Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 80.

China; or, in other words, a north-west passage by land, so long fruitlessly sought after at sea. Thus open to schemes of adventure and profit, the representations of Joliet fired his imagination, and he resolved to descend the Mississippi to its mouth, which he felt confident must be somewhere in the Gulf of Mexico. He speedily won the favor of de

Frontenac, was by him sent to France to lay his plans before 1677. the King, backed with strong recommendations from himself, and met with the greatest success. Louis XIV. granted him the seigniorship of Cataraqui, betowed on him the government of the fort there (Frontenac) on condition that he should cause it to be rebuilt with stone, invested him with the privileges of carrying on a free commerce, and authorized him to resume the discoveries on the Mississippi.

Encouraged by the success of his mission, la Salle returned with thirty workmen and pilots to Quebec, where he arrived on the 15th of 1678. September. After a brief stay there he ascended to Fort Frontenac, which he promptly rebuilt with stone. At the same time he had a barque constructed in which he sailed to Niagara, where he erected a small fort, and whence he vigorously prosecuted the fur-trade with the Senecas, whose country he traversed on foot. Ably aided by de Tonti, his second in command, another barque was constructed on

Lake Erie during the following summer,* in which he embarked 1679. ed with forty men *en route* for Mackinaw.† But a fierce storm by water and hardships on land disheartened his followers, many of whom deserted him. Leaving de Tonti in command of a fort he had built on the Illinois, he returned to Frontenac for assistance and supplies, as he still, with unshaken resolution, determined to persevere.

He retraced his way westward with a reinforcement of twenty 1680. men, traversed the great "Father of Rivers" to its mouth, and after enduring hardships of the severest kind and encountering 1683. many dangers, returned to Quebec in the spring of 1683. He sailed soon afterwards for France, and found little difficulty in equipping an expedition to proceed to the Mississippi, consisting of

* Modern usage has abbreviated the long Indian name of Machilimakinae, given to the strait or river connecting Lakes Huron and Michigan into Mackinaw. I have used the latter phrase as much the more desirable. I likewise use the modern names of places, Indian tribes, &c., whenever it can be done with propriety. Many recent writers on Canada persist in using obsolete names for places and tribes, which only tend to confuse the reader. Even Warburton falls into this error very frequently, and applies terms to the Iroquois and other Indians, which were used by the old French writers and none others.

† A census taken this year gave 8415 souls as the number of French inhabitants in the colony.—Char. vol. 1. p. 467.

four vessels and 290 men. Unfortunately the latitude of the river's mouth had not been correctly ascertained. He sailed one hundred leagues too far southward, formed a settlement in the Bay St. Bernard, and was murdered by his mutinous followers, while wandering in the interior in search of the fabulous mines of St. Barbe. His death broke up the settlement. Some died by hunger, others were massacred by the Indians; others again were encountered by the Spaniards, and sent to labor in the mines. Seven men only returned to Canada to relate the dreadful story of their misfortunes.*

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 65, 66. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 151—159. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 297. Raynal, vol. 8. p. 462.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE LA BARRE.

Nearly ten years had now elapsed since the accession of de Frontenac to the Government of the colony, yet he remained haughty 1682. and unyielding as ever. The Intendant, du Chesneau, a man almost as despotic as himself, still darkened the pathway of his power, and time instead of diminishing had added to their mutual dislike. Both had their partizans at the French court, and while the numerous complaints against the Governor had weakened the hands of his friends, the intrigues of the Jesuits placed du Chesneau daily in a better position, till he came to be looked upon as altogether the aggrieved party. But finally, to terminate the difficulty, and to gratify, in some measure, the Governor's friends, both were recalled. The Count, had M. de la Barre for his successor : the Intendant, M. de Meules.

The new Governor entered upon his functions at a critical period for Canada. The transfer of the Dutch settlements in the State of New York to Great Britain, had placed a powerful and energetic rival in immediate communication with the Iroquois and the other Indian tribes. Trade had already taught the Red Man, who had intercourse with Europeans, to discriminate between the relative value of similar merchandize, and he soon discovered that the English traders sold much cheaper than the French. The Iroquois, who still cordially disliked the latter, were not slow to avail themselves of this circumstance to their disadvantage, and endeavoured to divert the current of trade from the St. Lawrence to their own country. Nor were these politic people, who scarcely merit the name of savages at this period, by any means unsuccessful. They introduced the English traders among the western tribes, weakened French influence even among the Outawas and others of their allies, and thus gave a serious blow to the Canadian fur-trade at its very source. The murder of a missionary friar by the Senecas, isolated collisions with French trappers, and occasional forays into the hunting grounds of friendly tribes displayed additional ill-feeling on the part of

the Iroquois. Time had weakened their dread of "Ononthio," and although they were still unwilling to come to an open rupture, but little provocation was necessary to re-kindle the flame of savage warfare along the St. Lawrence.*

In pursuance of his instructions from the King,† de la Barre promptly applied himself on his arrival to place public matters in a better position. He summoned a council of the chief men of the colony, which he instructed to report on the causes that had produced the present condition of affairs, and to state the remedies necessary to restore the country to prosperity. This report, after showing the crafty and selfish policy of the Iroquois, proved the necessity of additional reinforcements of troops and emigrants before offensive operations could be undertaken against them with any prospect of success; and that money also was wanting to build boats to navigate Lake Ontario, to erect magazines for provisions, and to cover the general expenses of the war, to which the resources of the colony were wholly inadequate.

The report met the approval of the Governor, who promptly forwarded it to France. Louis now aware of the critical condition of his Canadian possessions, obtained an order from the licentious Charles to Governor Dongan, of New York, to maintain a good understanding with M. de la Barre, of which order the latter was duly made aware. A correspondence ensued between the two Governors, which apart from courteous professions of individual good will, did not lead to very amicable results. Dongan was too desirous to retain the western traffic, now very lucrative, at New York, to pay much attention to the order of his sovereign. The Iroquois knew well they had nothing to fear from him, and while de la Barre's courier was still on his return to Quebec, a scouting party of the Senecas attacked fourteen Canadian traders, seized their merchandize, and subsequently invested the French post on the Illinois river, which was gallantly defended by the Chevalier de Bangy.

These outrages, as well as intelligence that the Iroquois were secretly preparing for hostilities, and had already sent deputies to the Virginia Indians to prevent an attack from that quarter, left de la Barre no other alternative but war. He now resolved to strike the first blow, and to carry hostilities at once into the Seneca country. At the same time he sought to weaken the confederacy by endeavoring, although fruitlessly, to persuade the Mohawks, Oneidas, and the Onandagoes to remain neutre in the event of a war. Their mediation between the

* Doc. Hist. New York vol. 1. p. 96.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 161, 162. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 93, 94.

French and the Senecas, in the present emergency, was all these tribes would concede. If this were refused they avowed a determination to make common cause with their confederates, and stated, that in this case, they had received assurance of ample support from New York.*

The trading posts established at different points among the Indians of the north-west, gave the French so much influence in that direction, that a body of 500 warriors was speedily drawn together to co-operate with the force, consisting of 700 militia, 130 soldiers, and 200 1684. Indians, under the command of de la Barre, which moved upwards from Montreal on the 21st of July, *en route* for Niagara, where it was intended to penetrate into the Seneca country. But sickness among his troops and the want of provisions, detained the Governor in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac, where he patched up a humiliating peace with the Onondago, Oneida, and Cayuga Iroquois; one condition of which was that he should retire on the ensuing day. This he complied with, leaving the north-west Indians, much to their disgust, to return home from Niagara.

On the Governor's return to Quebec, he found that a reinforcement and supplies had arrived from France, as well as despatches which placed him in an awkward predicament. The King supposed he was waging a successful war against the Iroquois, and that the 300 additional troops he now sent out would enable him utterly to extirpate them; or, at the least, to punish them so severely, that they would be glad to seek peace on whatever conditions he might think proper to impose. At the same time he instructed the Governor, "that as the Iroquois were stout and robust, and would be useful in his galleys, to make a great many of them prisoners, and have them shipped to France by every opportunity." Great, therefore, was the surprise of Louis, when he learned the true state of affairs from the account given by de la Barre himself, as well as from a lengthy report supplied by the Intendant, who placed the Governor's conduct in the most unfavorable light. De la Barre was immediately pronounced unfit for his post, and the Marquis de Denonville, an active officer, appointed to supersede him. At the same time the Chevalier de Callieres, a captain of the regiment of Navarre, was appointed Governor of Montreal. His command was described as extending to Lake St. Peter.† He proved an able and judicious officer, and soon came to be regarded by the colonists with very great respect.

* Doc. Hist. New York vol. 1. p. 109-139. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 309. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 172-190. Colden vol. 1. p. 66. Hist. Brit. N. Amer. vol. I. p. 181-183.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE DENONVILLE.

A reinforcement of troops proceeded to Canada in the same fleet which brought out the Governor. The voyage had been long 1685. and boisterous, yet impressed with the urgency of affairs, de

Denonville only allowed himself a few hours' repose at Quebec, till he departed for Fort Frontenac. On arrival there, he sedulously applied himself to learn the true state of matters with regard to the Iroquois, and the other Indian nations. The long and lucid reports which he furnished to the French court on this head, display equal industry and ability, and possess much value as historical documents. He faithfully depicted the condition of affairs; that it would be more to the advantage of the colony to maintain peaceable relations with the Iroquois; but, that their recent insolence of tone rendered war a necessary evil. To enable this to be carried on successfully, he strongly recommended the strengthening of Fort Frontenac, as the *point d'appui* of offensive operations; and the construction of another fort at Niagara to be garrisoned by 500 men, which would give the French the complete command of Lake Ontario, keep the Senecas, the most powerful of the Five Nations in check, and prevent the Indian and Canadian trappers of the north-west from trading with the English. As the cost of maintaining this post, would possibly be an objection to its construction, he proposed it should be rented. The merchants of Quebec highly approved of the Marquis's plan, and offered to supply the proposed fort with merchandize for nine years, and to pay an annual rent therefor of thirty thousand livres.

The extensive preparations for war proposed by the Governor, as well as a demand for additional troops from France, would naturally lead to the supposition that he was about to attack a very numerous foe: such was not the case. The population of a second-rate Canadian town at the present day would out-number the whole Iroquois nation, which scarcely amounted to seven thousand souls. The Mohawk tribe could muster only 200 warriors, the Oneida 150, the Onondaga 300, the Cayuga 200, and the Senecas 1200.* But these were no ordinary men. In intelligence they were far superior to the uneducated peasantry of civilized Europe, while in their love of country, their natural eloquence, and their indomitable courage, they rivalled the chivalry of antiquity. If they wanted the discipline of the French, and could neither

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 196.

and uncultivated as were their understandings, proved themselves superior to the passions of the hour, and showed, by their conduct, how much more noble they could act than the courtly and polished de Denonville. "There can be no question" said a chief, addressing himself to the terrified missionary, "that we are now in every respect authorized to treat thee as an enemy; but we cannot resolve to do so. We know thee too well not to be persuaded that thy heart had no share in this treason, of which thou hast in some degree been the cause; and are not so unjust as to punish thee for a crime of which we believe thee innocent." Apprehensive lest some of their warriors, in a moment of excitement might do him injury, they compelled the Jesuit to depart immediately, directing the guides, which they gave him, to conduct him by unfrequented paths, and not to leave him till he was out of all danger.

Having collected his force, composed of 2000 regular troops and militia and 600 Indians, at Montreal, de Denonville pursued his march westward on the 11th of June. His principal object was to crush the power of the Senecas, and embarking his army in boats and canoes, in two divisions, at Fort Frontenac, he safely arrived at the Genesee River. Here, an entrenchment was hastily constructed to protect the stores and provisions, and a detachment of 440 men left to garrison it. From this point the French and their Indian allies marched forward on, the 12th of July towards the Seneca villages, with a supply of provisions for fifteen days. During the first day the march was pursued without interruption through a comparatively open country. On the succeeding day they were not so fortunate. After being permitted to pass through two defiles in safety, the vanguard was vigorously attacked while marching through a third by a strong body of the Senecas. Three hundred of these boldly held the French in check, and threw their best troops into disorder, while two hundred others, after delivering their fire, took them rapidly in flank. The Indian allies of the French, however, promptly checked this movement, and the Senecas were finally repulsed with a loss of 45 killed and 60 wounded. On the side of the French 6 were killed and 25 wounded. In this engagement the Iroquois Christians particularly distinguished themselves, and were it not for them and the other Indians, who restored the battle in their favour, it must have gone much harder with the French, as they were completely taken by surprise. A few of the north-west Indians from Mackinaw, who had effected a junction with the invading force, proved themselves genuine savages by devouring, after the battle, the bodies of the slain Iroquois.

Finding themselves unable to offer further opposition to the French,

the Senecas withdrew into the recesses of the forest after destroying their villages. The greatest injury that could now be inflicted on them was the destruction of their crop of growing corn, and this de Denonville caused to be done in the most effectual manner. He likewise directed the destruction of a large number of hogs which, it appears, the Senecas had raised.

Having thus accomplished, as far as possible, the objects of the campaign, the Governor proceeded to Niagara, where he erected a wooden fort, in which he left a garrison of 100 men under the command of the Chevalier de la Troye. Scarcely, however, had the army disappeared when this post was blockaded by the Senecas, who, thoroughly enraged by the losses they had sustained missed no opportunity of revenge. Incessantly harrassed by the enemy, the garrison had to keep themselves behind their defences, or run the risk of being murdered. Continual watching and fatigue produced disease, to which was soon added the horrors of famine, with abundance of fish in the waters near them, and the forests abounding with game. Ten men alone of the hundred survived: hunger and sickness carried off the remainder in a few brief months. And thus sadly terminated the second attempt at settling Niagara, which is now one of the most delightful districts of Canada West.*

Governor Dongan was soon made aware of the disasters suffered by the Senecas, and an angry correspondence ensued between him and de Denonville. He assured the latter that the Five Nations would never make peace with the French, save on condition, that the Indians sent to the galleys and the Caughnawaga proselytes were restored to their tribes, the forts at Niagara and Frontenac demolished, and the Senecas compensated for the damage they had sustained.† Nor was Dongan content with simple remonstrances. He clearly foresaw from the formal manner in which the French had taken possession of the land of the Senecas, that they sought to establish a claim to its permanent sovereignty, while their acts otherwise taught him that they only wanted the power, not the will, to establish their supremacy throughout the country. He felt that the time had come for the British colonies in the north to strike for their very existence. His assurances of support raised the drooping spirit of the Iroquois; and after supplying them abundantly with arms and ammunition, he incited them to revenge the injuries they had sustained.

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 237-277. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 213, 214, Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 79, 80. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 312.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 80.

Meanwhile, a terrible malady swept over Canada, and carried death and mourning in its train. It prevented the Governor from making a second expedition the same summer against the Senecas, which he contemplated; and compelled him to remain nearly inactive, while he felt that a dangerous crisis was rapidly approaching. In November the Mohawks appeared before Fort Chambly; and, although the garrison beat them off, they could not prevent them from burning the farm houses in the neighborhood, and carrying the inmates into captivity. The French blamed Dongan for causing this inroad. No sooner had the latter learned their suspicions than, dreading reprisals, he caused Albany to be put in a better state of defence, and retained a strong body of Indians in the neighborhood, during the winter, to cover it from an attack.

The following spring found the confederates thoroughly united in their hostility to the French. Still they determined if peace could 1688. be procured on the terms proposed by Governor Dongan, of which they highly approved, that they would not reject it. The mistaken policy of James compelled Dongan himself, at this time, to seek a peaceable result to the quarrel, if at all practicable; and, in obedience to the orders of his sovereign, he now counselled the Iroquois to come to terms with the French, provided they could do so with justice to themselves. They accordingly proceeded to Canada, prepared alike for peace or war. One thousand warriors established themselves at Lake St. Francis, within two days' march of Montreal, and sent deputies to demand an audience of de Denonville, and to offer peace on the conditions proposed by Dongan, for the consideration of which four days only were allowed.

The Iroquois backed this high handed diplomacy, by warlike demonstrations of the most formidable description. Besides the force at Lake St. Francis, whose neighborhood filled the colonists with the direst apprehension, a body of five hundred men swept the open country around Fort Frontenac, burned the farm-stores with flaming arrows, killed the cattle of the settlers, and finally closely blockaded the garrison. The French bowed before the storm they were unable to resist. The humiliating terms offered by the Iroquois were accepted, and de Denonville was under the necessity of expiating his treachery, by requesting the authorities in France to return the captives to Canada, sent to labor in the galleys, that they might be restored to their friends. Deputies from all the Iroquois tribes were to ratify this treaty, which it was stipulated by de Denonville, should also secure peace to the Indian allies of the French.

A cessation of hostilities immediately took place, and the Iroquois

consented to leave five hostages at Montreal, to insure the safe arrival of a convoy of provisions at Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which were already threatened with famine. It was further agreed upon, that if any hostile skirmishes should occur during the progress of the pending negotiation, no change, nevertheless, should be made in the conditions which had been stipulated.

The Abenakis, who inhabited the present State of Maine and were the most inveterate of all the enemies of the Iroquois, refused to be a party to this truce. While the Governor was busy in his pacific projects they advanced to the River Richelieu, surprised and defeated a body of Iroquois and their Mohican allies, and pushed on to the English settlements, where they killed and scalped several of the inhabitants and burned their homesteads. But of all the Indian allies of the French, the Hurons were the most indisposed to a peace with the Iroquois. They had engaged in the war on the condition, that it should not terminate until the total destruction of the Five Nations had been effected; and now when they found that a peace was about being accomplished even without consulting them, they were indignant in the extreme. Their principal chief, Kondiaronk, was not slow to perceive that his nation, left to themselves, must feel the full vengeance of the Iroquois, and be thus sacrificed to benefit French interests. He promptly resolved to interrupt the negotiations, and secure the continuance of the war, and took the most effectual measures to accomplish his object. About thirty miles above Montreal, he awaited the arrival of the Iroquois deputies at a point where the rapids would compel them to land. Their party, consisting of forty warriors, were either killed or captured on disembarking from their canoes. When his prisoners were all secured, Kondiaronk informed them that it was the French Governor who had ordered their attack. The Iroquois shocked at this supposed second act of perfidy on the part of de Denonville, stated the object of their mission to the Huron, who then craftily expressed his regret for the act of turpitude of which he had been made the instrument. Releasing his prisoners, he supplied them with arms and ammunition, and bade them return and inform their countrymen of the perfidy which had been committed. One prisoner alone he retained to replace a Huron warrior who had been killed. This man on his return home he handed over to the French commandant at Mackinaw, who ignorant of the truce ordered him to be put to death, a fact of which the Huron chief caused the Iroquois to be apprized, in order to inflame their hostility still more.

No sooner had de Denonville been informed of the manner in which the deputies of the Iroquois had been treated, than he disclaimed all

participation in the act, and assured these tribes that he would hang the Huron chief the moment he laid hands upon him. He expressed a hope, at the same time, that what had occurred would not prevent the progress of negotiations, and that they would send other deputies to conclude a peace. Meanwhile the progress of the revolution which placed William III. upon the throne of England, released the Governor of New York from the unwise restrictions imposed upon him by James, and he now instigated the Iroquois, the majority of whom were 1689. only too willing of themselves to avenge their injuries, to retaliate upon the French. On the 28th of July, 1000 of their warriors landed on the Island of Montreal, and dividing into small parties laid waste the country in every direction. Men, women, and children were ruthlessly massacred; a detachment of one hundred soldiers and fifty Indians, sent to attack them, were nearly all killed or captured; houses were burned, and every possible injury perpetrated; and they finally quit the island laden with plunder, and carrying away many captives, having sustained in this irruption a loss of only three men.* This terrible catastrophe filled the minds of the colonists with the greatest terror, a feeling which extended itself to the garrison at Fort Frontenac, who, hastily deserted their post, which was soon seized by the Iroquois, and lost several of their number in shooting the rapids, their precipitate retreat preventing them from taking the proper precautions. Thus closed in disaster and disgrace the government of de Denonville. Its commencement was signalized by an act of perfidy and partial victory,—its termination by misfortune and certain defeat. His sovereign, who had looked for the complete subjection of the Iroquois, and expected to see his galleys manned by their chivalry, chafed at his want of success, directed him to be recalled, and appointed Count de Frontenac to replace him.

THE SECOND GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE FRONTENAC.

The increasing influence of the British colonists with the Iroquois, became at this period a source of considerable alarm to the Canadian authorities. The English revolution, which placed that country in a hostile position to France and her colonies, added not a little to this feeling. The Chevalier de Callieres, who commanded at Montreal, had

* Bancroft, who is singularly incorrect occasionally, when he alludes to Canada, says that at this time the Iroquois captured the town and fort of Montreal, and that the settlement was broken up, neither of which was the case.—Vide Ban. Hist. United States, London Edition, vol. 2 p. 825.

long been convinced that the security and tranquillity of Canada could only be preserved by crushing the power of the Five Nations; and as the English of New York openly avowed their alliance with them, he conceived the idea of first capturing their strongholds. The Chevalier departed for France in the fall of 1688, to lay his plans before its government, by whom they were approved, and instructions given to de Frontenac to carry them out. De Callieres proposed that he should have the command of 2000 regular troops, with whom he would march into the country of the Iroquois by the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, with the apparent purpose of attacking them, until he arrived in the neighborhood of Albany, when he would suddenly assault and capture that place. He stated that Albany was about the same size as Montreal, and besides a garrison of 150 men had 300 inhabitants able to bear arms. It contained about 150 houses, and was defended by an earthen fort, mounting a few pieces of cannon, and wooden pallisading. After capturing Albany, the Chevalier proposed to descend the Hudson and possess himself of New York, which he described as an open town, defended by a fort, and containing about 200 houses, with 400 men capable of bearing arms. As an additional inducement to the adoption of his plan, de Callieres urged that it would put the French in possession of the finest harbor in America; that it would prevent the Iroquois from getting further supplies of arms and ammunition, and thus effectually cripple them; and that, although a treaty of neutrality as far as regarded the colonies existed, the fact of the settlements in question being chiefly Dutch, and Protestant, would lead them to join the Prince of Orange. He added, that if the present favorable opportunity was neglected, the Iroquois would soon destroy Canada, which must entail the loss of the posts at Hudson's Bay, the beaver and peltry trade, Acadia, and the Gulf and Newfoundland fisheries which produced several millions of livres annually to France.*

The flight of James, and his subsequent determination to make a final effort in Ireland for the throne he had so cowardly abandoned, speedily involved England and France in a war, which removed whatever scruples might have been entertained by Louis XIV. and his ministers, relative to the capture of Albany and New York. The prospective government of these settlements were given to de Callieres, to reward him for his plan of their capture and his meritorious services otherwise. He was directed when established in his new government,

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 285-291. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 84, 85. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 227. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 318.

to allow the English Roman Catholics to remain, and to banish the other English and Dutch inhabitants to Pennsylvania and New England, while the French refugee Hugonots were to be sent to France. But if Louis was all-powerful in France, and alarmed Europe for its liberties, like the Nicholas and Alexander of our own times, a handful of half-raked savages in America set his power at defiance, and mared the best laid plans of his generals and himself. De Denonville had to crave the return of the kidnapped Iroquois,—they no longer graced the galleys of France, and their countrymen had already retaliated a hundred-fold the injuries and indignities they had sustained.

The Count de Frontenac sailed in the month of July, 1689, a second time for Canada, in the fleet sent to operate against New York by sea, while a French army assaulted it by land. He carried out with him troops and stores; and departed in high spirits to establish French supremacy in North America, and to crush for ever the power of the Iroquois. But de Frontenac was not insensible, high as his hopes and those of his sovereign were, to the caprices of fortune. Riper years had given him ripened wisdom, and he sedulously cultivated the friendship of the chiefs of the captive Iroquois, who returned in the same ship with him. One of these, Oureouhare, charmed by his manners, remained ever afterwards his steadfast friend, and was of the greatest use to him in the negotiations with his countrymen. His arrival at Quebec on the 12th of October confirmed the wisdom of this course. The first intelligence he received was the terrible irruption of the Iroquois on the Island of Montreal, the loss of his favorite fort (Fort Frontenac), named after himself, at Cataragui, and the abandonment of Niagara: reverses that were only partially counterbalanced by the fierce inroads of the Abenakis in New England, and the success of Iberville in Hudson's Bay.

Offensive operations were now out of the question. Apart from the lateness of the season, de Frontenac saw he must be content for a while to act on the defensive, and shortly after his arrival departed for Montreal, where his presence was necessary to revive the drooping spirits of the inhabitants, and regain the confidence of the Indian allies of the French, many of whom were now sensibly inclined to attach themselves to the Iroquois and the English. The Outawas, one of the principal tribes of the north-west, even went so far as to send ambassadors to the Senecas to proffer peace and amity, and to restore the prisoners they had captured in the war. The French agents and missionaries strongly remonstrated against these proceedings, but without effect. The Outawas replied, that they had already placed too much reliance on the protection of "Ononthio." They taunted the French, at the

same time, with they tame manner in which they had borne their recent defeats, told them that instead of avenging their injuries, like true warriors, they craved a dishonorable peace, to gain which they would even sacrifice their Indian allies; that their commerce was far less beneficial than that of the English; and that they sought to secure benefits by a peace, which they were unable to retain in war.

No sooner had de Frontenac become aware of this formidable disaffection, than he boldly determined to strike a blow at the English colonies, that should restore the military reputation of the French with the native tribes, lead the Iroquois to accept the peace which he proffered them, and disturb the intrigues of the Outawas and others who 1690. wavered in their alliance. He accordingly organized, in the month of January, expeditions at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, to invade the British settlements at different points; and sent instructions at the same time to M. Durantaye, who commanded at Mackinaw, to assure the Outawas and Hurons, that in a short time the French would recover their ancient supremacy, and affairs be altered for the better.

The expedition which formed at Montreal, consisting of about 200 men, half French and half Indians, under the command of de St. Helene, a Canadian born officer, was destined for the capture of Albany. This force departed in the beginning of February, and after marching for five days a council was called to determine on the plan of operations. The Indians now ridiculed the idea of attacking Albany with such a small body of men, and advised an assault on the village of Schenectady, which was slenderly guarded in comparison. They arrived close to this place on the night of the 8th February, about 11 o'clock, without being discovered, and at first resolved to defer the assault until 2 o'clock next morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay, and they entered the village through the gateways, which the unfortunate inhabitants, in fancied security, had left open and unguarded. Anxious fathers slept; loving mothers had hushed their nestling babes to sleep, and slept also; and the silence was undisturbed save by the monotonous breathings of peaceful repose. Presently the wild war-whoop of hostile Indians ring through that recently happy hamlet, and carries terror and dismay into its every dwelling. Startled mothers grasp their little ones in despair, or fall upon their knees to ask the protection of that Power who now alone could aid them: agonized fathers seize the first weapon at hand, and stand, like the lion rudely aroused from his lair, at bay, to defend their families. But the general defence was feeble in the extreme. A small fort at one end of the village was speedily carried by storm, and sixty men, women, and chil-

dren were cruelly butchered in cold blood. Twenty-eight were carried away into captivity, and the settlement, which had eighty well-built houses, reduced to ashes. The French, laden with plunder, rapidly retired the ensuing day, after releasing the more helpless of their prisoners and twenty Mohawks, it being their policy to convince this people that the expedition was made wholly against the English. But the Mohawks were not so easily satisfied: they promptly essayed to restore the drooping spirits and revive the courage of their old neighbors. "We will avenge your wrongs," said they, "and not a man in Canada shall dare to go out to cut a stick." Succor soon arrived from Albany, and in-clement as the season was a body of Mohawks and a few troops were despatched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, who cut off twenty-five of their stragglers, and followed them almost to the gates of Montreal. The French and their Indians suffered severely from want of food, and were it not that they had captured some fifty horses at Schenectady, on which they subsisted as they found need, many of them must have perished from famine.*

The party from Three Rivers led by Hertel, and consisting of but fifty-two men, of whom one half were Indians, turned to the left from Lake Camplain, and surprised the village of Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua. After a bloody engagement they defeated its inhabitants, burned the houses, and the cattle in the stalls, and retired with fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children, whom they carried off despite the people of a neighboring settlement, who had gallantly come to their rescue.

Returning from this expedition Hertel encountered the third party from Quebec, and proceeded with them to attack a fortified English post, at Casco Bay, on the sea-shore of Maine, which they captured after having drawn fifty men of its garrison into an ambush, nearly the whole of whom they either killed or took prisoners.

But de Frontenac, who, by-the-way, was but little disturbed by the horrors of the massacres at Schenectady and Salmon Falls,† was fully sensible that something more must be done, to regain the confidence of

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 297. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 318-319. Ban. Hist. United States, London Edition, vol. 2. p. 827. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 87, 88. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 241. Hist. Brit. N. Amer. vol. 1. p. 188.

† De Frontenac stands conspicuous among all his nation for deeds of cruelty to the Indians. Nothing was more common than for his Indian prisoners to be given up to his Indian allies to be tortured. One of the most horrible of these scenes on record, was perpetrated under his own eye at Montreal in 1691.—Col-den, vol. 1. p. 441.

the north-west Indians, than simply re-establishing the military reputation of his nation in Canada. The great point was to render those Indians independent of English commerce, and to turn the current of the fur-trade once more down the St. Lawrence. On the 22nd of May a convoy of goods, guarded by 143 soldiers and a few Indians, was forwarded from Montreal for Mackinaw. M. Louvigny, who commanded the detachment, was entrusted with presents for the Outawas and Hurons, and instructed to supersede M. Durantaye in command of the frontier posts, who was recalled, it was said for no other reason, than because he was too favorable to the Jesuit missionaries, against whom the Governor still entertained his old grudge.

On the second day after leaving Montreal, the convoy was fiercely attacked by a party of Iroquois in ambush, who were only repelled with the greatest difficulty. It finally reached Mackinaw in safety, just as the deputies of the Outawas were about to depart to conclude a treaty with the Iroquois. The strength of the detachment, the quantity of the merchandize, the valuable presents to themselves, and the account of the recent successes of the French had a powerful influence on these politic savages, and they hastened to give proofs of their renewed attachment to "Ononchio." One hundred and ten canoes, bearing furs to the amount of 100,000 crowns, and manned by 300 Indians, were soon after despatched to Montreal to gratify the Governor. The latter who chanced to be there at the time, received the escort in the most favorable manner, made them presents, and exhorted them and their nation to aid him in humbling their deadly foe, the Iroquois. They departed highly pleased with their reception, after renewing their former professions of friendship and regard for the French.

Still, the terrible war-cry of the Iroquois was continually heard in the Canadian settlements. Scouting parties of these fierce warriors burst from the recesses of the forests when least expected, and fell upon isolated posts and villages with destructive ferocity. The growing crops were destroyed, the farmers murdered, and small detachments of troops surrounded and cut off. This harrassing mode of warfare, so well suited to the Iroquois, was a source of much uneasiness to de Frontenac. "You must either not be a true friend, or powerless in your nation," he said angrily to Ourcouharc, who still remained in Canada, "to permit them to wage this bitter war on me."

But a still greater danger now menaced the French possessions on the St. Lawrence. The British settlements, thoroughly aroused by the hostilities of the French and their allies during the past winter, resolved on the conquest of Canada. In April a small squadron sailed from Boston, which captured the greater part of the French posts in Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick, and after the lapse of a month returned with sufficient plunder to repay the cost of the expedition. This success encouraged the people of Massachusetts, and their authorities issued circular letters to the nearest colonies, inviting their governments to send deputies to New York, to deliberate on measures for the general safety. On the 1st May, 1690, this first American congress assembled, and promptly determined on the invasion of Canada. Levies were ordered to be made, the contingents of the several states fixed, and general rules appointed for the organization of the army. At the same time a fast-sailing vessel was despatched to England, with strong representations of the defenceless condition of the British colonies, and requesting aid in the projected invasion of Canada. They desired that ammunition and other warlike stores might be supplied to their militia, and that a fleet of English frigates should co-operate with the colonial navy in the St. Lawrence.

But Britain was too intent at this period on her own domestic struggles, to heed the calls of help from her transatlantic offspring. The bloody battle of the Boyne had still to be fought, Aughrim was yet to be won, and Limerick surrendered, before William could turn his attention to French ambition in the New World struggling for possession of the hills of New England, the beautiful harbor of Manhattan, and the fertile valley of the Genesee. The British colonists were thus thrown upon their own resources: still they were not dismayed, and resolutely determined to carry out their intentions. The plan of the campaign was simple, and carefully concealed from the Canadians. General Winthrop was to move upon Montreal, with a force of 800 militia and 500 Indians, at the same time that a fleet of thirty-four vessels of various sizes, the largest of which carried 44 guns, was to sail from Nantucket Road, near Boston, for the capture of Quebec. Nearly 1500 of the hardy sailors of New England manned this fleet, which had also 1300 militia on board under the command of Major Walley. The chief conduct of the expedition was intrusted to Sir William Phipps, a man of humble birth, who had won his way to an exalted position among his fellow colonists, and now contributed largely from his own private fortune towards fitting out the fleet.

In the month of August de Frontenac first received the intelligence of approaching danger. He was still at Montreal providing for the safety of the settlement there, when an Algonquin announced that an army of Iroquois and English were constructing canoes at Lake George, which boded some enterprise against Canada. The Governor immediately summoned the neighboring Algonquins and Hurons, and the Christian Iroquois to his assistance; and with the tomahawk in his own grasp,

old as he was, chaunted the war-song and danced the war-dance in their company to animate their courage. But an incompetent commissariat paralysed the advance of Winthrop's army. Want of provisions compelled him to retire from Lake Champlain to Albany, leaving Major Schnyler, who had pushed on in advance to the attack of La Prairie, unsupported. The fort at this point, defended by a few Canadian militia and Indians, was speedily captured, and its garrison compelled to retreat upon Chambly. Succor from this post meeting them on the way, they turned and faced their pursuers, when Schnyler was forced to retreat in turn with the loss of thirty men killed and wounded.

The Indian spies of de Frontenac soon put him in possession of the retreat of Winthrop's force. Thus assured of the safety of Montreal he was about to return to Quebec, although still ignorant of the danger with which it was menaced, when he learned that a faithful Algonquin, hurrying through the forests in twelve days from Piscataqua, had announced the approach of a hostile fleet from Boston. That fleet without pilots now sounded its way cautiously up the St. Lawrence, its officers and men, alike anxious for the result of the expedition against Montreal, watching wistfully the course of the winds, and hoping in the efficacy of the prayers for their success, that went up morning and evening from the Puritan hearths of New England.

Had the expedition by land succeeded in reaching Montreal, and thus compelled the Governor to remain there for its defence, or, had fair winds wafted the fleet a few days sooner up the St. Lawrence, Quebec must have been surprised and taken. But the inhabitants were already alarmed, and its commandant, Major Provost, vigorously applied himself to strengthen the defences against a sudden assault. After a brief pause at Three Rivers to direct the regular troops and militia to follow him as rapidly as possible, de Frontenac arrived at Quebec on the 3rd of October, two days in advance of the fleet. The preparation for defence was now continued with unwearied industry. The militia of the neighbouring districts were directed to hold themselves in readiness to march as might be required; a strong detachment moved down the river to observe the approaching fleet, and prevent a descent on the more exposed settlements; and swift canoes were despatched to warn any French vessels coming up of the impending danger. Over 4000 regular troops, militia, and Indians soon manned the defences of Quebec or covered its weakest points. There were nearly two to one against the men of New England; an assault was, therefore, out of the question; while a regular siege at that advanced period of the year was equally hopeless,

Early on the morning of the 5th October,* many an anxious look was cast from the ramparts of Quebec on the white sails of the British fleet, as vessel after vessel slowly rounded the headland of Point Levi, and crowded towards the village of Beauport, on the northern bank of the river. About ten o'clock the British took in sail, and dropped their anchors, when their vessels swung round with the receding tide. On the following day Admiral Phipps sent a haughty summons to the French chief, demanding an unconditional surrender of the town and garrison in the name of King William of England. The officer who bore the summons was conducted blindfolded into the presence of de Frontenac, who awaited him in the council room, surrounded by the Bishop, the Intendant, and all his principal officers. The English officer read the summons, laid his watch upon the table, and told the Count that he waited only one hour for a reply. The council started from their seats, surprised out of their dignity at a burst of sudden anger by their fierce old chief. "I do not acknowledge King William," said de Frontenac the moment he could master his rage sufficiently to speak, "and well know that the Prince of Orange is a usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and religion. I will answer your master by the mouth of my cannon."

It was now resolved to assault the town at once, and accordingly at noon on the 8th the troops were landed without opposition, and advanced with spirit to the River St. Charles, where they were attacked by a body of 300 militia securely posted among the rocks and bushes. A part of the British line galled by this unexpected fire fell back for a moment, but the officer giving the word to *chargé*, they again rushed forward, and speedily cleared the ground.

In the afternoon four of the largest vessels moved boldly up the river, and anchored within range of the town. They opened a spirited but ineffectual fire, their shot being directed principally against the lofty heights of the Upper Town, while a vigorous cannonade from the guns of the garrison replied with overpowering effect. Although his ships had suffered severely Phipps, with pertinacious courage, renewed the action at day-break on the 9th, but with no better results. About noon he saw it was useless to continue the contest longer, the fire from the town being much superior to that of his fleet, and directing the anchors to be weighed, the receding tide floated his crippled ships beyond its reach. During the action his flag was shot away, and floating

* Charlevoix, who is often inaccurate, says the 16th; and Bancroft, still more inaccurate, makes the same blunder. Vide Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts vol. 1. p. 399; and Major Walley's Journal of the Expedition.

towards the shore was borne triumphantly to land by a Canadian, who boldly swam out into the current to secure it. Hung up in the Parish Church of Quebec, this precious trophy remained for many years a memento of Admiral Phipps's defeat.

Major Walley placed his troops in battle array at daylight, but from some unaccountable cause, which he does not explain in his journal, he did not move towards the town until the action with the squadron had terminated. Some severe skirmishing occurred during the day, which resulted generally to the disadvantage of the British, and next morning, at a council held on board the Admiral's ship, it was decided to abandon the enterprise altogether. On the night of the 11th the army re-embarked in the greatest confusion, leaving five guns and a quantity of ammunition and stores behind.

Defeated by land and water—damaged in fortune and reputation, the British chief returned homewards. But disasters had not yet ceased to follow him. The dangerous shoals of the St. Lawrence and the storms of the Gulf wrecked nine of his ships. With the remainder shattered and weather-beaten, and his men almost mutinous from want of pay, he arrived at Boston on the 19th of November to find an empty public treasury, and to cause the first issue of colonial paper money.*

Thus ended in disaster and defeat a well planned scheme, which only required energy, ability, and military discipline in its execution to be successful. Had Winthrop's corps been led by a more skilful officer, or had the force which appeared before Quebec been directed by wiser heads and stouter hearts, the results must have been very different, and Wolfe would never have created for himself an imperishable memorial on the heights of Abraham.

Great were the rejoicings at Quebec when the British fleet disappeared from before it. With a proud heart the haughty old Governor penned the despatch which told his sovereign of the victory he had achieved, and of the gallant bearing of the colonial militia. In the Lower Town a church was built by the inhabitants, and an annual festival established to celebrate their deliverance; while in France a medal commemorated the success of Louis XIV. in the valley of the St. Lawrence. To add to the rejoicing, vessels expected from France reached Quebec on the 12th November, having ascended the Saguenay and thus escaped the British fleet. Their arrival, however, with slen-

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 91-108. Conquest of Can. vol. 1, p. 321-327, Ban. Hist. United States, London Edition, vol. 2. p. 831. Hist. Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 189, 190. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 265-262.

der stores of provisions only tended to increase the scarcity, then pressing upon the colony from an insufficient harvest, caused principally by the incursions of the Iroquois, and which necessitated the distribution of the troops in those districts where food could be most easily procured. The inhabitants, grateful for the valor which had saved them from the dominion of the hated stranger, met this new burden on their slender stores with the utmost cheerfulness.

While the result of the movement against Canada was still undecided, and a probability existed that the British would obtain possession of the French colonies, the Iroquois warily held aloof, or only gave sufficient assistance to save appearances, which was one reason why Winthrop had retreated, eighty of their warriors only having joined him instead of five hundred. The politic confederates much as they hated the French, did not desire to see their power entirely crushed, as they began at this period to entertain apprehensions of the rapidly increasing population and strength of the British colonies. But the cowardly retreat of Winthrop, and the defeat of the expedition under Sir William Phipps, convinced them that the French had really little to apprehend from the raw militia and ill-directed efforts of the provincials. Accordingly in May, 1691, several hundred of their warriors again poured down upon the settlements near Montreal, and marked 1691. their progress with devastation and massacre. Smaller parties spread themselves along the fertile banks of the River Richelieu, burning the homesteads of the farmers, and murdering the inhabitants. To repel these attacks the militia were hastily drawn together. One detachment of a hundred and twenty men surprised a party of Iroquois on the Richelieu, and slew them without mercy with the exception of twelve, who escaped into a farm-house. These defended themselves with the greatest courage, killed an officer, and wounded several of the militia; and for a time it seemed as if the latter would be beaten by a few Indians posted in a ruinous house. At length the building was set on fire, and the Iroquois as a last resource fiercely burst upon their enemies, and endeavoured to cut their way with their tomahawks, which five of them succeeded in doing. Of the remainder, two were killed, and five taken prisoners, who were tortured after their own cruel manner to restrain the incursions of their people.

But this slight check only stayed the hostilities of the Iroquois for a brief period. In the latter part of July a strong body of their warriors, accompanied by some English militia and Mohican Indians, advanced upon Montreal with the intention of destroying the crops, the loss of which must have inflicted famine upon the colony. After capturing an important post at La Prairie by a sudden and unexpected assault, and

slaying several of the defenders, they fell back into the forest, where they met and destroyed a small French detachment, and shortly after boldly faced a strong force under the command of M. de Valrenes. For the full space of an hour and a half did these formidable warriors withstand the fire, and repel the charges of the Canadian troops, on whom, although ultimately compelled to retire, they inflicted a loss of 120 men in killed and wounded.

No sooner had de Frontenac received intelligence of this alarming inroad, than he promptly hastened to Montreal, where he found a despatch from the Governor of New York, offering an exchange of prisoners, and proposing a treaty of neutrality, notwithstanding the war between France and Great Britain. But the Governor mistrusting these proposals they were not productive of any results, and he shortly afterwards returned to Quebec, having first, however, witnessed the gathering in of the harvest in safety.

Although the Iroquois had been forced to retreat, yet fully sensible of the heavy loss they had inflicted upon the French, they were not by any means discouraged. Led by a favorite chief, Black Calderon, they continued to make sudden inroads in every direction with various results, and heavy losses to the French as well as to themselves.

1692. On the other the Abenakis and French ravaged the frontiers of Massachusetts, and revenged upon its hapless borderers the injuries suffered by the Canadians: detachments of troops swept the favorite hunting grounds of the Iroquois along the beautiful Bay of Quinte; and an expedition from Montreal, led by de Mantel,

1693. did considerable injury to the Mohawks in their own country, but were severely harrassed by the latter during their retreat.

This fierce and desultory contest rendered seed-time and harvest in Canada alike unsafe. Stone walls and armed fortresses alone gave security to the Habitans, and the Iroquois' boast that "their enemy should have no rest but in their graves," was almost literally

1694. carried out. In the following year, however, they appeared to grow weary of the long contest and desire peace. The Onondagas as usual appeared most prominently in this movement, and sent messengers to Montreal to ask de Callieres, now commanding there, whether deputies from the Five Nations bearing pacific overtures would be received. They got a favorable answer and returned home: but the deputies did not make their appearance until the beginning of August, when little was effected towards the establishment of peace, owing to the intrigues of the Abenakis, and the desire of de Frontenac himself, to use his increasing power in crushing the Iroquois more effectually. The latter were not slow to comprehend the turn matters

were taking, and endeavored, by way of retaliation, to weaken French influence among their Christian countrymen of Caughnawaga, and partially succeeded.

Hostilities were again resumed. The Iroquois once more ravaged the open country at every undefended point, and when asked 1695. to renew their propositions for peace, haughtily required that the French in turn should now send deputies to treat at their villages, and cease hostilities in the meantime, not only against themselves, but with respect also to the English. De Frontenac resolved to repair and garrison the fort at Cataraqui, as the best means to curb the Iroquois of the Lake, and to form a base for the offensive operations he had planned against them. He adopted this course contrary to the express commands of his sovereign, and the advice of some of his principal officers, who represented the great expense this fort had formerly entailed upon the crown, and the disasters it had originated. But to these representations the obstinate old Count paid but very little attention, and in the latter part of July despatched 600 men, one-third of whom were Indians, under the command of the Chevalier Crisasy, to Cataraqui to rebuild the fort, who fulfilled his orders with energy and skill. The Iroquois retaliated by a descent upon the Island of Montreal, where this time they found the inhabitants fully prepared to receive them, owing to a timely warning of their approach, and were very roughly handled. Nor were they more successful towards the west. Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinaw, had induced the Outawas and Hurons to make an irruption into the Seneca country, whence they brought a number of prisoners. In that direction, also, they sustained a severe defeat from a body of Miamis and French. On the other hand they subsequently formed a peace with the Outawas and Hurons who had become much dissatisfied with the high prices of French merchandise, and desired to participate in the benefits of English commerce.

This conduct on the part of his allies was a source of considerable uneasiness to de Frontenac, who used every endeavor to detach them from the Iroquois. His efforts met with only very questionable success, and to check this formidable disaffection he now resolved to carry out his project of invading the territory of the Five Nations, for which he directed preparations to be made. While these were in progress during the winter, a detachment was about to be 1696. marched into the Mohawks' country; but intelligence was received that this tribe, aided by their European neighbors, had placed their villages in a thorough state of defence, and the design was abandoned.

In the month of July, every preparation having been completed, de Frontenac moved up the St. Lawrence from Montreal, with a force of 1500 regular troops, militia, and Indians, *en route* for Cataragui, where he arrived on the 18th. The army remained at this place, to rest and refresh themselves, until the 26th, when they departed for Oswego which they reached on the 28th. Dragging their canoes and batteaux, or light boats, up the river, they finally launched them on the Onondaga Lake, on the shores of which two bundles of cut rushes told them that the Iroquois knew their number to be 1434, so vigilant were their scouts. The army landed on the southern side of the lake, and an entrenchment was at once constructed of felled trees to protect the baggage and provisions, which 140 men were left to guard. This duty finished, the French proceeded cautiously towards the fortified villages of the Onondagas and Oneidas, their centre led by de Frontenac, now seventy-six years of age, who was carried in an armed-chair, while de Callieres commanded the left wing, and de Vaudreuil the right. But the Onondagas, satisfied that the French could not make a permanent conquest of their country, pursued their old policy of burning their villages on the approach of their formidable enemies, and retreated into the recesses of the forest, whence they could not be pursued, leaving their crops of corn to be destroyed. A lame girl, found concealed under a tree, and a feeble old chief, whose infirmities prevented him from retreating with his tribe, were the only Onondaga captives made by the invaders. This gray-haired man, whom his own advanced years should have taught him to spare, de Frontenac handed over to be tortured by his Indians. Bravely did the withered sachem suffer, and fierce were the epithets he hurled at his tormentors, whom he derided amid his sufferings, "as the slaves of a contemptible race of foreigners." The French were more fortunate among the Oneidas, of whom they captured thirty-five prisoners. But beyond the destruction of their crops and dwellings, these tribes sustained very little injury. Their loss in men was trifling, and the Cayugas and Senecas remained wholly undisturbed.

On the 12th of August the army returned to Oswego, and on the 15th arrived at Fort Frontenac, whence they shortly after descended to Montreal, while bands of the Iroquois hung on their rear, and cut off stragglers whenever an opportunity presented itself. Nor did these tribes afterwards cease their incursions into the settlements, till they found the frontier so strongly guarded, that they could not carry off any important plunder. Unlike former times, they were now unable
1697. to make any serious impression upon Canada; and in 1697
appeared disposed for peace, the negociations for which were
opened through Oureouhare, still faithful to de Frontenac, and who

death for a while interrupted them. But the treaty of Ryswick terminated the war, in which Great Britain had engaged without policy and came off without advantage, and removed every difficulty in the establishment of peace between the French and English colonies and their allies. The English were the first who received intelligence of the treaty, and at once sent a deputation to Quebec, to propose an exchange of prisoners both as regarded themselves and the Iroquois. The Governor, however, preferred to negotiate separately with the latter, and thus impugn their assumed sovereignty by the British. Of this sovereignty he found the Iroquois to be not a little jealous, and did every thing in his power to improve this feeling to the advantage of his countrymen.*

While busily engaged in these transactions, and in taking measures otherwise for the benefit of the colony, de Frontenac died in 1698. the seventy-eighth year of his age, having to the last preserved the great energy of character which had enabled him to overcome the many difficulties and dangers of his most adventurous career. He died, as he had lived, loved by some for his courage and military virtues, hated by others for his cruel temper and proud and overbearing manner, but respected and feared alike by friend and foe, and with the credit of having, with trifling aid from France, supported and increased the strength of a colony, which he found on his re-appointment at the brink of ruin.†

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 125-145. Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 325-345. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 313-344.

† Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 345. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 331. Hist. Brit. Amer. vol. 1. p. 198. La Potherie, vol. 1. p. 110.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE CALLIERES.

The Chevalier de Callieres, Commandant of Montreal, who had already distinguished himself by important services in the 1699. colony, received his commission as Governor of Canada, to the joy of the inhabitants, by the first ship from France after navigation had opened. The negotiations with the Iroquois was still incomplete, owing principally to the intrigues of his predecessor to get them to acknowledge the French sovereignty of their soil, and received the immediate attention of the new Governor. The Earl of Bellamont, now Governor of New York, by insisting that the Iroquois as well as the English prisoners should be exchanged at Albany, sought to procure an admission from the French that these tribes were subjects of Great Britain. "That the Five Nations," said Bellamont, "were always considered subjects of England, can be manifested to all the world." But de Callieres proved more than a match for the Earl in this game of diplomacy. He flattered the pride of the Iroquois, by sending agents to the principal Onondaga village to treat of an exchange of prisoners, to settle the preliminaries of peace, and to induce them to send deputies to Canada for its final ratification, a course they ultimately pursued, despite the expostulations and threats of Lord Bellamont. During the summer the Onondagas and the Senecas sent envoys to 1700. Montreal "to weep for the French who had been slain in the war," and "to bury their hatchets, over which should run a stream of water, in the earth." Their arrival created a jubilee in the town, which they entered amid the pealing of artillery; a reception which piqued a Huron chief not a little, and who told the by-standers, "that fear makes the French show more than respect to their enemies than love did to their friends."

After rapid negotiations, peace was ratified by the Iroquois on one side, and the French and their allies on the other. "I hold fast the tree of peace you have planted," said the politic de Callieres, address-

ing the deputies in their own figurative style, "and will lose no time in despatching an armorer to Fort Frontenac to repair your arms, and will send merchandize there also suited to your wants." "I have always been obedient to my father," said le Rat, a Huron chief, "and I bury the hatchet at his feet." The deputies of the Outawas and the other north-western tribes echoed his words. "I have no hatchet but that of my father Ononthio," responded the envoy of the Abenakis, "and now he has buried it." The Christian Iroquois, allies of France, also expressed their assent to the peace. A written treaty was made to which the deputies attached the symbols of their tribe. The Senecas and Onondagas, drew a spider; the Cayugas, a calumet; the Oneidas, a forked stick; the Mohawks, a bear; the Hurons, a beaver; the Abenakis, a deer; and the Outawas, a hare. The numerous prisoners on both sides were allowed to return. The Indians eagerly sought their homes, but to this conduct the greater part of the French captives presented a mortifying contrast. They had contracted such an attachment for the unrestrained freedom of forest life, that neither the commands of their King, nor the tears and entreaties of their friends, could persuade them to leave their savage associates.

The authorities of New York were highly indignant at the success of de Callieres in thus weakening British influence with the Five Nations. They correctly attributed the chief cause of this success to the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, who had acquired a strong hold of their religious sympathies, and never scrupled to use it for political purposes. Their indignation found vent in a law of their legislature, which directed the hanging of every "Popish priest," who should come voluntarily into the Province.

The Governor promptly informed the French ministry of the conclusion of this advantageous peace, and urged that it should be improved to the ruin of British influence with the Five Nations. If a favorable arrangement of the boundary disputes could not be made, he urged that at least the country of the Iroquois should be declared neutral ground, and that both nations should not make any settlements among them. He likewise proposed that they should be left to their own choice in spiritual affairs, being fully satisfied they would prefer Romanist to Protestant missionaries.

Still the sovereignty of the Iroquois remained undecided. The British continued to penetrate through their country, and share in 1701. the Indian commerce of the west. But Canada preserved the mastery of the great lakes, and de Callieres to strengthen French influence, resolved on establishing a fort and trading post at Detroit. The Iroquois were soon apprized of this design, and remon-

strated against it in strong terms. The Governor replied, "that as Detroit belonged to Canada its settlement could neither in justice be opposed by the Five Nations nor the English; that his object in building a fort there was to preserve peace and tranquillity among all the western tribes;" and added, "that he was master in his own government, yet only with a view to the happiness of his children." The Iroquois were fain to be content with this answer, and in the month of June, 1701, de Cadillac, accompanied by a Jesuit missionary and one hundred Frenchmen, was despatched to commence a settlement at Detroit. Thus Michigan is the oldest of all the inland American States with the exception of Illinois, whose colonization had already been commenced by the unfortunate la Salle.

But while France was thus grasping a firm hold of the west, and establishing her supremacy more securely on the great lakes, events were in progress in Europe which threatened to defeat her plans. James II. had died at St. Germans, and Louis XIV. raised the ire of the British lion by recognizing his son as the legitimate ruler of the "three kingdoms." William III., although on his death-bed, was still true to his ruling passion of hostility to France, rallied new alliances, 1702. governed the policy of Europe, and shaped the territorial destinies of America. His death in March, 1702, did not interrupt the execution of his plans, which the ministers of Anne ably carried out. From the pinnacle of power, and with every prospect of giving law to all Europe, the exploits of Marlborough and Eugene, the bloody fields of Blenheim and Ramillies, reduced Louis to the lowest condition, and at one time even seemed to place his very crown in peril.

But the gallant and prudent de Callieres was not fated to witness the reverses of his royal master, nor to see French influence 1703. weakened in America. He died on the 26th of May, 1703, to the great regret of the people of Canada. Their sorrow for his loss was the best tribute they could pay to his worth. Although, probably, inferior to his predecessor in brilliancy of talent, his sound common-sense, greater freedom from passion, honorable conduct, and chivalric courage, gave him great influence with the Indian tribes, as well as with his own people. While far from being their tool he wisely preserved a good understanding with the religious orders, now becoming formidable in the colony from their wealth and numbers. To him, however, they chiefly owed an edict from the crown, which limited their acquisition of real estate to a certain amount. This measure was rendered necessary by the rapid manner in which they were acquiring landed property by purchase, as well as by grants from private individuals.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who had succeeded de Callieres as commandant of Montreal, became also his successor in the government of the colony, agreeable to the earnest petition of its inhabitants, with whom he had become a great favorite. He began his government at a hazardous period, nor did he prove himself unworthy of the occasion. The authorities of New York had no sooner learned the revival of hostilities in Europe, than they endeavoured to persuade the Iroquois to resume their ravages in Canada. This they flatly refused to do, and avowed their intention of respecting the peace they had entered into. De Vaudreuil promptly met these intrigues by despatching the Sieur Joncaire, (long a resident among the Senecas who had adopted him into their tribe,) who was much respected by the Iroquois, to the Onondagas, to confirm them in their alliance. Joncaire succeeded so well in his mission, that this tribe not only declared their intention of maintaining a strict neutrality, and retaining the Jesuit Fathers among them, but they also conceded the sovereignty of their country to the French.

The English, on the other hand, were less successful in securing the neutrality of the Abenakis. This fierce tribe, instigated by the Jesuit missionaries, who made no scruple of their hostility against heretic Massachusetts, and aided by a detachment of French troops, swept the more exposed frontier settlements, and carried death and mourning into many a New England home. The whole country from Cusco Bay to Wells was ravaged in every direction, and its inhabitants murdered without distinction. In the month of February Hertel de Rou-
1704. ville, with two hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians, burst upon the settlement at Deerfield, crossed the pallisades on the snow, which had rendered them useless, and massacred or carried off the inhabitants into captivity.

But while these terrible irruptions brought sorrow to the hearths of New England, Canada enjoyed profound repose, and was left to develop her resources as she best might. Freed from the apprehensions of Indian warfare, many of its inhabitants showed a greater disposition to ruin themselves in law-suits, than to enrich themselves
1705. by attending to their occupations. The Intendant, M. Raudot, wisely applied himself to diminish this evil by promoting amicable arbitrations between parties at variance, and succeeded beyond his expectations. Nor was this the only benefit he conferred upon the colonists. They raised annually considerable quantities of flax and hemp, but were prevented by the most stringent laws from engaging even in

the coarsest manufactures, which were jealously reserved to the mother country, and whither they were also obliged to send even their wool, to be re-shipped to them again in the shape of poor and costly fabrics.

Raudot now proposed to the French ministry, that the Habitans 1706. should be permitted to manufacture coarse stuffs for their own consumption. He stated the price of clothing had become so extravagant, owing to the loss of a vessel laden with goods for Quebec, and the risk of capture at sea, that the poor were utterly unable to provide themselves with even the coarsest apparel, and were almost in a state of nakedness. This appeal was irresistible, and from thenceforth the people of Canada were allowed "to manufacture in their houses, home-made linens and druggets for their own use," a liberty they gladly availed themselves of.

Trouble was in the meantime brewing among the western Indians, and hostilities at length broke out between the Illinois and 1707. Outawas at Detroit, which occasioned de Vaudreuil considerable trouble. A vigorous inroad into the country of the Illinois by Cadillac at the head of 400 men, speedily brought those savages to reason, and restored peace among the western tribes. During these difficulties the Iroquois observed a strict neutrality, to which the efforts of the Jesuit missionaries somewhat contributed. But to Joncaire this desirable result was principally owing. His knowledge of their language, which he spoke as well as themselves, his daring courage, his liberality, and affable manners, rendered him exceedingly popular with the Iroquois, whom he gradually induced to regard the French with favor. But, if the British lost ground in this direction they succeeded in debauching the loyalty of the Christian Iroquois in Canada, numbers of whom by this time had become confirmed drunkards, the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians having been revived in the most shameless manner.

De Vaudreuil, to prevent the further spread of disaffection, determined to assail the British colonies. In the spring of 1708, at a 1708. war-council held at Montreal, an expedition was resolved on against New England, to be composed of Indians, and one hundred chosen Canadian militia volunteers. After numerous delays these began their march, led by des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville, the destroyer of Deerfield, who had not yet wearied of slaying women and children. The Iroquois and Hurons soon deserted the expedition and returned home, and the Abenakis failed to join it at the appointed place. The design was to capture Portsmouth; but des Chaillons and de Rouville finding their force now unequal to the enterprise, descended the Merrimac to Haverhill, resolving to attack a remote

village rather than return to Canada as they came. At sunrise, on the 29th of August, they moved forward to storm the fort, garrisoned by a few soldiers, which was carried after a fierce assault, while their Indians scattered themselves among the houses, and commenced their horrid work of murder and death. The sharp and constant ring of the musket and the smoke of the burning village, alarmed the surrounding country, and the inhabitants boldly gathered to the rescue. The French now beat a hasty retreat, but had scarcely proceeded a league, when they fell into an ambush. By a rapid charge they dispersed their antagonists, yet with a loss to themselves of nearly thirty men. They left Haverhill, so recently a peaceful and happy village, a mass of smoking ruins, and its green-sward red with the blood of its pastor and brave men, of women and mangled babes. New England bewailed this savage act; nor did it go unreprieved. "My heart swells with indignation," wrote honest Peter Schuyler of Albany to de Vaudreuil, "when I think that a war between Christian princes is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery."

During this season of trial and disaster to the people of New England, many a wish was uttered for the conquest of Canada, as 1709. the only means of removing the danger that hovered perpetually over their more exposed settlements. Queen Anne was not insensible to the sufferings of her colonial subjects, and readily listened to a plan by Colonel Vetch, who was well acquainted with the St. Lawrence, for the capture of Montreal and Quebec. Vetch landed in New York on the 3rd of May, and at once commenced preparations for an invasion of Canada by way of the Richelieu, which was to be supported by a fleet from England in the St. Lawrence.

De Vaudreuil received early intelligence of the threatened danger, and resolved to dissipate it by a counter movement against the British colonies. On the 28th of July, de Ramsay, Governor of Montreal, proceeded with a strong force towards the British encampment near Lake Champlain. The French scouts brought intelligence that the enemy amounting to 5000 men, were strongly entrenched. The Indians quailed at this news, refused to advance further, and the army retreated to Montreal. Nor were the preparations of the British colonies productive of more important results. Towards the end of September de Vaudreuil learned that their forces had retired from the lake, owing to sickness and the non-arrival from the mother country of the promised aid. The fleet destined for the attack of Quebec never crossed the Atlantic; it was sent to Lisbon instead, to support the waning fortunes of Portugal against the triumphant arms of Spain. The Iroquois also had played them false. No sooner had they joined

the British army, than perceiving it was sufficiently strong to take Montreal they resolved with their usual cautious policy to maintain the strength of the European rivals, and thus preserve their own importance, and perhaps their very existence as a people. A small stream trickled by the camp; into this they flung the skins of the animals they killed. These under a burning sun soon infected the water, and many of the militia died from its use, while not the slightest suspicion was entertained of the true cause of the mortality.

But Britain had not abandoned the design of aiding weeping Massachusetts, and humbling the pride of Louis the Magnificent in the New World as well as in the Old. In September six English men-of-war, and thirty armed vessels and transports of New England, with four militia regiments under the command of General Nicholson, sailed from Boston for the conquest of Nova Scotia. In six days this fleet cast anchor in the noble harbor of Port Royal. With a garrison suffering from famine, and reduced by casualties and desertion to 156 men, Subercase, the French commandant, was speedily forced to surrender, and marched out with all the honors of war, to beg for food the next hour from his victors. In honor of the Queen the captured settlement was called Annapolis, a name it still retains.

Vaudreuil saw clearly the danger that threatened Canada, were the British to advance their possessions towards the St. Lawrence. He appointed Castin, an energetic officer, to the government of Nova Scotia, and during the winter sent messengers over the snows, to press upon the Jesuit missionaries the necessity of preserving the zeal and patriotism of the Indian allies and French settlers in that region. But Castin was unable to restore the falling fortunes of the French on the sea-board, and from that day to this, the Union Jack has floated over Annapolis.

Flushed with victory, Nicholson repaired to England to urge the conquest of Canada, while, at the same time, the Onondagas sent deputies to de Vaudreuil, to assure him that they remained faithful to their treaty with the French, although their confederates were inclined to make common cause with the British. The legislature of New York, had already appealed to the Queen on the dangerous progress of French dominion in America, and deputed Colonel Schuyler of Albany to present their address. "The French penetrate," it argued, "through rivers and lakes at the back of all your Majesty's plantations on this continent to Carolina, and in this large tract of country live several nations of Indians who are vastly numerous. Among these they constantly send agents and priests with toys and trifles to insinuate themselves into their favor. Afterwards they send traders, then soldiers,

and at last build forts among them." Schuyler carried five sachems of the Iroquois with him to London. Dressed in black small clothes and scarlet mantles, coaches carried them in state to an audience with Queen Anne, and giving her belts of wampum, made of the most brilliant shells,* they avowed their readiness to take up the hatchet, and aid in the reduction of Canada.

Bolingbroke planned the campaign and expressed "a paternal concern for its success." But while he could write brilliant treatises on philosophy, and successfully originate taxation of newspapers, he knew little of the colonies he proposed to succor, and lacked the requisite soundness of judgment and powers of combination to make that succor effectual.

At midsummer Nicholson arrived in Boston with news that a fleet might soon be expected from England to aid in the reduction of Canada, and impressed upon the different colonies the necessity of having their militia contingents in readiness as soon as possible. On the 30th of July the whole armament sailed from Boston. The English fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of war and forty-six transports and store-ships, was placed under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. The land force, composed of five veteran regiments from Marlborough's army, and two colonial regiments, was led by Brigadier General Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, the Queen's favorite. This armament was nearly as strong as that which subsequently captured Quebec under the intrepid Wolfe, although its works in the meantime had been rendered far more formidable, while its defenders were much more numerous.† Upon the same day on which the fleet sailed from Boston, General Nicholson proceeded to Albany, where in a short time he found himself at the head of 4000 Provincial troops and 600 Indians, prepared to burst upon Montreal. In the west, the Foxes, desirous to expel the French from Michigan, appeared as the allies of the English to effect a diversion in their favor.

Intelligence of the intended expedition was seasonably received at Quebec, and the measures of defence began by a renewal of friendship with the Canadian and north-west Indians. Joncaire, also, was successful in retaining the Senecas in neutrality, and the Onondagas remained faithful to their promises; but the rest of the confederates ranged

* Wampum belts were made of beads formed from shells of different colors. These shells were also used as money by the Indians. The inhabitants of Hindoostan use shells called cowries in lieu of small coin at the present day.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. I. p. 171. Canada in 1711 contained about 30,000 French inhabitants and 6000 Indians.

themselves on the side of the British. Leaving M. de Boncourt to strengthen the defences of Quebec, de Vaudreuil proceeded to Montreal, where he rapidly organized a force of 3000 soldiers, militia, and a few Indians, and placing it under the command of M. de Longueil, directed him to encamp at Chambly, and there await Nicholson.

Admiral Walker arrived in the St. Lawrence on the 14th of August, and after lingering a few days in the Bay of Gaspé, owing to an unfavorable wind, proceeded up the river. Little was then known in England with regard to the peculiarities of the St. Lawrence, and Walker sharing the apprehensions of the vulgar, imagined that a current where vessels floated on water one hundred fathoms deep, would be frozen to the bottom during winter, and puzzled his brains to know how he would preserve his ships. "To secure them on the dry ground in frames and cradles till the thaw," he sagely imagined to be the true mode of procedure.

On the evening of the 22nd of August a thick fog came on with an easterly breeze. Next morning both the French and English pilots thought it right to bring the fleet to with their heads to the southward, as the best course to keep the mid channel and drive clear of the north shore. The day passed safely over, but just as Walker was going to bed, the captain of his ship came down to say that land could be seen, and without going on deck he wantonly ordered the ships to head to the north. Goddard, a captain in the land service, at the instigation of the pilot, Paradis, rushed to the cabin in great haste, and importuned the Admiral at least to come on deck; but the self-willed man laughed at his fears and refused. A second time Goddard returned, "For the Lord's sake come on deck," cried he, "or we shall certainly be lost, I see breakers all around us." Walker came on deck and found he had spoken the truth; "but still," he exclaimed, "I see no land to the leeward." Just then the moon broke through the mist and showed him his error. Now he believed Paradis, and made sail for the middle of the river, but not before eight ships had been wrecked among the reefs of the Egg Islands, and 384 men drowned. As soon as the scattered fleet was collected a council of war was held, at which the craven-hearted leaders voted unanimously that it was impossible to proceed, and that it was for the interests of her Majesty's service that the British troops do forthwith return to England, and the colonial troops to Boston.*

* Admiral Walker's Journal, p. 122. 123. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1, p. 167-177. Heriot's Hist. Can. p. 399-404. Conquest of Can. vol. 1. p. 333, 334, 335. Brit. N. Amer. vol. 1. p. 201, 202, 303. Ban. Hist. United States, London Edition, p. 852-853.

The failure of the expedition against Quebec compelled Nicholson to retreat. The French scouts soon brought intelligence of this movement to the camp at Chambly. For the moment the news was doubted: "it was almost too good to be true," and Hertel de Rouville was despatched with 200 men to procure more certain information. He marched far on the way to Albany till he was joined by three Frenchmen, set at liberty by Nicholson on his return, who told him of the consternation of the British colonists, when they learned the misfortune which had befallen the fleet. Barques were soon despatched down the river from Quebec. At the Egg Islands the remains of eight large vessels were found, whose cannon and stores had been taken out, and the many dead bodies that strewed the shores of the river told unmistakably the disaster which had befallen the British fleet.

In the west, however, new dangers menaced French power. The Foxes resolved to burn Detroit, and pitched their wigwams near the fort, 1712. now defended only by a score of Frenchmen. But the Indian al-

lies of the little garrison came to their relief, and the warriors of the Fox nation, instead of destroying Detroit were themselves besieged, and at last compelled to surrender at discretion. Those who were found in arms were ruthlessly massacred, and the rest were distributed as slaves among the victors. Thus did the fidelity of their allies preserve Detroit to the French. Cherished as the loveliest spot in Canada, its possession secured the road to the upper Indians. Its loss would have been the ruin of the Canadian fur-trade, and shut out the French forever from the great highway to the Mississippi. Still, these successes did not alter the great current of western commerce, which continued to flow steadily towards Albany and New York. The Indian loved the Frenchman as a companion, but the British merchant paid a higher price for beaver, and self-interest, that great motive power of human nature among the civilized and the savage, led him to prefer the traffic of the latter.

Weakened by defeat—driven back from the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, Louis, now an old and feeble man, earnestly desired peace even on humiliating terms. The debility of France became its safety. England was satiated with costly continental victories, and public opinion demanded a peace. Marlborough, who hesitated not to say "that the enmity between France and England was irreconcilable," was dismissed from power; the Whigs fell with him, and the

Tories took their places to inaugurate a new era of peace. A 1713. congress of ambassadors assembled at Utrecht to regulate its conditions. Louis strove to preserve his Canadian possessions intact, but the sufferings of Massachusetts made Great Britain resolute

to retain Nova Scotia, and it was fully ceded to her, with the fisheries of Newfoundland, the vast unknown regions of Hudson's Bay, and the nominal sovereignty of the Iroquois.

The war had scarcely terminated, when the active mind of the Governor began to devise means for strengthening the defences and
1714. peopling the colony, which instead of increasing, was actually decreasing in population. He stated to the French ministry that Canada possessed only 4480 inhabitants, between fourteen and sixty years, able to carry arms, while the regular soldiers in the colony barely amounted to 628. This small number of persons was spread over a country one hundred leagues in extent. He added, the English colonies had 60,000 men able to bear arms, and that on the first rupture they would make a powerful effort to get possession of Canada. He proposed that additional troops should be sent out, and that one hundred and fifty convicts should be shipped annually to this country, to aid in the labors of agriculture. Fortunately for Canada the latter proposition was never carried out, and she escaped the indignity and difficulty of becoming a penal settlement.

The bitter lesson which the Foxes had received at Detroit, instead of making the remainder of their tribe more peacefully inclined,
1715. thoroughly exasperated them against the French. Not only did they interrupt the trappers in Michigan, their native country, but they infested the routes leading to the distant posts of the colony, and inflicted all the injury possible upon the Indian allies of the French. The Governor at length detached a strong force to bring them to reason. Shut up in their fort, against which two field-pieces were brought to bear, they finally offered favorable terms of accom-
1716. modation, which were accepted. But they soon evinced little respect for the treaty they had been forced to enter into, and though greatly reduced in numbers, rendered the routes towards Louisiana unsafe, and ever after remained the deadliest enemies of the French.

The success of the expedition against the Foxes established peace in all the borders of the colony, and for many years it presents few events of importance to record. The attention of the Governor
1717. nor was turned to the careless and improper manner in which notaries frequently performed their duties, and stringent regulations
1718. were now made to correct these abuses. In the year 1718 considerable excitement was caused in the colony by the discovery of ginseng, a plant highly esteemed by the Chinese, in the forests, which for a time promised to be a valuable article of commerce. But the

Canadians were unacquainted with its proper mode of preservation, and it soon became unsaleable.

The two succeeding years were alike barren of events. Charlevoix, one of the early historians of Canada, came out from France in 1720. 1720, remained here during the succeeding year, and visited the principal settlements, which he describes in his Journal. Quebec 1721. embraced even then an Upper and Lower Town, and contained about 7000 inhabitants. Its best society, composed of military officers and nobles, was extremely agreeable, and he states that nowhere was the French language spoken in greater purity. Under a gay exterior was concealed a very general poverty. "The English," the Canadians said, "knew better how to accumulate wealth, but they alone were acquainted with the most agreeable way of spending it." The only employment suited to their taste was the fur-trade, the roving and adventurous habits of which they especially liked. They made money by it occasionally, which was soon squandered again in pleasure and display. Many who had made a handsome figure in society were now suffering pecuniary distress; still, while they curtailed the luxuries of their tables, they continued as long as possible to be richly dressed. Agriculture received little attention, and the timber trade was yet in its infancy.

The banks of the St. Lawrence for some distance below Quebec were already laid out in seigniories, and partially cultivated. Some of the farmers were in easy circumstances, and richer than their landlords, whose necessities compelled them to let their land at low quiet-rents. At one point Charlevoix found a baron, holding the office of inspector of highways, who lived in the forest, and derived his support from a traffic with the neighboring Indians. Three Rivers was an agreeable place, containing 800 inhabitants, and surrounded by well cultivated fields. Its fur-trade had been in a great measure transferred to Montreal, and the iron mines had not yet begun to be worked. He found the country thinly peopled as he ascended the river, till he arrived at the Island of Montreal, the beauties of which he describes in glowing terms. He does not state the population of the town, but very probably it was about 4000.

After leaving Montreal he only met with detached posts for defence or trade. Passing up the river in bark canoes he reached Fort Frontenac, which he describes as merely a small military station. After a tedious voyage along the shores of the lake, he came to a log block-house on the Niagara river, occupied by Joncaire and a few officers and troops, but saw neither a settlement nor cultivated fields. Passing up Lake Erie he visited Detroit, and several of the stations on the upper

lakes, but beyond small trading posts encountered nothing worthy of the name of settlement. Such was Canada West one hundred and thirty-five years ago: it now presents a very different aspect.

Hitherto the fortifications of Quebec had been very incomplete, but the French ministry now resolved to strengthen and extend
1720. them, agreeable to the plan of M. de Lery. Montreal was defended by wooden works, which were in a most dilapidated
1722. condition. Orders were given to fortify it with stone. The

King advanced the money, but the town and seminary were to repay one half in annual instalments of six thousand livres. Barracks were likewise constructed for the regular troops. No provision was made, however, for the militia, who only existed in the colony from its necessities and the will of the Governor. As an institution in the state they had never been recognized by any French law or edict.*

Ten years' peace had added to the trade and population of Canada.

Nineteen vessels sailed this year from Quebec for the ocean.

1723. Six new ships were built for the merchant service, and two men-of-war. The exports to France embraced furs, lumber, staves, tar, tobacco, flour, pease, and pork; the imports from the mother country were wines, brandies, and dry-goods.

On the 10th of October, 1725, the Marquis de Vaudreuil closed his useful career. The sorrow manifested by the people for this
1725. event, was proportionate to the satisfaction they had displayed when he was first elected Governor. For the long period of one-and-twenty years, had he discharged his important duties with great loyalty, ability, and courage. His vigilance, firmness, and good conduct, had preserved Canada to France through a disastrous war, and he went to rest from his labors with the blessings and regrets of a grateful people, who had enjoyed all the peace and prosperity possible under his rule.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE BEAUHARNOIS.

When the death of de Vaudreuil become known in France, the Marquis de Beauharnois, a natural son of Louis XIV., received the
1726. appointment of Governor. He arrived in Canada early in

May, and was almost immediately engaged in a warm controversy with Governor Burnet of New York, relative to a fort and trading establishment which the latter was constructing at Oswego, with the

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 185, 186.

view of diverting still more of the Indian trade to New York. To prevent this result the Governor despatched M. de Longueil to the Onondagas to ask permission to erect a store-house and fort at Niagara. The persuasions of the Jesuit missionaries readily induced them to agree to this course, and the French promptly applied themselves to profit by the privilege. Burnet induced the Senecas to hinder the proceedings of the French, and this tribe at once sent a messenger to Niagara to require them immediately to desist, as the country where they were belonged to them and not to the Onondagas. Regardless of this demand the works were pushed forward, while at the same time Joncaire used his influence successfully with the Senecas to prevent their demolition.

Burnet, finding himself unable to dispossess the French at Niagara, strengthened the fort at Oswego, which so enraged Beauharnois, that in the month of July he sent a written summons to the officer in command there to abandon it within fifteen days. He wrote to Burnet six days afterwards remonstrating with him on the erection of this fort as being contrary to the treaty of Utrecht, which provided that the boundary lines of the British and French colonies should be settled by commissioners, and claiming the land on either side of Lake Ontario as belonging to his nation. The English Governor replied in a polite but resolute manner, completely refuted his arguments, and presented counter remonstrances against the proceedings at Niagara. Beauharnois retorted by a fresh summons to the officer commanding at Oswego, and another message to Mr Burnet, stating that hostile measures would be adopted if the fort was not abandoned and destroyed. The latter upon this threat coolly reinforced the garrison, to secure it in the event of attack : and so the matter terminated for the time.

Four years elapsed without producing a single event of note, and the Union Jack still floated at Oswego on the bracing breezes
1731. of the lake. Beauharnois had not carried out his threat of attack, but in order to repress the growing energies of the British colonies he now resolved on the erection of a fort at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Should a war again occur he saw clearly, that a military post there would place the French troops in such close proximity to the frontier settlements on the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, that great injury could be easily inflicted on them. At the same time it was an important step towards carrying out the plan, already conceived, of restricting the British colonies to the sea-board.

The Government of Massachusetts speedily became alarmed. Belcher, who was now at its head, sent a letter to Vandam, the
1732. Governor of New York, offering to bear one-half the expense of

an embassy to Canada to forbid the construction of the fort, and pressing him to engage the opposition of the Iroquois, now beginning to be known as the "Six Nations." Vandam laid the letter before the council; but a long peace had blunted its vigilance; no action was taken thereon, and the French retained peaceable possession of Crown Point.

Enjoying profound repose, year after year now passed over the colony, without producing scarcely an event of importance. The laws of France, with trifling modifications by royal decrees, were the laws of Canada; which, unlike the Canada of the present day, was never disturbed by the quarrels of a local parliament. The torpid repose, which it gained in this way, repressed the energies of its inhabitants, and perpetuated their natural easy and indolent manners, which over three-quarters of a century of British freedom has not sufficed to remove.

An old writer* on Canada fills up the historical blank that now intervenes, by detailing how the nuns of the General Hospital of 1733. Quebec began to adopt the lax manners of the colony, and mix in society contrary to their vows; and how Louis XV. reproved them therefor, and compelled them to adopt a more decorous behaviour. There was then the difficulty about the Bishop's Palace, 1736. which these same nuns claimed as their property; but royalty discountenanced their pretensions, and they had to succumb. Meanwhile, Beauharnois diligently applied himself to forward the interests of the colony, which now made rapid strides, in proportion to her former progress, in population and wealth. Cultivated farms gradually appeared along the St. Lawrence from Quebec to Montreal, as well as upon the banks of several of its tributary streams. The absence of roads prevented settlement in the interior, and water was accordingly the only market highway of the farmer. This led to the system, the evils of which is still felt in Lower Canada, of cutting up the farms into long narrow strips, having from one to three acres' frontage on the rivers, and extending inland from forty to eighty acres.

The French colonists during this long interval of peace, appear to have entirely overcome the enmity against them, so long treasured up by a few of the principal Indian tribes. Their pliant and courteous manners; their cheerful disposition; their frequent intermarriages with the natives; and, in many instances, their actual adoption of the wild and stirring life of the Indian, rendered them far better fitted to secure

* William Smith, who was a Master in Chancery and Clerk of the Parliament of Canada after the Conquest. His work is very poorly written; but he narrates occurrences honestly, though not very clearly nor methodically.

his confidence than the staid British colonist. A very favorable change took place also in the fur-trade in which the British merchants had so long had the advantage. The government adopted a more liberal and equitable system of Indian traffic, which was released in a great measure from the licensed monopolies, which had hitherto so injuriously affected it. A large annual fair was opened at Montreal to which the Indians were invited to resort, and whither many of them came to dispose of their furs in preference to going to Albany.

Still the progress of Canada was far inferior to that of its self-governed Anglo-Saxon neighbors. This was owing to a variety of causes, among the chief of which may be reckoned the absence of a local legislation, the seignorial tenure system, the want of schools, the gay and indolent habits of the people themselves, their numerous religious festivals, and the equal partition of lands among the children of deceased parents, without regard to primogeniture. Not only were the lands of the seigniors divided in this way, but also the farms of their tenants, which were usually barely large enough for the support of a single family. This system, which did not even permit of alteration by will, proved a most effectual bar to the clearing of wild lands. The children, contented and indolent as their parents, instead of going forth to provide for themselves in new districts, settled down on the paternal farms, which were divided and sub-divided amongst them to no end. The King sought to correct these abuses, by 1744. directing the Bishop of Quebec to suppress a number of holidays, which instead of being religiously observed, only led to drunkenness and disorder, and by issuing an edict, preventing in future the erection of dwelling-houses on tracts less than one and a-half 1745. acres in front by forty in depth, under the penalty of one hundred livres and the demolition of the buildings.*

In the meantime a storm had arisen in the political horizon of Europe, which once more threatened the rival colonies of the New World with the horrors of war. British commerce, now penetrating every quarter of the globe, refused to brook any longer the restrictions imposed by Spanish jealousy in South America. The English nation became clamorous for war, and the ministry giving way to the 1738. popular cry, strengthened the forces by sea and land, and prepared for hostilities. In 1739 war was declared in due form 1739. against Spain. Vernon captured Porto Bello, and destroyed the fortifications with scarcely the loss of a man; Anson swept the coasts of the enemy in the South Seas, surprised with a few

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1 p. 199, 200.

soldiers Paite by night, and after spending three days in stripping it of treasure and merchandise set it on fire. He afterwards proceeded to Panama, and subsequently traversed the Pacific Ocean till the 1740. long looked for Spanish galleon, the treasure and cargo of which were valued at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, hove in sight, which he carried a prize to England, and thus enriched himself and his officers.

These successes alarmed France, and Fleury, who like Walpole desired to preserve peace, was like him also overruled by the clamors of his rivals. France soon avowed herself the ally of Spain, whom she promised to aid with fifty ships of the line. But in taking this step all intentions of conquest were disavowed. "I do not propose to begin a war with England," said Louis XV., "or to seize or annoy one British ship, or to take one foot of land possessed by England in any part of the world. Yet I must prevent England from accomplishing its great purpose of appropriating to itself the entire commerce of the West Indies. France, though it has no treaty with Spain, cannot consent that the Spanish colonies should fall into English hands" "It is our object," said Cardinal Fleury, "not to make war on England, but to induce it to consent to a peace."

Such was the posture of affairs, when, by the death of Charles VI., the extinction of the male line of the house of Hapsburg, raised a question on the Austrian succession. The treaty known as the "Pragmatic Sanction," to which France was a party, guaranteed the Austrian dominions to Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of the late Emperor, but this did not now prevent the sovereigns of Spain, of Saxony, and Bavaria, from each laying claim to the empire. The opportunity was too favorable to gratify his hereditary hatred of Austria; so Louis forgot his pledged faith, neglected the advice of his minister, Fleury, and sought to place his creature, the Elector of Bavaria on the throne of Charles. Scarcely had the Empress closed the eyes of her father, when the young king of Prussia, Fredrick II., seized Silesia. Saxony demanded another part of her dominions, and presently Bavaria, backed by France, laid claim to her crown. The latter powers were at first successful in the war that speedily ensued, and Maria Theresa driven from her capital sought refuge with her son in her Hungarian dominions. Her misfortunes speedily produced a reaction in her favor.

England, now ruled by George II., (who sought to shield his 1743. Hanoverian dominions), avowed herself as the ally of the Empress. Sardinia and Holland soon after declared themselves in her 1744. favour, and her misfortunes thawed even Russia into an acknowledgement of her claims. France in return declared war against

England, plotted already a change in its dynasty, and the establishment of the Pretender, Charles, on its throne.

In North America, New England sustained the first shock of war. While Canada and the central British provinces still reposed in tranquillity, and even in ignorance of the declaration of hostilities, a body of French from Cape Breton* surprised the small English garrison of Canseau, and carried eighty men as prisoners to Louisburg. Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, was next assailed by a body of French Indians, instigated by the Abbe le Loutre, their Jesuit missionary, and as the defences were in a most ruinous condition they were with difficulty repelled.

New England was speedily alarmed for the safety of her frontier, and resolved upon the capture of Louisburg, the great stronghold of France on her borders, as the best measure of protection.

A majority of one vote, in the legislature of Massachusetts, was cast in favor of the expedition. Governor Shirley had already solicited aid from England, and the other colonies were now appealed to. New York sent a small supply of artillery, Pennsylvania gave provisions, Connecticut raised 516 militia, New Hampshire 304, while the forces levied by Massachusetts exceeded 3000 volunteers. Assistance was asked from Commodore Warren, then at Antigua, but on a consultation with the captains of the squadron, it was resolved in the absence of orders from England, not to engage in the expedition.

A merchant, William Pepperell, of Maine, was appointed to the chief command, and counselled by Shirley to see that the fleet arrived together at a precise hour, to land the troops in the dark, and take the town and fort by surprise. The ice from Cape Breton was drifting in such quantities as rendered further progress dangerous, and the fleet was detained many days at Canseau, where it was joined by Warren, who had in the meantime received orders from England to render all the aid possible to Massachusetts.

An hour after sunrise, on the 29th of April, the armament, in a hundred vessels of New England, large and small, came in sight of Louisburg, defended by 163 guns and six mortars, and a garrison of 600 regular troops and 900 militia. On the other hand the men of New England had but 18 cannon and 3 mortars; but no sooner did they come in sight of the town, than letting down their whale boats they

* The French had established themselves here after being driven from Nova Scotia, and strongly fortified Louisburg, its principal settlement, situated on an excellent harbor. The works were destroyed after it came into the acknowledged possession of the British at the peace of 1763.

boldly pulled to the shore, and drove the French, who came to oppose their landing, into the woods. That night the garrison of a detached battery, struck with panic, spiked their guns and retreated into the town. It was promptly seized by the besiegers, who soon drilled out the cannon, and turned them on the French works. But this success was counter-balanced by the defeat of a night attack on a battery commanding the entrance of the harbor.

To annoy this battery earth-works were thrown up, and guns placed in position to play on it, while at the same time trenches were opened within two hundred yards of the town. Still no breach was effected, and the labors of the garrison were making the works stronger than ever. It was now agreed that the fleet should run in and bombard the town, while the land force entered it by storm. But Duchambon, the commandant, was ignorant of his duties, and the garrison were discontented. A French man-of-war, laden with stores, was decoyed into the English fleet, and captured in sight of the beleagured town. The desponding Governor sent out a flag of truce, terms of capitulation were signed, Louisburg was surrendered with all its munitions of war on the 17th of June, and a New England minister soon preached in the French chapel. With Louisburg the whole island passed into the hands of the British. When intelligence reached Boston, that the strongest fortress in North America had fallen before the undisciplined mechanics, and farmers, and fishermen of New England, the town bells rung out a merry peal, and the people were almost beside themselves with joy.

The news of the capture of Louisburg created not a little annoyance at the French court, which for the moment vented its spleen by 1746. the recall of Beauharnois, and the appointment of his successor in the Admiral la Jonquiere, an old man of sixty years of age. Orders at the same time were given for the equipment of an extensive armament to recapture Louisburg, and lay waste the British colonies. This fleet consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirty smaller vessels, was ready for sea by the beginning of May, but contrary winds detained it in the harbor of Rochelle till the 22nd of June, when it sailed for Nova Scotia. It was expected that the French inhabitants of that province, amounting to 15,000, would declare for the expedition on its arrival, which M. de Ramsay anxiously awaited on its borders with 1700 Canadians.

The fleet was only a short time at sea when it was separated by storms, and few of the ships arrived together at Chebucto, near Halifax, which had been appointed as the rendezvous. Here the Admiral of the fleet, the Duke de Anville, died of apoplexy, on the 16th of September, four days after his arrival. A council of war was now called,

at which the Vice-Admiral proposed returning to France, as only seven ships remained, and the greater part of the troops were on board the missing vessels. Governor la Jonquiere, who was with the fleet, on his way to Canada, opposed this course, and proposed an attack on Annapolis, to which the majority of the council agreed. The Vice-Admiral, whose health was already failing, was so disturbed by the course pursued by the council that he was thrown into a fever attended with delirium, and run himself through with his sword. Jonquiere succeeded to the command and proceeded to attack Annapolis, but a violent storm separating his ships, he was compelled to return to France.

These disasters did not, however, discourage the French court, and a fresh armament was directed to be equipped for the attack of 1747. the British colonies, the command of which was entrusted to Admiral la Jonquiere. With this fleet sailed another from Brest, which was to act against the British settlements in India. The English ministry, apprised of these measures, despatched Admirals Anson and Warren to intercept both fleets. This they effectually accomplished off Cape Finisterre, on the Gallician coast, where they captured all the enemy's line-of-battle ships, and nine of the convoy. A considerable quantity of bullion fell into the hands of the victors, and the gratitude of their sovereign raised Anson to the peerage, and decorated Warren with the ribbon of the Bath. As Admiral la Jonquiere was among the numerous captives who graced the victory of the British fleet, the Count de la Galissoniere was appointed Governor of Canada, until his exchange could be effected.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT DE LA GALISSONIERE.

Nature had denied to Count de la Galissoniere a commanding stature, or a handsome person, but in lieu of these had given him abilities of a high order. No sooner had he established himself in his government, than his active mind led him to acquire a just knowledge of the climate of the colony; of its population, its agriculture, and its commerce. He quickly perceived the advantages France must derive from the continued possession and extension of Canada, and proposed a system, which if properly carried out, must have prevented for many years, at all events, its conquest by the British. He urged the French Court to send out a good engineer to construct fortifications from Detroit to the Mississippi, and to colonize the west with ten thousand of the peasantry of France. This course would have effectually restricted the British colonies to the sea-board eastward of the Alleghany mountains. Its partial adoption only awakened their jealousy, and paved the way for the conquest of Canada. The firm hold which the French colonists and traders had acquired on the sympathy of the western Indians, and the disaster which befell Braddock, are evidence of the many dangers which must have threatened the British, had the Count's plans been ably carried out.

De Gallissionere, judging that a peace would soon be established, and sensible of the importance, in the meantime, of giving well-defined boundaries to Canada, to prevent future disputes and support the pretensions of France, despatched an intelligent officer, with a guard of three hundred men, to take possession of the vast country west of the Alleghany mountains. These he desired to establish as the boundary of the Anglo-American plantations, and beyond which he denied their having any just claims. This officer was also directed to use his influence with the western Indian allies of the French to induce them to accompany him, in order to give a color of justice, so far as they were concerned, to his conduct; and further, to get them to promise, if pos-

sible, not to admit any English traders in future into their country. Leaden plates, on which the arms of France were stamped, were ordered to be buried at different points, as evidence that the district had been duly taken possession of, while notarial documents were to be drawn up on each occasion, to record, beyond dispute, the priority of French sovereignty. The Count sent a letter to Mr. Hamilton, the Governor of Pennsylvania, apprising him of these measures, and requesting him in future to prevent his people from passing beyond the Alleghanies, as he had received orders from his court to seize those merchants found trading in a region incontestably belonging to France, and to confiscate their goods.

The "Treaty of Utrecht," which gave Nova Scotia to Great Britain, contained a stipulation, which provided for the free exercise of their religion, on behalf of such of the French Roman Catholics as chose to remain. Many availed themselves of this indulgence, took the oath of allegiance, and held quiet possession of their property. De Gallissoniere disappointed in procuring an extensive emigration from 1748. France, now conceived the design of withdrawing these settlers from under British rule, and forming them into a new colony, on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Knowing the attachment of many of these people to their priests, he considered the latter the proper instruments to effect his object, and readily induced the Jesuit, Le Loutre, and several others, to persuade them to quit the British territory. The Governor had soon the satisfaction of learning the success of his plans. Appealing to them as Frenchmen and as Catholics, Le Loutre speedily induced several families to quit their Acadian homes, and join a settlement near the Bay Verte, which his zeal had already established.

France regarded with a jealous eye the British station at Halifax, so rapidly increasing in military importance and population, and de Galissoniere vainly hoped that the colony of Acadian refugees he was forming, would lessen the danger of its neighborhood. He laid his plans before the French ministry who warmly endorsed them, and readily responded to his demand for a fund to enable him to carry them out, by an annual grant of eight hundred thousand livres. But while busily engaged in the execution of these schemes, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored the Marquis de la Jonquiere to liberty, 1749. when by virtue of his commission he proceeded to Canada to take possession of its government. Before the Count sailed for France he furnished his successor with the fullest information respecting the colony, and minutely detailed the plans which he conceived to be the most beneficial for its advancement and prosperity.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE LA JONQUIERE.

La Jonquiere did not pursue the course adopted by his predecessor, in reference to the Acadian French, as he considered it would most conduce to the benefit of the colony, to avoid any act which might lead to a new war. He supposed too that the limits of Nova Scotia, left unsettled by the recent peace, and which were already a source of dispute, would be duly arranged by the commissioners to be appointed for that purpose. This moderate course, it would naturally be presumed, should have met with general approval; yet so little was it relished by the ministers of Louis, that the Governor was reprimanded for not carrying out the plans of his predecessor, which he was now directed to pursue forthwith. In addition, he was instructed to take immediate possession of the Acadian isthmus with a sufficient body of troops, to build forts at the most favorable points, and to give every assistance to the Abbe le Loutre.

In consequence of these orders, the Chevalier de la Corne was despatched to Acadia to choose a site for a fort, and fixed on Chediac as being advantageously situated for receiving supplies from Canada, as well as from France. But the Governor and Le Loutre, however, disapproved of this location as being too distant from the Acadian settlements; and it was resolved to erect one fort near the mouth of the St. John, and another on the north side of the Messagouche, opposite the village of Chiegnecto, now Fort Lawrence.

Colonel Cornwallis, the Governor of Nova Scotia, had made repeated remonstrances respecting the course pursued by Le Loutre towards the Acadians, and his occupation of the Isthmus, to which very little attention was paid. Believing that the boundaries would be amicably defined, he was loath to proceed to extremities, and the Abbe had been allowed to pursue his insidious course without interruption. No sooner however had La Corne appeared on the isthmus with a force of 1100 French and Indians, and avowed his intention of erecting a fort on the Messagouche, than Cornwallis resolutely determined to maintain the boundaries of Nova Scotia intact. The French occupied the village of Chiegnecto, and compelled the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance to Louis XV., on the beginning of winter, but still nothing could be done towards expelling them till spring. Cornwallis was not idle in the interval. The home government was duly advised by him of what had occurred, and he solicited Massachusetts for aid to expel 1750. the intruders, but met with an unfavorable answer. Thrown upon his own resources, he could only muster four hundred

men to check French aggression on his government. These arrived off the Messagouche on the evening of the 20th April. La Corne had already withdrawn to the north side of the river, after inducing as many as possible of the Acadians by threats and promises to accompany him. Still several of the inhabitants of Chiegnecto clung to their homes, and refused to quit their fertile farms. The French officer—the man of blood, pitied and allowed them to remain. Not so with the Jesuit, Le Loutre. No sooner had the British appeared in the offing, than with his own hands he sacrilegiously applied the torch to the village church, and the flames rapidly spreading from house to house with the aid of his fellow incendiaries, the homeless and desponding people had no resource left but to proceed to the French camp.*

Major Lawrence, who commanded the force from Halifax, had an interview with La Corne as speedily as possible, and found him resolutely resolved to retain possession of every post north of the Messagouche, till the boundaries of the two countries should be arranged by commissioners. The French held a strong position: his force was far too weak to dislodge them, and Lawrence had no resource left but to return. From Halifax news soon spread that the French held possession of British soil, that they had burned a British town, and incited the Acadians to acts of treason. The New England colonies heard the news with little emotion, but in England the Earl of Halifax insisted effectually that Cornwallis should receive aid.

In August a second expedition left Halifax to re-take Chiegnecto. Le Loutre exerted his influence with the Indians and the Acadian refugees to oppose its landing, and La Corne covertly supplied them with arms and ammunition. Strongly entrenched they swept the beach with a steady fire as the British landed, and six of the latter killed and twelve wounded, proved, although few in number, how resolutely they fought. The French had erected forts at the Bay Verte, at St. John's River, and at Beau-Sejour. At the latter fort was La Corne's head-quarters, and here he had a fresh interview with Lawrence. "My orders," said the French officer, "do not permit of my crossing the river, and there is plenty of room at the other side for you." The other took the hint, and Fort Lawrence rose on the opposite bank of the Messagouche; both commanders remaining in peaceable possession till the next war.

But these were not the only events which bred bad blood between the British and French, in this part of the world. An armed sloop was despatched from Quebec to St. John's River, with stores for the

* Smith's *Hist. Can.* vol. 1. p. 214. Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.* (Lon.) vol. iii, p. 48

garrison there, the captain of which was ordered to avoid all British vessels, but if attacked to defend himself to the last extremity. Rouse, in the Albany, encountered the French vessel off Cape Sable, captured her after a short action, and took her into Halifax, where she was condemned by the Admiralty court, on the ground that she was taking supplies to an unlawful military post. French anger knew no bounds at this indignity, and the small cloud of war already dimming the horizon began to expand.

In the far west, occurrences were also transpiring, which threatened the renewal of hostilities. Despite the claims so positively 1751. asserted by the Count de la Galissoniere, with respect to French sovereignty beyond the Alleghanies, the governors of the British colonies continued to grant permission to their merchants to trade with the Indians of the Ohio. This trade La Jonquiere was instructed to interrupt as far as possible, and he accordingly had three of these merchants seized, and brought prisoners to Montreal, whither also their goods were forwarded. They were examined by a commission, and closely questioned as to their commerce with the western Indians, when they were discharged.

This high-handed exercise of authority created considerable surprise and indignation among the British colonists, and was looked upon by them as still more hostile, from the fact, that commissioners had already been appointed by the French and English governments to settle the boundary disputes. But these functionaries had scarcely commenced their duties at Paris, when they perceived there was little prospect of an amicable arrangement of the questions at issue, and that the sword alone could decide them. The Canadian Governor saw clearly that if a new war occurred the principal struggle would be in America, and he promptly represented to his government, that if it was desired to retain the French possessions on the St. Lawrence, troops and warlike stores must be speedily sent out. Nor even with the means at his command, was La Jonquiere entirely negligent of placing the defences of the colony in a better position. A French schooner once more clave the waters of Ontario, and he endeavored, as far as his insatiable avarice would permit him, to have the forts at Frontenac, at Toronto, and at Niagara kept in repair. He endeavored also to weaken the attachment of the Iroquois to the British; and, through the Jesuit missionaries, tampered so successfully with the Mohawks, that it required all the influence of Sir Wm. Johnston to prevent them from openly attaching themselves to the French.

But while La Jonquiere was thus careful to provide for the military protection of the colony, he permitted the grossest abuses to exist in

its civil administration. Like the first servants of the English East India Company, the principal officials came to Canada, at this period, to amass fortunes if possible, and then return home to enjoy them. This they could never accomplish from their salaries alone, which were ridiculously small, and justified in some measure the wholesale speculation so unblushingly practised. An extensive mercantile firm of the present day would pay larger salaries to its confidential assistants, than the nominal incomes of the dignitaries of Canada at this period. The Governor received for his services an annual stipend of some \$1300; out of which he was expected to clothe and pay a guard of twenty-seven soldiers; while the salaries of the whole civil list did not amount to \$20,000 per annum.* This public parsimony paved the way for the grossest abuses. La Jonquiere, himself, being of a narrow and excessively avaricious disposition, set the example of official speculation. He kept the nefarious traffic of supplying the Indians with brandy principally in his own hands, and belonged to a company, consisting chiefly of the principal officials, who monopolized nearly the entire trade of the colony. Bigot, the Intendant, imitating the example of his superior, soon became rich by farming out the principal posts in the Indian country.

All the government officials at this time appear to have been actuated by the same sordid motives, and we search in vain for purity of public conduct, or honesty of intention. The corrupt morals of the corrupt court of Louis tainted Canadian society to the core, and the condition of things offered the most fitting commentary on the evils of unrestrained power, and the blessings of popular constitutional liberty. The Jesuit Le Loutre even went so far in his greedy thirst for gain, as to commit a cowardly murder to obtain the contract for supplying the post at St. John's River with provisions; a service he subsequently performed in such a manner, as to yield him an enormous percentage, while the supplies were far less than they should be, and of the most inferior quality.†

Complaint after complaint was despatched to France touching the speculations of the Governor and his creatures, and the ruinous state of things they were fast producing in the province. These complaints were at length so forcibly and pointedly pressed, that they reached the dull ear of the sensual Louis, and La Jonquiere, dreading an enquiry into his conduct, demanded his recall. Short as his government had

* Heriot's Travels in Can. p. 78. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 219.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 217.

been he amassed, from commerce alone, over a million of livres; and his wealth may judged from the fact, that for many years his salary, pensions, and perquisites had amounted to sixty thousand livres annually.

He was not fated long to enjoy the riches he had so carefully hoarded up, and died at Quebec in May, 1752, before the arrival of his successor. During his last illness his ruling passion of avarice was strong as ever. He grudged himself the ordinary necessities of life, and on one occasion ordered the wax tapers burning in his bed-room to be changed for tallow candles, "as they were less expensive, and would answer every purpose equally as well." He was buried in the Recollet church, where those of his predecessors who had died in the colony likewise reposed.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DU QUESNE.

On the death of La Jonquiere, Baron de Longueuil, as the senior officer in the colony, assumed the reins of government for a brief space till the arrival of the Marquis du Quesne, who had been appointed, on the 1st March, (1752) Governor of Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, St. John's, and their dependencies. He was a captain in the French navy, Major of Toulon, and was possessed of considerable ability: but his manners were austere and haughty, and promised little for his colonial popularity. The Count de la Galissoniere, who had procured his appointment, furnished him with the fullest information relative to his duties, and the territorial claims of France; and thus instructed he landed in August at Quebec, where he was received with the usual honors.

Du Quesne's instructions, with respect to the disputed boundaries, were of so positive and aggressive a character, as to leave little room to hope for the continuance of peace. One of his first measures, therefore, was to prepare for war. He formed the militia of Montreal and Quebec into companies, and had them carefully drilled. The militia of the country parishes were likewise organised in the best possible manner, and the regular troops thoroughly disciplined.

While matters on the Nova Scotian frontier gradually assumed a more peaceable appearance, they became more and more disturbed in the west. Virginia assumed the right to appropriate to her jurisdiction, the country extending from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and the Ohio Company, with her express sanction, were already forming a settlement beyond the mountains. The commandant of Detroit promptly determined on their expulsion, and two hundred and forty Indians, and thirty French soldiers, pushed up the Ohio to capture their traders.

Six of these had taken refuge among the Indians of a Miami village, who resolutely refused to give them up. An action at once ensued, in which one Englishman and fourteen Miamis were killed.

Intelligence of this affair alarmed Virginia, and Dinwiddie, its governor, made an elaborate report of the aggression to the British Board of Trade, and asked specific instructions to regulate his conduct in resisting the French. George II., now almost in his dotage, thought more of Hanover than America, and the Prince of Wales had not yet learned to value the colonies; but the Lords of Trade resolved to sustain the claims of Virginia to the valley of the Ohio, and determined on the immediate occupation of the eastern bank of its river. Influenced by their representations, the King, in council, decided that the valley of the Ohio was in the western part of the colony of Virginia and that the aggression of the French in that quarter was to be resisted as an act of hostility. But still little or nothing was done to place the British colonies in a position to sustain the war, in which it was plain this policy must speedily eventuate. The mother country was unwilling to incur expenses in extending the possessions of colonists, who, while they already resisted the royal prerogative on many grounds, were perfectly disposed to throw the burden of their defence upon the crown. Each colony too was a distinct government in itself, and if its own borders were safe from attack, it gave itself as little trouble as possible about its neighbor. A few guns from the English ordnance stores, was all the aid that Virginia received in her present emergency, and the English ministry reminding her governor of the numerous militia of his province, left to herself the conquest of the west.

But, there were many astute minds in the British colonies, which saw clearly the impending contest, and were desirous to prepare for the emergency. Kennedy, the Receiver General of New York, urged through the press the necessity of an annual meeting of commissioners from all the colonies at Albany or New York, to adopt measures for the general welfare. From upwards of forty years' observation of the conduct of provincial assemblies, and the little regard paid by them to instructions from their governors, he inferred that the British parliament must compel them to pursue this course, and to contribute for the common defence. The clear-headed Franklin, on the other hand, advocated a federal union, voluntarily entered into by the colonists themselves, as preferable to one imposed by Parliament. "It will not be more difficult to bring about," said he, and "can be more easily altered and improved as circumstances may require and experience direct. It would be a strange thing if Six Nations of ignorant savages, should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union, and be able to execute

it in such a manner, that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies, to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous.”*

Such was the posture of affairs in North America, when Du Quesne entered upon his government, and whose promptitude in carrying out his instructions speedily caused a hostile collision between the British and French in the west. In 1753 the Ohio Company opened a road from Virginia into the Ohio valley, and established a plantation on Shurtee's Creek, but left it exposed to the wavering jealousy of the red men, and without protection against French encroachment.

Du Quesne had already been informed of the designs of the Ohio Company, and promptly resolved to anticipate and frustrate them. Early in the spring a strong body of troops and Indians passed upwards from Montreal, to reinforce the western posts, and establish forts in the valley of Ohio. A hunting party of the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence speedily conveyed intelligence of this occurrence to their grand council at Onondaga. The Six Nations were opposed to the French occupation of Ohio, which this force evidently was intended to effect. In eight-and-forty hours relays of Indian runners conveyed the intelligence to Sir Wm. Johnson, and urged him to protect their western allies, the Miami and the tribes of the Ohio. These were also speedily informed of the approach of danger, and their envoy met the French in April at Niagara, and warned them to turn back. At Erie a fresh messenger desired them to withdraw, but the French commander threw back his belt of wampum in contempt, and told the astonished chief “that the land was his, and that he would have it, let who would stand up against it.” True to his word, fortified posts were established at Erie, at Waterford, and at Venango, and preparations made to occupy the banks of the Monongahela and the Ohio.

Dinwiddie, of Virginia, now felt that the time had come for decisive action, and he resolved to send “a person of distinction to the commander of the French forces on the Ohio, to know his reasons for invading the British dominions, while a solid peace subsisted.” The envoy whom he selected for this mission was George Washington, then just twenty-one years of age, who promptly set out on his perilous winter's journey to the rivers of Lake Erie, guided by Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company, and accompanied by an interpreter and four attendants. On the 29th of November he was present at

* The British Parliament subsequently rejected a union of this form, as tending too much to increase the power of the colonies.

a council of the Delawares and Shawnees, at which it was agreed to give a third warning to the French to quit their country, and if they refused, to solicit the aid of the Iroquois to expel them. Washington then proceeded to Venango with the deputies of the Ohio Indians. The French officers there made no secret of the intention to take possession of the Ohio, and intimidated the envoys of the Delawares by boasting of their forts at Waterford and Erie, at Niagara, at Toronto, and at Cataraqui.

From Venango Washington proceeded to Waterford, where he found Fort Le Bœuf defended by cannon. Around it stood rude log cabins which served as barracks for the soldiers, and close by were fifty bark canoes and one hundred and seventy boats of pine, prepared for the expedition to the Ohio. The commander, St. Pierre, distinguished for his courage and resolution, refused to discuss the question of the French right of possession. "I am here," said he "by the orders of my general, to which I shall conform with exactness and resolution. He has ordered me to seize every Englishman in the Ohio valley, and I will do it."

Washington now turned his face homewards towards Virginia. Passing down French Creek, he reached Venango to find his horses weak and unfit to travel. Heedless of a driving storm he pressed forward on foot, and with gun in hand and a pack on his back, quit the usual path the day after Christmas, and with Gist for his sole companion, by the aid of a compass, steered the nearest way across the country for the Fork. An Indian, who had waylaid him, fired at him from the distance of fifteen paces, missed him, and became his prisoner. Gist would have killed the assassin, but Washington spared and dismissed him. They travelled all that night and the next day, and not till dark did they think themselves safe enough to sleep. Clearing away the snow the weary wanderers now built a camp fire, and laid down to repose with no shelter but the leafless forest tree. Arrived at the Alleghany they endeavored to cross its waters on a raft, the result of a day's labor; but before they were half way over they were caught in the running ice, and carried down the stream. Washington putting out a setting pole to stop the raft, was jerked into the deep water, when they found themselves compelled to make for an island, where they built a fire and dried themselves. The night was intensely cold: in the morning they crossed the river on the ice: but not till they reached the settlement on Shurtee's Creek were their hardships terminated.

Washington's report was followed by immediate action. The Ohio Company made preparations to build a fort at the Fork, and he
1754. was sent to Alexandria to enlist recruits. Governor Dinwiddie, in the meantime, appealed to England and the other colonies

for assistance, but received very little from either one or the other. He persevered in his plans, nevertheless, and sent Washington, now a lieutenant-colonel, to finish the fort begun at the Fork of the Ohio, and to hold it to the last extremity. But while Washington was still on his way thither, the French led by Contrecoeur, came down from Venango, drove thirty-three Englishmen, who were working on the fort, away, finished what they had begun, and named it Fort du Quesne. The near forest trees were felled and burned; log cabins covered with bark were built to shelter the troops; and wheat and maize planted to supply them with food.

An Indian scout of the Mingoes soon apprized Washington of these occurrences, and implored his assistance to expel the French. But his raw recruits had their few cannon to bring on, deep streams to ford, and could only advance very slowly. On the 25th June another scout brought the intelligence, that a party of French were advancing towards them and to beware. That night this party concealed themselves among rocks, but the sharp eyes of the Mingoes discovered their trail, and brought Washington upon them. They saw the English approach and sprang to their arms. "Fire," said Washington; and he raised his own musket to his shoulder and showed his men how to obey the order. An action of about a quarter of an hour's duration ensued, in which ten of the French were killed, and twenty-one taken prisoners. And thus George Washington struck the first blow in a war which led to the expulsion of France from North America, and paved the way to the independence of the United States. From first to last he was the most conspicuous actor in the drama, which altered the relations of civilised humanity.

Contrecoeur, who still commanded at Fort du Quesne, was no sooner made aware of the fate which had befallen his detachment, than he at once assembled his garrison and Indian allies, and incited them to revenge. Washington had already constructed a stockade at Great Meadows, which he called Fort Necessity, and which he had unwisely placed between two eminences covered with trees. Here he was besieged on the 3rd of July, by six hundred French and one hundred Indians, who posted securely behind the trees on the heights, fired from their shelter on the troops beneath. For nine hours, however, did Washington animate his raw recruits to resistance; nor did he surrender till he had thirty men killed and several wounded, while the French had only lost three of their number. On the 4th of July the English garrison, retaining all their effects, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio; and westward of the Alleghanies no flag floated but that of France.

Meanwhile, commissioners assembled at Albany from the colonies

north of the Potomac, to adopt measures for the general safety in the approaching war. To this congress were admitted the deputies of the Six Nations, who indignant at the unseemly squabbles which had so long prevailed recommended union and action. "Look at the French," bitterly said a Mohawk chief; "they are fortifying everywhere. But we are ashamed to say it, you are like women without any fortifications. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." The cautious Iroquois strongly distrusted the result of the approaching struggle, and fully one-half of the Onondagas had already withdrawn, and joined a French settlement at Ogdensburg, on the St. Lawrence. But the commissioners effected little or nothing towards the general defence. Franklin proposed a federal union, which was strongly opposed by other members of the congress, but finally adopted with modifications: yet nothing was done towards the establishment of a general revenue; and it was evident, that without the aid of Great Britain, her American colonies would not be able to drive the French from the Ohio, or share much longer in the commerce of the great lakes. The mother country gave that aid, and who will gainsay that it was not repaid with ingratitude.

When the English ministry were apprised of the capture of Fort Necessity, and the occurrences which preceded it, they were extremely undecided what course to pursue. Newcastle, the Premier, sent pacific assurances to the French ministers, who were now very unwilling to enter into a new war, and left the entire conduct of American affairs to the Duke of Cumberland, then commander-in-chief of the British army.* Fond of war, and covetous of military renown, the latter entered on his new career with eager ostentation. One of his first measures was to appoint Edward Braddock to the command of the American army. It proved an unfortunate choice. A martinet in matters of discipline, Braddock was far from being a skilful general; and being of rough manners and despotic temper, he was wholly unsuited to conciliate the colonists. Nor did the Duke apply himself in the least to cultivate their good graces. The idea was foreign to him of a people accustomed to wield fire-arms from boyhood, and he committed the mistake of comparing the backwoodsmen of Virginia and Pennsylvania, with the peasantry of England. "He had only confidence," he said, "in regular troops," and directed that the generals and field officers of the Provincial forces, should be ranked beneath the royal subalterns. Disgusted at being thus arrogantly spurned, Wash-

* Lord Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. 4. p. 72.

ington retired from the service, and his regiment was broken up.*

General Braddock arrived in New York towards the end of February, and one of his first measures was to summon the governors of the different British colonies to meet him at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 14th of April, to concert a plan of operations. Four expeditions were now determined on, yet not with the view, it was alleged, of making war on France, but to establish the British interpretation of the boundary disputes. Lawrence, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, was to drive the French from the Isthmus and St. John's River : Wm. Johnson was to conduct an army of Provincial militia and Indians against Crown Point : Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed to win laurels by the capture of Niagara, while Braddock himself was to recover the Ohio valley and the northwest.

The departure of General Braddock from England, and that of the two regiments of the line which accompanied him, alarmed the French court, despite the pacific assurances of the English ministers, and it was determined to send out additional troops to Canada. The French fleet sailed from Brest in the month of April, and the English ministry, although no declaration of war had yet taken place, resolved to have its motions watched by a competent force. For this purpose Admiral Boscawen sailed from Plymouth with eleven sail of the line, and encountered three of the French fleet off the Banks of Newfoundland, two of which, the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, were captured : the third, being a good sailor, scudded to Louisburg, and found safety under its guns. The remainder of the French fleet, favored by a fog, arrived in due time at Quebec. It brought out a new governor to Canada, in the person of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the son of the former governor of that name, and who had been born and served long in the colony: Du Quesne had already resigned, being desirous to resume his post in the navy.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

The arrival of de Vaudreuil was gladly hailed by the Canadian people, who hoped to enjoy under his rule, the same prosperity and peace which had characterised his father's government. But in this respect they were sadly deceived. The new Governor was too familiar with

* From the positions subsequently held by many of the colonial officers, and by Washington among the rest, it is evident that this order was never strictly carried out. Even Braddock speedily saw its folly, and gave Washington a post on his own staff.

the corrupt manners of the day, to resist the sinister influence by which he was speedily surrounded on his arrival. For the preceding two years many of the inhabitants had been engaged in expeditions in various quarters, their lands had, therefore, been left uncultivated, and they were now threatened with famine. The company which had monopolised the trade of the colony, during La Jonquiere's government was still in existence, and de Vaudreuil was speedily won over to wink at its extortions. Perceiving the likelihood of a scarcity, the company had bought up large quantities of flour, which they sold back to the people again at an immense advance, and even sought to increase the prices of food, and consequently their own profits, by procuring the shipments of wheat to the West India Islands. Nor was this the only way in which the people suffered. Bigot, the Intendant, who after being for some time in France, had again returned, connived at the robbery of the farmers in the most shameful manner. He issued an ordinance to compel them to sell their grain at a low fixed price, under the pretence that they had caused the scarcity, and then sent his creature, Cadet, through the country to enforce it. The latter scoured the settlements in every direction, and took the grain by force when the inhabitants refused to sell it. Numerous complaints were made against him; but the Intendant refused to hear them, and referred the parties to a member of the company, who threatened them with imprisonment if they did not keep quiet; which the helpless people were thus compelled to do.*

Such was the degrading condition of the inhabitants of Canada at this period. With famine already afflicting them, they were likewise threatened with the miseries of war, and suffered, in addition, all the evils of a most corrupt administration. Happy indeed is the present condition of the Canadian Habitant when compared with the past. The conquest of Canada won true freedom for him, and gives him a more genuine liberty than his race enjoys in any other part of the world. Self-ruled, "he sits under his own vine and fig-tree," and no official, like the Bigot or Cadet of past times, dare lay an illegal finger on his property.

On the 5th of May, Braddock joined the main-body of his army near Fort Cumberland, and found himself at the head of a force of 2300 men, (which embraced the 44th and 48th regiments of the line,) with twelve pieces of artillery. Here owing to the want of carriages, horses, and provisions, he was detained till the 10th of June, when he pushed forwards towards Fort du Quesne. Learning on the way that his garrison expected speedy reinforcements, he selected 1200 men and

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 235-239.

ten guns, and pushed boldly on through the solitudes of the Alleghanies. Colonel Dunbar, with the rest of the army and the heavy baggage, followed as he best might. Braddock's march was conducted in the most careless manner, and the remonstrances of his officers only made him the more obstinate. Washington, who commanded some companies of Virginian militia, and acted as his aid-de-camp, pressed his objections to this course so warmly, that the irritated chief ordered him and his men to undertake the inglorious duties of the rear-guard.

Contrecoeur, who still commanded at Fort du Quesne, had received early information of all Braddock's movements from his faithful Indian scouts, and detached M. de Beaujeau, on the morning of the 9th July, with 250 soldiers and 600 Indians, to occupy a defile six miles distant. Before, however, he had fully completed the disposition of his force, the appearance of the British vanguard brought on an engagement. Its flanking parties were speedily driven in by a deadly fire from an almost unseen enemy. Braddock promptly advanced the 44th regiment to succor the front, and endeavored to deploy that corps upon the open ground : but a deadly fire from the thick covert swept away the head of every formation. Panic struck by the wild war-whoop of the Indians, which they had never before heard, and the disorder in their front, the 44th staggered and hesitated. Its colonel, Sir Peter Halket, and his son, a lieutenant, were now shot dead, side by side, while cheering them on. Meantime, the artillery instinctively pushed forward without any orders, and plied the thickets in front with grape and canister, but in a few minutes all the officers and most of the gunners were lying killed or wounded. The broken remnant of the advanced guard now fell back upon the disordered line of the 44th, and threw it into utter confusion. Again and again did Braddock, with useless courage, endeavor to induce them to present a firm front to the enemy : but this luckless corps, fated to be massacred at a subsequent period in Affghanistan, were seized with uncontrollable terror, lost all order, and fell back in a crowd on the 48th, now advancing to their aid under Colonel Burton. With these fresh troops Braddock endeavored to restore the battle, and made several desperate efforts to get possession of a hill, from whence a body of French poured down a most destructive fire : but trees and rocks disordered his well drilled ranks, which were also cut up repeatedly by the flanking fire of the Indians. Lacking the qualities of the general, his valor was useless : the carnage increased, and after having five horses shot under him, a bullet shattered his arm, and passed through his lungs. He felt his defeat keenly, and desired to be left to perish on the field : but Colonel Gage placed him in a waggon, and hurried him to the rear.

The remnant of the 44th and 48th now broke and fled in the utmost disorder, leaving the artillery and baggage in the hands of the French, and, what was still worse, their wounded to be scalped and murdered by the Indians. Washington with his Virginian companies, who had borne but little share in the action, held the banks of the Monongahela till the fugitives had crossed over, and then retired himself in tolerable order. All night did that panic-stricken army fly, and the following evening joined the force, which had been left behind under Colonel Dunbar, full fifty miles from the scene of action. Still the retreat was continued, Braddock's sufferings hourly increasing till his death, which took place on the third day from his defeat. Shortly before he expired he dictated a dispatch acquitting his officers from all blame, and recommending them to the favor of his country.

Full three-fourths of the small army Braddock had taken into action were killed, wounded, and missing, including sixty four officers. Fifty-four women had accompanied the troops, and of these only four escaped alive from the dangers and hardships of the expedition. The French, on the other hand, only lost their commander, de Beaujeau, and sixty men in this astonishing victory, while the loss of their Indian allies were still less in proportion.*

On Braddock's death, Colonel Dunbar assumed the chief command, and continued the retreat in the most disgraceful haste upon Fort Cumberland. Leaving two militia companies to strengthen its garrison, he pursued his march to Philadelphia despite the earnest entreaties of the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, not to leave their western frontiers unprotected. From Philadelphia, the remains of the army, 1600 strong, were shipped to Albany by the order of General Shirley of Massachusetts, who was now commander-in-chief.

While the disastrous events were occurring, which left the French flag floating triumphantly in the valley of the Ohio, Governor Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, was vigorously engaged in driving the enemy from the Isthmus. De Vergor, now commanding at Beau-Sejour, knew nothing of the preparations for war between the two crowns till spring: nor was he fully apprized of his danger, till on the 2nd of June he beheld the British fleet sailing fearlessly into the bay, and anchoring before his eyes. On the 3rd the militia and regular troops, amounting to 1300 in all, were landed without difficulty, as well as a train of artillery. De Vergor had been too busy during the preceding winter,

* Russell's *Modern Europe*, vol. 2. p. 444, 445. *Conquest of Can.* vol. 2. p. 19-26. Bancroft's *Hist. United States*, vol. 3. p. 129-186. Smith's *Hist. of Can.* vol. 1. p. 233. Bri. *North Amer.*, vol. 1. p. 211.

assisting the Abbe Le Loutre in plundering the Acadian refugees of the allowances given them by the crown, and in enriching himself by making fraudulent returns of firewood, and other articles required for the garrison, to be now prepared to defend his fort with resolution.* The British were suffered to cross the Messagouche without opposition. Beau-Sejour, its garrison weakened by discontent and fear, was surrendered after an inglorious siege of four days' duration, and called Fort Cumberland by its captors, in honor of the commander-in-chief. The little fortress at the Bay Verte, garrisoned by only twenty soldiers, was the next to fall: the French themselves burned the fort at St. John's, and retreated to Louisburg. These important successes were cheaply purchased with the loss of twenty killed, and about the same number wounded. The unfortunate Acadian refugees having [broken their oath of allegiance to Great Britain, and now a second time completely at its mercy, were treated with unwarrantable harshness.

General Shirley organized the third expedition determined on by the council of Alexandria, and marched westward from Albany, in the beginning of July, to capture the French fort at Niagara. But the news of Braddock's defeat and death soon reached his troops, and disheartened the Provincials, who deserted their colors by squads. Shirley, nevertheless, vigorously pushed forward with all the troops he could keep together, relying on the aid of the Iroquois. But these had also heard of the French victory at Fort du Quesne, and hesitated to commit themselves to the doubtful fortunes of the British. They even remonstrated against the passage of their territory by an army, alleging, at the same time, that the fort at Oswego was only tolerated by them as a trading post. The middle of August was past when the general, after a toilsome march, arrived at Lake Ontario, and the want of supplies, and the lateness of the season prevented him from attacking Niagara. Leaving 700 men under Colonel Mercer to strengthen and occupy the defences at Oswego, he commenced, on the 24th of October, to retrace his difficult route from Albany.

To William Johnson, was due the honor of redeeming in some measure the reputation of the British arms, so seriously tarnished by the defeat of Braddock, and the fruitless marches of Shirley. An Irishman by birth, he had followed when a youth the example of numbers of his countrymen even at that early day, and sought to better his fortunes in the New World.† Here like Cobbett, and Ledyard, and Coleridge, and

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 229.

† Even in the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, the emigration from Ireland to the American plantations was very exten-

East Indian Thompson, "who died a Major General," in the Old World, he began his career as a private soldier. But Johnson was moulded in no ordinary stamp. Possessed of a noble form, of strong perceptive powers, and influenced by an honorable ambition, he gradually worked his way upwards to wealth and public consideration. A settler for many years on the fertile banks of the Mohawk, his manly bearing, social manners, and Irish hospitality, had rendered him exceedingly popular with the aborigines of New York, and he might justly be termed the "Tribune of the Six Nations."* Not a single Iroquois had joined the ill-fated Braddock, or the tedious Shirley, but the entire Mohawk tribe attached themselves to the fortunes of Johnson; and Hendrick, their bravest sachem, led 300 of their warriors to his camp.†

Early in July, the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with a few from the other New England states and New York, assembled at Albany to the number of 5000 men, preparatory to moving upon Crown Point. General Lyman led this force to the portage between the Hudson and the head-springs of the Sorel, where they constructed Fort Edward to serve as a safe depot for provisions, and to secure a point of support in case of defeat. Here Johnson joined the army the last days of August, and leaving a garrison of 300 men in the newly-built fort, conducted it to the southern shore of the lake, which the French called the Lake of The Holy Sacrament, but which he now named Lake George. "I found," he said "a mere wilderness; never was house or fort erected here before." Johnson had never seen a campaign, yet his position for the camp, was chosen with much more judgement than Washington had displayed in the site for Fort Mifflin. On the north lay Lake George, his flanks were protected by wooded swamps, and behind him was the secure post of Fort Edward.

Tidings of the danger which threatened Crown Point, speedily reached de Vaudreuil, and abandoning the plan of an attack upon Oswego, he despatched Baron Dieskau, a brave and experienced officer, with 700 veteran troops, 1500 of the militia of Montreal, and 700 Indians, to its succor. Dividing his army at Crown Point, and eager for distinction, Dieskau, taking 1200 Indians and Canadians, and 300 regulars,

sive in proportion to its population. At one period this emigration was a source of much alarm, as lands in many parts of Ireland were left untenanted. There is not the smallest doubt, that at the present day Irishmen or their descendants, form the largest portion of the people of the United States. Vide Russell's *Modern Europe*, vol. 3. p. 1.

* *Memoirs of an American Lady*, vol. 2. p. 61. *Russell's Modern Europe*, vol. 2. p. 446.

† *Conquest of Canada*, vol. 2. p. 31.

pushed forward to assault Fort Edward. On the evening of the 7th September, he found himself within four miles of this post ; but the Indians now refused to attack it, stating at the same time they were willing to go against the army on the lake, which was thought to have neither artillery nor intrenchments.

Late that night it was told in the camp at Lake George, that a strong body of French and Indians, had landed from South Bay, and marched towards Fort Edward. Next morning 1000 men under Colonel Williams, and 200 Mohawks, led by Hendrick, were despatched by a council-of-war to its relief. Dieskau's scouts warned him of their approach, and posting his force among the brushwood and rocks of a defile, he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the enemy rashly advance. But at the critical moment the Christian Iroquois of Caughnawaga hesitated to fire upon their kindred, and showed themselves, to apprise them of the ambush. This movement saved the detachment from being entirely cut off. Put on their guard they fought bravely, and, although Williams and Hendrick were killed, made good their retreat to the camp, which was only three miles from the defile.

The close roll of musketry made Johnson aware that a sharp engagement was in progress, and as yet ignorant of the strength of the enemy he resolved to prepare for the worst. The camp had still no intrenchments. The New England militia were armed with rifles and fowling pieces without a bayonet amongst them, trees were now rapidly felled by the stalworth backwoodsmen, and waggons and baggage placed along the front of their line to form a breastwork. Behind this they could take deadly aim in comparative safety, and were perfectly at home.

Dieskau designed to enter the camp with the fugitives, but Johnson had brought up three guns from the lake, and the moment the Canadians and Indians found themselves under their fire, and in front of an intrenched line, their courage failed and they inclined to the right and left, and contented themselves with keeping up a harmless fire on the flanks of the British. Dieskau, although surprised at the strength of the position he had to assault, boldly pushed forward with his regulars to break Johnson's line in the centre, which he assailed at a distance of one hundred and fifty paces, by a heavy platoon firing. The action soon became general, and although the French troops stood their ground stoutly, they melted rapidly away under the well-directed and deadly fire of the New England men. Dieskau finding, after the action had lasted four hours, that he could make no impression on the centre of their line, directed a movement against its right flank, and was now supported by the Canadian militia. Johnson had been wounded in the

beginning of the action, but Lyman ably supplied his place, and soon checked the flank movement of the French. They wavered and gave way, when the New England men, leaping over their slight defences, drove them into rapid and disordered flight. Nearly all the French regulars perished, and their gallant leader, Dieskau, was wounded incurably, and remained a prisoner. The entire British loss, in the different actions during the day, was 216 killed, and 96 wounded. The French loss has been variously estimated, but it could scarcely be less than 700 in killed and wounded.*

The Canadians and Indians, who had suffered comparatively little in the engagement, finding themselves unpursued halted at the scene of William's defeat to plunder and scalp the dead. Here they were suddenly encountered by a body of New Hampshire militia, under Captain Macginnis, who were marching to aid Johnson's force, and a fresh engagement immediately ensued. It lasted two hours, and resulted completely to the advantage of the New Hampshire men, who lost their brave leader in the moment of victory. Thus defeated a second time the remnant of the French broke up in disorder, and made the best of their way to Ticonderoga, where a portion of the force left behind by Dieskau had intrenched themselves.

Johnson has been severely censured for not following up his victory by a movement on Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which was recommended by his own council-of-war, and the New England Governors. But his military experience, brief as it was, had already taught him that however bravely raw militia armed with rifles, and fowling-pieces, might fight behind an intrenched position, where they had no evolutions to perform, and where all that was necessary was swift and well aimed firing, they were, nevertheless, totally unequal to contend on a fair field against veteran French troops, armed with musket and bayonet, and still less to assault fortified positions. Johnson, under these circumstances, felt that he had done sufficient in saving the frontiers of the New England colonies, and that his wisdom was not to risk a defeat by facing trained troops behind intrenchments. He accordingly contented himself with erecting Fort William Henry on the battle field, and detaching Captain Rogers, a daring and active officer, to obtain correct intelligence of the enemy's movements. Rogers performed this duty in the most satisfactory man-

* Bancroft says their loss was not much greater than that of the British: but in this estimate he is evidently mistaken. Smith rates their loss at 1000 killed, wounded, and missing, and Warburton says 800. Their entire loss throughout the day was probably about 700.

ner, cut off several of the detached parties of the French, and ascertained that a body of 2000 men, with a proportion of artillery, were securely posted at Ticonderoga.

Having strengthened Fort Edward, and William Henry, which he garrisoned with a regiment of militia, Johnson, on the 24th of December, fell back to Albany with the remainder of his forces, who from thence returned to their respective provinces. Although the victory he had won, with untrained and imperfectly armed troops, was not productive of any brilliant results, England was grateful for what he had accomplished, and rewarded him by a baronetcy, and a parliamentary grant of £5000.*

While Johnson, and the men of New England, were winning laurels at Lake George, the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania felt the full effects of Braddock's defeat, and the cowardly flight of Dunbar. The French of Fort du Quesne and their Indians, swept the open country in every direction, plundering and murdering the inhabitants. Its Quaker legislature refused assistance to repel these aggressions, and not till the clamors of hundreds of fugitives proclaimed that 1500 French and Indians had mustered on the Susquehanna only eighty miles from Philadelphia, did these men of peace respond to the importunity of their governor, by calling out the militia and appropriating £62,000 for the expenses of the war. The other colonies, whose frontiers were exposed, became more and more alarmed, and on the 12th of December a grand council-of-war was held at New York, composed of several of the Governors and superior officers, to deliberate on means for the common safety. A splendid campaign was now planned for the following year; Quebec was to be menaced by the Kennebec and the Chaudiere; vessels were to be launched on Lake Ontario from Oswego, and Frontenac, and Niagara, and Toronto to be captured; and then Fort du Quesne, and Detroit, and Mackinaw, deprived of their communications with Montreal, must surrender. A strong force at the same time was to carry Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and to threaten the settlements on the St. Lawrence by the Richelieu. The mother country was appealed to for succour. This she determined to give, despite her fears already of colonial independence when freed from French aggression, and Lord Loudon was appointed to direct her American armies.

* Conquest of Can. vol. 2. p. 35. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 235

CHAPTER VII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL,
CONTINUED.

Despite the hostile conflicts in the New World, France and England were still nominally at peace. Contrary to all political conjecture, France made no reprisals for the capture of the *Alcide* and the *Lys*, the two men-of-war taken off the St. Lawrence by Boscawen, and tamely saw three hundred of her trading vessels, laden in many cases with valuable cargoes of West India produce and manned by 8000 seamen, captured and carried into the ports of England. France felt her inferiority at sea, and had flattered herself that the anxiety of George II. for the safety of his German dominions, would prevent him from adopting any vigorous measures, notwithstanding her encroachments in America. But the numerous captures of French vessels, soon taught Louis XV. that no dependence need be placed on the promises and peaceable professions of the British ministry, and he unwillingly prepared for war. Both Great Britain and France now sought to strengthen themselves by new alliances, and to make preparation for the approaching contest, which threatened to involve all Europe. France 1756. began hostilities by the invasion of Minorca, and war was soon after formally declared by both countries.*

In the New World the campaign opened with far the best prospects on the side of the French, in a military point of view. They held undisputed possession of the valley of the Ohio and the great west; Niagara and Toronto had been strengthened, as well as Fort Frontenac; and their flag floated over Lake Ontario in almost undisputed sovereignty; while Crown Point and Ticonderoga gave them the supremacy on Lake Champlain. In addition to these advantages 3000 regular troops, a hardy militia, already trained to war, and numerous tribes of friendly Indians, ever ready to range themselves on the side of the stronger party, constituted a much more formidable military power

* Russell's Modern Europe, vol. 11. p. 447.

than the British colonies, with their jarring interests, and independent commanders, could present.

But while apparently formidable in military strength, Canada was woefully deficient in all the genuine materials of warfare, when compared with her Anglo-Saxon rivals. New England alone had more men capable of bearing arms than her entire population, which now numbered scarcely 80,000 souls, while the united British colonies boasted of nearly 3,000,000 inhabitants. It is true that the British settlers, like their descendants of the present day, were men of peace, and much better fitted by choice and habit for the occupations of commerce and agriculture, than for the military life. Still they possessed all the qualities which constitute the true soldier—energy, courage, and endurance, and needed only union, discipline, and the right kind of a leader, to drive their rivals single-handed from this continent. On the other hand, the Canadians were poor in purse, and suffering from a scarcity of food. Their union and military training gave them the advantage in the beginning of the contest—their want of numerical strength and the necessary resources, ruined them in the end. The British colonies presented the aspect of a free, self-governed people, grown rich and populous by their intelligence, their industry, and their love of justice. Canada exhibited the spectacle of a military settlement, ground down by the exactions of a feudal land tenure, dishonest public servants, and knavish commercial monopolies.

The ice of winter had still firm hold of the rivers of Canada, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil opened the campaign, by detaching Lieutenant de Lery, on the 17th of March, with 250 French and 80 Indians, to capture some small forts, which he learned had been constructed on the road to Oswego, for the protection of convoys proceeding thither. One of these posts, garrisoned by twenty men, was captured after a stout resistance and blown up. The obstinacy with which the little garrison had defended themselves, and the loss of some of their warriors, so exasperated the Indians, that they scalped and murdered them all with the exception of two men, who were saved with difficulty by de Lery. Three hundred men were also despatched from Fort Frontenac, under Captain de Villier, with instructions to establish themselves at some favorable point in the vicinity of Oswego, and inflict all the injury possible on stragglers from its garrison or on convoys proceeding there, and if possible to capture the fort itself by a sudden assault. Villier erected a small stockaded fort in a dense part of the forest, where he hoped to remain unperceived. But it was soon detected by a scouting party of Iroquois, who became not a little alarmed at this unauthorized

occupation of their territory. By the advice of Sir William Johnson, they sent a deputation to remonstrate with de Vaudreuil at Montreal, and to request him to demolish the fort. This he refused to do ; but told them if they remained neutral, and would not join the British, that he would protect them from every insult. After promising to pursue this course, they departed homewards laden with rich presents.

No sooner had de Vaudreuil dismissed the Iroquois deputies, than he took prompt measures to strengthen the detachment under de Villier, and also for the capture of the British armed vessels, which now began to appear on Lake Ontario. While thus engaged a large body of troops arrived at Montreal, under the command of Field Marshall Montcalm, the Chevalier de Levi, and Colonel de Bourlemaque, three brave and experienced officers. After remaining a few days at Quebec, to make himself acquainted with the condition of matters there, Montcalm directed three regiments of regular troops to proceed to Montreal, whither he departed in advance to confer with the Governor. He highly approved of the measures the latter had taken with respect to Oswego, and directed Bourlemaque to push forward to de Villier's camp with a reinforcement, and to take the chief command. Having completed these arrangements he proceeded to Ticonderoga on the 27th of June. Here he remained making preparations for the defence of the frontier, and endeavoring to procure accurate intelligence of the movement of the British at Albany, till the 15th of July, when he set out on his return to Montreal. To the Chevalier de Levi and 3000 men he left the protection of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and the maintenance of French supremacy on Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. From Montreal he hastened to Fort Frontenac, to make preparations for the capture of Oswego.

While thus all had been vigor and action on the side of the French, delay and indecision characterised the operations of the British. Lord Loudon being detained by business in England, Major-General Abercromby was ordered to precede him, and hold the chief command till his arrival. This officer brought out with him the 35th and 42nd regiments, and found himself at Albany towards the latter end of June. Abercromby deemed the force under his command too weak to carry out the extensive plan of operations, which had been sketched out by Shirley and the other colonial officers ; and, desirous to avoid responsibility, resolved to await the arrival of the Commander-in-chief before undertaking any important operations. Meantime, he marched the Provincial forces upon Fort William Henry, under the command of General Winslow, preparatory to the proposed movement on Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

While the bulk of the army thus remained in idle inaction, Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a detachment of raw Irish recruits, conducted a large convoy of provisions in safety to Oswego. De Villier pushed forward from Sackett's Harbor, with 700 French and Indians, to intercept him, but losing his way in the forest, he did not reach the Onondaga River, till after the convoy had safely passed down its course. Bradstreet fearing an attack on his return, divided his canoes and boats into three divisions, with an easy interval between, so that if his advance was attacked the men behind might push for the bank of the river, and meet the enemy on equal terms. Gallantly posting himself in the first canoe he left Oswego on the 3rd of July, and had only advanced nine miles up the stream, when suddenly a sharp volley, and the wild war-whoop of the savage, rang through the forest. The first fire fell with deadly effect upon the leading division, still Bradstreet did not lose his presence of mind, and made for an island, which twenty of the enemy, however, dashing through the water, gained before him. He had not a dozen men with him, still he boldly faced his foes, and quickly drove them from the island. The remainder of his first division speedily arriving made his strength up to twenty men, who bravely beat back a fresh attack by twice their number. The enraged French now made a third onset with seventy men, which, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict on the island, was repelled by Bradstreet and his gallant little band. Meanwhile, the boatmen of the second and third divisions had landed, formed in good order, and pushed forward to the assistance of their hard pressed comrades. After a desperate struggle the French were completely routed, leaving a hundred of their number dead, and seventy prisoners, with a large quantity of fire-arms, in the hands of their conquerors. On the other hand, the Irish boatmen had sixty killed and wounded in this fiercely contested action.

Bradstreet arrived at Schenectady on the 4th of July, and the following day proceeded to Albany, to warn Abercromby that Oswego was menaced by a large French force. The general at once gave orders for the 44th regiment to hasten to its relief, but owing to the interference of some of the Provincial governors its march was delayed. Lord Loudon joined the army on the 29th of July, still no active measures were taken.

Montcalm having completed all his arrangements for the siege of Oswego, departed from Fort Frontenac on the 4th of August, and arrived on the evening of the same day at Sackett's Harbor, the general rendezvous of his army, which amounted to more than 3000 men. On the 9th his vanguard arrived within a mile-and-a-half of Oswego: on the night of the 10th his first division also came up. The second

division followed shortly after, and at midnight on the 12th he opened his trenches against Fort Ontario, which crowned a height on the opposite side of the river from Fort Oswego, and completely commanded the latter. From the following day-break till evening the fire of the garrison was well kept up, when their ammunition becoming exhausted, they had no alternative but to spike their guns, and retire across the river to Fort Oswego. The abandoned fort, which contained eight guns and four mortars, was immediately occupied by Montcalm, who now continued his parallel down the river side, where a breaching battery was speedily erected, and next morning, at six o'clock, nine guns poured a destructive fire at point blank range against Oswego. At eight o'clock Colonel Mercer, its commanding officer, was killed, and at ten, although its fire was still much superior to that of the French, the besieged hoisted a white flag and offered to surrender, much to the astonishment of Montcalm and his officers.

The garrison, consisting of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and a detachment of Schuyler's regiment of militia, was about 1700 strong, and lost 150 in killed and wounded during the brief siege, or shortly afterwards, when 30 men attempting to escape through the woods, were massacred by the Indians. The French had 80 killed and wounded. Over 1600 prisoners of war, including 120 women, were sent down the St. Lawrence, and the colors of the captured regiments, for a brief space, decorated the walls of the churches of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. One hundred and twenty cannon and mortars, six sloops of war, two hundred boats, and large stores of ammunition and provisions, with £18,000 of money, fell to the conquerors.*

This was a most fortunate victory for Canada, and established the already rising reputation of Montcalm: but he stained his triumph by permitting his Indians to plunder many of his captives, and to slay and scalp the wounded who had been intrusted to his care.† Instead of occupying Oswego, he courted the favor of the Iroquois by razing it to the ground, and then retraced his way to Fort Frontenac.

The cowardly defence, and capture of Oswego, imprinted a deep stain on the reputation of British troops, and terminated the campaign of 1756 completely in favor of the French. "Our trade," wrote an officer of Montcalm's army to a friend, "is now entirely re-established.

* Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 488-497. Conquest of Can. vol. 2. p. 51-54. Bancroft's Hist. United States, London Edition, vol. iii. p. 169. Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 243, 244.

† Doc. Hist. New York, vol. 1. p. 498.

Lake Ontario is ours without any opposition. We can hardly recover from astonishment at the victory we have achieved." Web, who had at length advanced with the 44th regiment to relieve the garrison, when he heard of its capture turned and fled to Albany; Loudon expressed his fears of an attack while the enemy was flushed with victory. When the danger had passed over, he dismissed the militia to their several localities, and quartered his regulars on the people of Albany and New York. The hapless frontier settlers of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York, alone experienced the full evils of the recent disasters. Parties of French and Indians, from the Ohio, swept the settlements in that direction, and marked their course by plunder and massacre. Madened by these injuries, a body 300 Pennsylvanians hastily assembled, pursued a party of Delaware marauders to their village, and slaughtered them without mercy. On the side of New York, a detachment of 800 French and Indians from Fort Frontenac, on the 28th of November, passing up the Black River penetrated into the Palatine settlement of the German Flats, in the valley of the Mohawk, captured five small forts which protected the village, killed forty men, and carried off one hundred and fifty prisoners. An immense quantity of cattle and provisions were destroyed, and the French and Indians returned to Frontenac laden with valuable plunder. The disasters which had befallen the British arms, caused even the Iroquois to waver in their neutrality, and incline to the French. Their young men disdainfully trod the English medals under foot, and it required all the address of Sir William Johnson to prevent them from offering their services to Montcalm.

Emboldened by their numerous successes, the French did not permit their energies to slumber during the winter months. Scouting parties of Indians and the hardy Habitans swept the frontiers of the northern settlements, and brought Montcalm the most accurate intelligence of the condition of the enemy. Vast stores of provisions and warlike munitions had been collected at Fort William Henry, on Lake George; Montcalm now resolved to capture it by a sudden assault, and thus effectually cripple the future operations of the British against Ticonderoga and Crown Point. At midnight on the 19th of March, 1100 French and 400 Indians, led by Rigueaud de Vaudreuil, approached this fort to carry it by escalade; but the vigilant sentries discovered them in time, and alarmed the garrison, who speedily drove back their assailants with a brisk fire of cannon and musketry. On the next day the French invested the fort, and on the 21st summoned the commandant, Major Eyres, to surrender, which he promptly refused to do. Finding himself unable to take the fort, de Vaudreuil de-

stroyed the store-houses and buildings around it, and returned to Montreal. Shortly after his return, Colonel de Bourlemaque was despatched with two battalions to strengthen the works at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, while Captain Pouchot was sent to Niagara to fortify it in the best possible manner, and to take the command.

While these events were in progress on the Canadian frontier, Lord Loudon was exerting himself to collect a sufficient force to strike a decisive blow. For the present the attack on Crown Point had been laid aside, and the reduction of Louisburg, in Cape Breton, determined on. Preparations for this enterprise were rapidly pushed forward in England, and towards the end of June seven regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, on board a fleet of fourteen line-of-battle ships, arrived at Halifax, the port of rendezvous, and were joined by Lord Loudon, on the 9th of July, with six additional regiments, and some militia. Here he remained inactive till August, when intelligence being received that a strong French fleet had arrived at Cape Breton, the project of besieging Louisburg was abandoned.

Lord Loudon's departure for Halifax had not left the colonies by any means unprotected. Colonel Stanwyx, with 2000 militia and a detachment of regular troops, guarded the western frontier; Colonel Bouquet, with nearly the same force, watched the borders of Carolina; towards Lake Champlain, General Webb defended New York and the New England states; while to Colonel Monro, with 2000 men, the safety of Fort William Henry was intrusted. In addition to these forces, the hardy militia of the neighboring states could be rapidly drawn together, in case of an emergency, and would be more than sufficient for every purpose of self-defence.

No sooner had Lord Loudon put to sea for Halifax, than Montcalm promptly determined on the siege of Fort William Henry, for which he speedily drew together an army of 6000 regular troops and militia, and 1700 Indians. Among the latter were a body of the Oneidas and Senecas, who had abandoned their promise of neutrality, and attached themselves to the rising fortunes of the French. It was a season of scarcity in Canada, the inhabitants of which now began to feel the full evils of continual military service: and the difficulty of collecting supplies for Montcalm's army, was increased by the peculations of its commissariat, and the robberies of officials of every class. But all the obstacles to the progress of his troops were soon overcome by the resolute spirit of the French general, who proceeded himself to Ticonderoga, in the latter part of June, to complete the necessary preparations. From this point scouting parties were spread out towards Lake George. One of these, led by Marin, surprised a body of British militia

near Fort Edward, and returned with fifty-five scalps : another attacked a fleet of barges on Lake George, killed several of the boatmen, and took one hundred and sixty prisoners. "To-morrow or next day," said some of the captives to Montcalm, "General Webb will be at the fort with fresh troops." "No matter," answered the intrepid soldier, "in less than twelve days I will have a good story to tell about them." From Webb there was little to fear. He went, it is true, to Fort Henry, but took good care to leave it again with a large escort in sufficient time to avoid the siege.

Montcalm had not sufficient boats to carry his entire army by water, and the Iroquois agreed to guide de Levi with twenty-five hundred men by land. Next day, which was the 1st of August, the main body of the army embarked in two hundred and fifty boats, in front of which advanced the Indians in their decorated canoes. The rain fell in torrents, yet they rowed nearly all night, till at length the three triangular signal fires of de Levi broke upon their view, and the fleet pulled into North-west Bay. An hour after mid-night two English boats were descried upon the lake, which had been despatched to reconnoitre. Two canoes of the Algonquins boldly pushed out in pursuit, and with such celerity that one of the boats was captured. Of its crew two prisoners alone were reserved, the rest were massacred. The Algonquins had one of their principal chiefs killed.

Next morning no effort at concealment was attempted by the French, and the Indians, forming their canoes in a single line across the water, made the bay resound with their war-cry. The British were almost taken by surprise, and Montcalm disembarked without interruption a mile and a-half below the fort, towards which his troops advanced in three columns. The Indians covered his flanks with vigilant skirmishers, or pushed on in advance to burn the barracks of the British, to capture their cattle and horses, and to cut off and scalp their stragglers. They speedily succeeded in surprising a foraging party, forty of whom they slew and scalped, and captured fifty head of cattle. During the day they occupied, in connection with a force under La Corne, the road leading to Fort Edward, and interrupted all communication with the army of Webb. To the north, de Levi was posted with his regulars and Canadians, while Montcalm, with the main body of his army, established himself on the west side of the lake. Fort William Henry was defended by Lieutenant Colonel Munro, of the 35th regiment of the line, with less than five hundred men, but 1700 more lay intrenched at his side on the eminence to the south-east, where now may be seen the ruins of Fort George.

Montcalm spent the 3rd of August in reconnoitring the fort and

neighborhood, and in erecting his batteries. Next day he summoned Munro to surrender; but the gallant old soldier sent an answer of defiance. "I will defend my trust," said he "to the last extremity." This bold reply hastened the preparations of the French, whose scanty supply of provisions must speedily run short. Montcalm felt if he would conquer at all, it must be soon, and pressed forward his approaches night and day. The zeal of their general imparted itself to the men, who vigorously dragged the artillery over rocks and through forests; brought gabions and fascines; and labored with untiring zeal in the trenches. The first battery of nine guns and two mortars was speedily constructed, and awoke a thousand echoes amid the surrounding hills, as it opened on the fort amid the wild war-whoop of the savages. In two days more Montcalm had constructed his second parallel; and another battery, at a shorter range, poured a destructive fire upon the fort, while the Canadians and savages, swarming into the zig zag of the trenches, swept its ramparts with murderous aim. The odds were great against him, still Munro held out with stubborn valor, in the vain hope that Webb would advance to his aid. But the craven-heart, who might speedily have collected a strong body of militia to assist his 4000 men in raising the siege, sent nothing but a letter, with an exaggerated account of the French army, and advising him to surrender. Still the gallant old man held bravely out; and not till half his guns were burst, and his ammunition nigh exhausted, did he unfurl a flag of truce.

Montcalm dreaded the excesses of the Indians, who thirsted for massacre and plunder, and with the view of making the terms of capitulation inviolably binding on them, invited their chiefs to council. It was stipulated the British were to depart with all the honors of war, on condition of not serving against the French for eighteen months. They were also to surrender everything but their private effects, and the Canadians and French Indians, taken captive during the war, were to be given up. On the other hand, Montcalm agreed to supply a sufficient escort for their protection. The capitulation was signed on the 9th of August, and on the evening of the same day Munro delivered up the fort, and retired with his garrison to the intrenched camp.

Hitherto Montcalm had kept intoxicating liquors from the savages, but now they obtained them from the English, who were desirous to court their forbearance. But, unfortunately for the latter, this course produced a wholly different result from what they had expected. The Indians had been promised the liberty of plundering the British, and the greater part of them were dissatisfied with the stipulation which allowed them to carry off their private effects. Thus disappointed and

maddened by liquor, they spent the night in revelry and in recounting the wrongs they had sustained from the English. As the day broke the British soldiers began to march out of their intrenchments and were immediately surrounded by the Indians who at once began the work of plunder and massacre. Officers and men, stripped of everything, sought safety in the recesses of the forest, in the fort, or in the tents of the French. De Levi rushed in among the infuriated savages, and endeavored to appease them, but without effect. A spirit was now aroused which it was impossible to allay. Many French officers were wounded in their endeavor to shield the British troops. "Kill me," said Montcalm, "but spare them, they are under my protection." But his prayers and menaces were alike fruitless, and he urged the British to defend themselves. The march to Fort Edward was a disordered flight; not more than six hundred reached it in a body. Four hundred more were collected in the French camp, who were dismissed with a strong escort, while Montcalm despatched an officer to ransom those who had been made captives by the Indians. Such was the terrible occurrence which Cooper has so eloquently depicted in his "Last of the Mohicans."

The Indians speedily returned to their homes, leaving the French busy in demolishing the fort, and in carrying off the vast stores that had been collected there. Montcalm's loss was trifling, only fifty-three of his army had been killed and wounded. Still he forbore to follow up his victory by attacking Fort Edward, and dismissed the Canadian militia to gather in their harvest. Webb expected to be assailed every moment, sent his baggage accordingly to the rear, and desired to retreat to the highland fastnesses of the Hudson. The alarm spread in every direction. "For God's sake," wrote the officer commanding at Albany to Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, "exert yourself to save a province, New York itself may fall;" and the inhabitants west of the Connecticut River were directed to destroy their waggons, and drive in their cattle. Lord Loudon returned from his bootless and costly expedition to Halifax, leaving Louisburg untouched: but he spent the remainder of the season in quarrelling with the colonies about the quarters for his troops, and the royal prerogative: so the French were left undisturbed. Driven from the basin of the Ohio and the great lakes, the western trade effectually checked, with the American frontiers beset by a vigilant enemy, and hordes of treacherous savages, the false friends of prosperity, Britain and her colonies were sorely humiliated, and longed to avenge themselves.

In England, the return of the shattered fleet, which had conveyed the troops to operate against Louisburg out to Halifax, and the intelligence

of the fruitless operations of Lord Loudon, awoke a storm of public indignation. The discarded ministry of the Duke of Newcastle shared the odium of failure with the incompetent general, and all eyes were now turned on Pitt, who had again assumed the helm of state, in the hope that his wisdom would soon alter matters for the better. Nor were they disappointed. The "Great Commoner" knew no party but the British nation, and sought its benefit with honesty and singleness of purpose. The great object with him was to exalt the power, and establish the prosperity of his country on a secure basis, and to protect continental Protestantism, threatened in the King of Prussia by the formidable coalition of the great Roman Catholic sovereigns. No sooner was he firmly established in office, than warned by their incapacity, he urged upon his sovereign the necessity of removing the military and naval officers, who had hitherto conducted the operations against the French. The propriety of this course was at once apparent to the King, who promptly gave his consent, and Pitt, with that keen perception which belongs to a superior genius, proceeded to select his generals. Casting aside the formalities of military precedent he elevated Colonel Amherst, a man of solid judgment and respectable ability, to the rank of major-general, and placed him at the head of the force which was designed for the attack of Louisburg. Under Amherst, Whitmore, Lawrence, and JAMES WOLFE were appointed brigadier-generals. The conquest of the Ohio valley was assigned to Forbes; while Abercromby was to operate against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with Lord Howe, on whom Pitt mainly relied for the success of the expedition, for his second in command. Of Abercromby the minister knew very little, and had soon reason to regret his appointment.

Among these officers Howe and Wolfe, both young men, were the favourites with the minister and the public, Howe, connected with many of the best families of the nobility, was possessed of a manly and humane disposition, and great quickness of perception in discerning merit. Wolfe had only seen thirty-one summers, yet he had already been eighteen years in the army, and served at Dettingen, at Fontenoy, and at Laffeldt. At two-and-twenty, merit had elevated him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he had won the respect of his officers, and the affection of his men, who, while they experienced in him a strict disciplinarian, found also a kind and humane friend. Conscious of ability, like every man of sterling talent, his aspirations for distinction had still nothing of egotism about them, and were clad in the garb of genuine modesty. An authoritative and firm commander, a brave soldier, he was not ashamed to obey his widowed mother, whom he regarded with the utmost affection; while his gentle nature, even while

he kindled at the near prospect of greater distinction, already saw visions of happiness in the pure scenes of domestic love.

On the 19th of February, a magnificent fleet sailed from 1758. Portsmouth, which carried out General Amherst, and an army of 10,000 men. It was long detained by contrary winds, and after a stormy passage reached Halifax on the 28th of May, where Boscawen's fleet was met coming out of the harbor, the gallant Admiral being weary of inaction. At dawn, on the 2nd of June, the entire armament, embracing 22 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 120 smaller vessels, and 11,600 troops, arrived off Louisburg. Amherst indulged in the hope that he would be able to surprise its garrison, and issued orders for the silent landing of the troops. But for six days a rough sea, and the heavy surf which broke upon the rugged beach, rendered a disembarkation impossible. During this interval the French toiled night and day to strengthen their position, and fired upon the ships at every opportunity.

On the evening of the 7th the wind lulled, the fog cleared off, and the heavy sea gradually subsided, but a violent surf still continued to break on the beach. On the following morning, just before daylight, three divisions of boats received the troops; at dawn Commodore Durell examined the shore, and reported a landing to be practicable. Seven frigates now opened fire to cover the advance to land. In a few minutes afterwards the left division, led by Brigadier Wolfe, began to row in shore, and was speedily followed by Whitmore, and Lawrence, with their brigades, while two small vessels were sent past the mouth of the harbor, to distract the attention of the enemy, and induce them to divide their force.

The left division was the first to reach the beach at a point about four miles from the town. Wolfe would not allow a shot to be fired, stimulated the rowers to fresh exertions, and on coming to shoal water boldly jumped out into the sea to lead on his men. The French stood firm, and retained their fire till their assailants were close to land. Then as the boats rose on the last swell, which brought them into the surf, they poured in a close and deadly volley from every gun and musket they could bring to bear. Wolfe's flag-staff was shivered by a bar-shot; many soldiers were killed; several boats were wrecked by the surf; but still he cheered on his men, who had not yet returned a shot, and in a few minutes, with fiery valor, they had burst through the breast-works of the French, who fled in disorder. The victors pressed rapidly on in pursuit, and despite a rugged country, inflicted a severe loss on the fugitives, captured seventy prisoners, and invested Louisburg the same day.

For the succeeding two days a rough sea rendered it impossible to land the siege artillery, and provisions were conveyed to the army with the greatest difficulty. On the 11th the weather moderated, when tents were landed, and some progress made in the preparations for the siege. On the 12th M. de Drucor, the French general, withdrew all his outposts, and even destroyed a battery which commanded the entrance of the harbor, being desirous to reserve all his force for the defence of the town. The garrison of Louisburg was composed of 3000 regular troops and militia, with a few Indians. In addition to this force, six line-of-battle ships and two frigates guarded the harbor, at the entrance of which three other frigates had been sunk, to prevent the passage of the British fleet.

Wolfe's light troops were speedily in possession of the different posts deserted by the French, and on the 20th a battery opened upon the ships and land defences. For many days the slow operations of the siege continued under great difficulties to the British, owing to the marshy nature of the ground, and heavy rains which flooded the trenches. But science, a sufficient force, union among the principal officers, and courage and endurance in sailors and soldiers, overcame every obstacle, and promised speedy success. A sortie on the 9th of July by the besieged was speedily repelled, and day and night the batteries thundered against the ramparts, the citadel, and the shipping. On the 21st three of the French men of war were set on fire by a shell, the following day the citadel was in a blaze, the next the barracks were burned down, while Wolfe's trenches were pushed close to the town, and the French driven from their guns by the British sharpshooters. On the night of the 25th, two captains of Boscawen's fleet swept into the harbor with a squadron of boats under a furious fire, and burned one of the remaining men of war and carried off another. Boscawen prepared to send in six ships of-the-line to attack the other French vessels; but the town was already a heap of ruins, the greater part of its guns dismounted, its garrison without a safe place to rest in, so the Chevalier de Drucor resolved to capitulate at discretion, such being the only terms he could get.

Skilfully fortified, defended by a sufficient garrison aided by a powerful fleet, Louisburg had been bravely won. Its capture shed fresh lustre on the genius of Pitt, as well as on the gallant men he had wisely chosen to effect it. It was indeed a triumph for British arms, so long stained by sad reverses: 5600 soldiers and sailors were made prisoners, and eleven ships of war taken or destroyed. About 15,000 stand of arms and large quantities of military stores and provisions also fell into the hands of the victors, as well as eleven stand of captured colors

which were laid at the feet of the British sovereign, and subsequently deposited with due solemnity in St. Paul's. With Louisburg fell Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Island: and thus terminated the power of France for ever on the eastern sea-board of North America. Halifax being the British naval station, Louisburg was deserted; and, although the harbor still affords shelter from storms, a few hovels only mark the spot which so much treasure was expended to fortify, so much courage and endurance needed to conquer.

While Amherst and Wolfe were still busily engaged in the siege of Louisburg, the largest army as yet seen on the American continent assembled at Albany, under the command of Abercromby, the successor of Lord Loudon as General-in-chief, for the attack of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was composed of a strong detachment of the royal artillery, 6350 troops of the line, and 9000 provincial militia. In the latter end of June this force marched to Lake George, and encamped by the ruins of Fort William Henry till the 5th of July, when they struck their tents, and embarking in 1035 boats, protected by artillery mounted on rafts, proceeded towards Ticonderoga. All that day did this flotilla pull steadily forward, and when evening fell the troops landed, and built large fires to deceive the French into the belief that they would proceed no further till morning, and to distract their attention. But in the dead of the night they were suddenly re-embarked, and hurried forward to the stream which connects the two lakes. On the left bank of this stream, where it falls into Lake Champlain, rises a bold headland, on which stood Ticonderoga, or Fort Carillon, as it was named by the French. Protected by the lake and river on the east and south, while to the north it was effectually covered by marshes, it could only be approached from the west. The fort might thus be said to be situated at the point of an acute angle, the base of this angle presenting the only way by which it could be assailed by a land force. Across this base, at the distance of half a mile from Carillon, Montcalm marked out his lines, which he fortified by felled trees and intrenchments of earth.

At 5 o'clock, on the morning of the 6th, the advance guard of the British, composed of 2000 men under the command of the gallant Bradstreet, were safely landed, and meeting no opposition were speedily followed by the entire army, which pushed forward in four columns covered by skirmishers. Montcalm did not expect to see Abercromby so soon in his immediate neighborhood, and was almost taken by surprise. "These people," said he, "march cautiously, yet if they give me time to gain the position I have chosen on the heights of Carrillon I shall beat them."

The British columns, led by guides who knew little of the neighborhood, broke and jostled each other repeatedly. So dense was the forest and uneven the ground that an out-lying detachment of 300 French troops, called in by their general, lost their way, and were suddenly encountered by the right centre of the British army led by Lord Howe. The worn-out stragglers, who had been wandering twelve hours in the forest, fought bravely, but were soon overwhelmed. Some were killed, others drowned in the stream, and one hundred and fifty-nine surrendered. Lord Howe, foremost in the skirmish, was the first to fall: pierced by a bullet in the breast he expired almost instantly, to the great sorrow of his companions in arms, by whom he was much beloved. His death was fatal to the army, and infatuation and dismay took the place of the cool conduct and courage, which had hitherto marked its course.

The British troops passed the ensuing night under arms in the forest, and next morning Abercromby had no better plan than to withdraw them to the landing place, about two miles distant. But an hour before noon Bradstreet pushed forward with a strong detachment to rebuild the bridges which the French had thrown down, and take possession of a strong position at some saw mills, less than two miles from Montcalm's lines, where he was speedily joined by the entire army.

At dawn on the morning of the 8th, Colonel Clark, the chief engineer, was despatched with several of the principal officers to reconnoitre the French lines. These Clark represented "to be flimsy in construction and strong in appearance only;" an opinion from which several of the other officers dissented. But Abercromby leaned to the professional council of the engineer, and having already learned from a prisoner, who deceived him, that Montcalm's force was 6000 strong, and that M. de Levi was marching to support him with 3000 men, he determined to carry the French lines by storm, without even waiting for his cannon. De Levi had, however, joined Montcalm the previous evening, and brought only 800 men to his assistance, but 400 of these were picked troops.

At an early hour the French drums beat to arms, and Montcalm marched his force, which did not amount to 4000 men, into the threatened intrenchments; and having instructed them in the positions they were to occupy, the strengthening of his works was promptly proceeded with, despite the fire of the British light troops. The French intrenchments, a fact discovered too late, were of the most formidable description. A solid earthen breast-work protected the defenders from a hostile fire; while the slope in front was covered for nearly one hundred yards with an abattis of felled trees laid close together, the pointed branches

of which obstructed the movements of an advancing force. Montcalm designed to protect his flanks, which he had not time to intrench, by batteries, but the rapid advance of the British prevented their construction, and accordingly both ends of his line could have been turned without difficulty. This the French general was well aware of, and gave orders that if either of his flanks were turned, his troops were to abandon the field, and retreat to their boats as they best might.

Totally ignorant of this circumstance, which could never have escaped the sharp eyes of a skilful general, Abercromby rashly determined to throw his best troops against the enemy's centre, and cut their line in two, while his other troops assailed their right and left. While the army was forming for the attack, Sir William Johnson arrived with 440 Iroquois, who were pushed forward into the woods to distract the attention of the enemy, but they took no active part in the bloody action that ensued. The American Rangers, Bradstreet's Boatmen, and some companies of light infantry, formed Abercromby's first line; the second line was composed of the Massachusetts militia; in the third were the British regiments of the line, with Murray's Highlanders, the gallant 42nd. The reserve consisted of the Connecticut and New Jersey militia. While the army was forming, detachments of French came forward and skirmished, but were speedily overpowered and driven back to the cover of their intrenchments.

At one o'clock, having received orders not to fire till they had surmounted the breast-work, the British moved forward in three heavy columns, with skirmishers in the intervals, to force the French defences. Montcalm, who stood just within the intrenchments, while Abercromby occupied a secure post in the rear of his army, threw off his great coat, the heat of the July afternoon being very great, and ordered his men not to fire a shot till he commanded. No sooner had the heads of the British columns become entangled among the trees and logs in front of the breast-work, than the word to fire was given, when a sudden and incessant discharge from swivels and small-arms, mowed down brave officers and men by hundreds.

The light troops and militia were now moved aside, and the grenadier companies of the line, followed by Murray's Highlanders, pushed forward with quick but steady step, and despite the heavy fire of the French, without one hesitating pause or random shot, their column gallantly dashed against the abattis. Through this the grenadiers with desperate valor endeavored to force their way, but the cool and well-aimed fire of the French smote them rapidly down. Maddened by the delay, the Highlanders, who should have remained in reserve, were not to be restrained, and rushed to the front. For a moment

they appeared more successful, but they fiercely won their way through the abbatis to die upon the summit of the breast-work, till ere long half of these gallant men, and the greater part of the officers, were slain or severely wounded. Then fresh troops pressed on, and for nearly four hours the attack was renewed again and again by the British; now fiercely rushing forward, then broken and shattered by the murderous fire of the foe, they sullenly retired to reform their ranks for another desperate effort. But the valor of these brave men, thus sacrificed by an incompetent commander, were unavailing, and against that rude barrier, so easily turned, and which one hour of well-plied artillery would have swept away, the flower of British chivalry was crushed and broken. At length, in the confusion, an English column lost their way, and fired in mistake on their comrades. This event produced hopeless dejection, and the disorder in a few minutes became irretrievable, and Highlanders and Provincials, Rangers and Grenadiers, joined in one disgraceful flight.

During the confusion of battle Abercromby cowered safely at the saw-mills in the rear. When his presence was necessary to rally the fugitives he was no where to be found, and his second in command lost the opportunity of distinguishing himself, and gave no orders. But the disordered troops finding the French did not pursue them gradually recovered from their terror, and rallied of their own accord, on a few unbroken battalions whom the general had retained in his vicinity, most probably with a view to his own safety. Yet scarcely had confidence been partially restored, than an unaccountable order from Abercromby to retreat to the landing-place renewed the panic. The soldiers concluding they were to embark immediately to escape the pursuit of their victorious enemy, broke from all order and control, and crowded towards the boats. Fortunately the gallant Bradstreet still held together a small force, which he now with prompt decision formed across the landing-place, and would not suffer a man to embark. Had the disordered masses been allowed to rush into the boats numbers must have perished in the lake, and thus to the prudence of one man the salvation of many lives may be justly attributed. Owing to Bradstreet's spirited conduct order was in a little time restored, and the army remained on the lake-shore for the night. It still exceeded the French force four-fold, yet next morning Abercromby re-embarked, and did not rest till he was safe across the lake, and even then sent on his artillery and ammunition to Albany, to prevent the possibility of its falling into the hands of Montcalm.

In this sanguinary battle the British army lost 1950 men in killed, wounded, and missing, nearly the whole of whom were regular troops,

with a large proportion of officers. Of the French force 450 were killed and wounded, among whom there were no less than 38 officers.* Had the French pursued, the loss of the British must have been much greater; and no doubt had they been aware of their complete disorder, they would have done so. No sooner had the firing ceased than Montcalm caused refreshments to be distributed amongst his exhausted soldiers, and thanked every regiment for their incredible valor. Dreading a fresh assault when the British would bring up their guns, he employed the night in strengthening his lines. But he had nothing to apprehend from Abercromby, who shared the fright and consternation of his meanest sentinel. "Had I to besiege Fort Carillon," said Montcalm, "I would ask but for six mortars and two pieces of artillery."† The English general had still an army of 14,000 men, and an amply sufficient siege train, but he whiled away the season of action near the site of Fort William Henry in lining out a new fort, and thus signalled himself as one of the many incapables, whom the purchase of commissions, and seniority system, in the British military service, have elevated to the rank of general officers.

But the brave Bradstreet still persisted in his purpose of attacking Fort Frontenac, and was at length supported by a majority in the council-of-war. At the Oneida portage, Brigadier Stanwix placed under his command nearly 3000 militia, and here he was also joined by 42 of the Onondagas, led by their chief "Red Head." Leading his men down the river past the scene of his brilliant victory in 1756, Bradstreet speedily found himself on Lake Ontario, and landed on the 25th of August within a mile of Fort Frontenac. This famed position he found to be a quadrangle, defended by thirty guns, and sixteen small mortars; but the works were weak, and the garrison small and dispirited.

Bradstreet opened his lines at 500 yards from the fort, but finding the distance too great, and the fire of the enemy little to be feared, he took possession of an old intrenchment near the defences, whence his guns opened with effect. The garrison, consisting of only 120 soldiers and 40 Indians, were utterly incapable of defence, and surrendered on the morning of the 27th, finding there was no prospect of the succor, which the commandant, de Noyan, had already asked for from the Governor. Sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, an immense supply of provisions and ammunition, and all the shipping on the lake,

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 265.

† Bancroft's Hist. United States, vol. 3. p. 217.

among which were several vessels laden with rich furs, fell into the hands of the victors, who had not to lament the loss of a single man. Owing to the orders of Abercromby, Bradstreet had no choice but to burn and destroy the artillery, stores, and even the provisions he had so easily captured, and to return by the route he had advanced. The shipping, with the exception of two, retained to carry the furs across the lake, were also destroyed, and the fort blown up and abandoned. It was repaired, however, during the summer by the French, who likewise added to the works at Niagara, and strengthened the garrison there. Still, the loss of the large supplies of ammunition and provisions, stored up at Frontenac, was a severe blow to the French, and seriously crippled, in connection with the destruction of the fleet, their operations westward. De Vaudreuil endeavored to shift the blame attaching to himself, for not strengthening the garrison, to de Noyan; and compromised that officer's position to such an extent, that he was compelled to retire from the military service altogether.

While Bradstreet was engaged in the expedition against Fort Frontenac, Montcalm, from his position at Ticonderoga, lost no opportunity of harrassing the out-posts of Abercromby's army. On the 17th of July, a party of twenty Provincials and three officers were destroyed by the French light troops near Fort Edward; and, ten days afterwards, 116 teamsters were surprised and massacred about the same place. Major Rogers was despatched with 700 men, to seek out and punish the enemy. Hardship and desertion soon reduced his force to nearly 500 men, who encountered an equal number of French on the 8th of August, and soundly beat them, killing and wounding 190 of the enemy, while their own loss was only forty.

The capture of Louisburg and Fort Frontenac, with the bloody repulse of Abercromby by Montcalm, and the affair of out-posts just narrated, may be said to have closed the campaign of 1758 at the north. Westward, the French power received a severe check in the capture of Fort du Quesne. On the 30th of June, Brigadier Forbes marched from Philadelphia, *en route* for the Ohio valley, at the head of 1500 regular troops and 5000 militia. Among the latter were two Virginian corps under the command of Washington.

The march over the Alleghanies was long and laborious, and commemorated by the construction of a new road to the Ohio. September had come before the army arrived at Raystown, within ninety miles of Fort du Quesne. Here Forbes, who had been carried the greater part of the way in a litter, and whose life was fast ebbing, halted the main-body of his force, and detached Colonel Bouquet with 2000 men

to take post at Loyal Hanna. This officer, having learned that Fort du Quesne was weakly garrisoned, conceived the idea of capturing it before the arrival of his chief, and accordingly detached Major Grant, with 800 Highlanders and a company of Virginian militia, to effect a reconnaissance of the works. Instead of fulfilling his instructions, and retiring on the main-body, Grant posted his men on a hill, and beat a march as a challenge to the garrison. The combat was promptly accepted, and, after a severe action, the Highlanders were completely routed, with a loss of nearly 300 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair the company of Virginian militia under Bullitt, rendered essential service, and were publicly extolled by Forbes.

The whole army now moved forward as rapid as the rugged nature of the country, and the unfavorable weather would permit, the advance led by Washington. Scouting parties of French and Indians endeavoured to impede the march, but were always promptly repulsed. Finding that resistance to the strong force, so cautiously and securely moving against him, could not be made with any prospect of success, the French commandant withdrew the garrison from Fort du Quesne, after springing a mine under one of its faces, and dropped down the stream of the Ohio to the friendly settlements on the Mississippi. It was now the 24th of November, and the hills were already white with snow. On the following day the British took possession of the deserted stronghold, at once proceeded to repair its works, and changed its name to Pittsburg, in honor of the minister who planned its capture, and of whose glory the city on its site remains the enduring memorial.

The capture of Fort du Quesne closed the campaign of 1758. It was an event of considerable importance to the British, and restored their failing military reputation with the western Indians, while it effectually interrupted the communications of the French with their settlements in Louisiana. Brigadier Forbes lived but a brief space to enjoy the credit of its capture: his naturally weak constitution was ruined altogether by the hardships he had undergone during the expedition, and he died at Philadelphia soon after his return, much regretted by his acquaintance. Although the campaign had been chequered with disaster, still its general results were eminently favorable to Great Britain, and reflected additional lustre on the great man who guided her councils. The capture of Louisburg left France without a safe port near the St. Lawrence, and effectually closed Canada in on the seaboard, while the reduction of Frontenac and Du Quesne had given all the territory to Britain, for the possession of which the war had arisen. Abercromby's defeat only delayed the final catastrophe for a brief space. His overwhelming force still menaced Canada from the side of

Lake Champlain; and Montcalm was fully sensible that it only wanted a skilful general to lead it to victory. That leader, Pitt considered he gave it in the prudent Amherst. He received his commission, appointing him Commander-in-chief of the army in America, in December, and at once proceeded to New York to supersede Abercromby, who returned in disgrace to England. In the same vessel with the fallen general, sailed the gallant Wolfe on leave of absence.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL,
CONTINUED.

The year 1759 opened with dangerous menace to French dominion in the New World. Pitt, with hands strengthened by a vote 1759. from the grateful Commons of England of twelve millions sterling to carry on the war, sketched out, with consummate skill, the arrangements for the ensuing campaign in North America. In appointing his general officers he entirely disregarded seniority of rank, and selected the men he considered most capable of carrying out his views. To Stanwix he entrusted the conquest of the French posts from Pittsburg to Lake Erie: Prideaux was to reduce Niagara: while Amherst was instructed to assault Canada by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, to capture Montreal, effect a junction with the expedition against Quebec, and thus terminate French power in North America by a single campaign. But Wolfe was Pitt's favorite general. In him he saw the same noble qualities which were inherent in his own nature. With the intuitively sympathetic love of genius for its fellow, he reposed implicit trust in the gallant soldier, and felt that he was safely intrusting the honor of their common country to his keeping. Wolfe, eager for glory, gladly accepted the command of the expedition against Quebec. Still, he could have found happiness in retirement. Courageous, yet gentle; affectionate, though aspiring; of highly cultivated tastes, and with a nature formed for the highest enjoyments of pure domestic love, he could fully appreciate all the charms of a peaceful home. But, the noble passion for immortal distinction overcame his fondness for repose, and the day before his departure to join his troops, as Pitt detailed his wishes and his plans, he forgot everything but the ardent desire to devote himself to the service of his country.

The large armies that had been set in motion by the British during the campaign of 1758, convinced the Marquis de Vaudreuil that the total extinction of French power in North America, was designed. M. de Bougainville was accordingly despatched to France to soli-

cit provisions and the aid of fresh troops, and preparations were promptly commenced, under the vigilant superintendence of Montcalm, for the better defence of the colony. A proclamation was issued to the officers of the militia, to increase their zeal in preparations for resistance, and directing that all the male inhabitants of the province, from sixteen to sixty years of age, should be enrolled, and hold themselves ready to march at a moment's notice.

In addition to the approach of the fiercest war they had ever yet encountered, the unfortunate Habitants were now threatened with all the horrors of famine. The recent harvest had been below the average, owing principally to the absence of the farmers on military duty, and the scarcity was still further increased by the peculations and extortions of the civil officers. The rapacity of these men caused the poor people to conceal their scanty stores of provisions, and the troops were now quartered on them by the Intendant, who found it impossible to procure the necessary supplies. The scarcity gradually became so great, that horses had to be killed for the use of the inhabitants and troops at Montreal and Quebec.

Early in January a census was taken of all the inhabitants, who were found to number about 85,000, of whom 15,229 men were capable of bearing arms. Of these, however, a large proportion were unavailable in time of war, owing to the necessities of agriculture, and the prospects of a still more severe famine if the fields were left untilled. A detachment of artillery, eight battalions of French regulars, and thirty-three companies of the marine or colony troops, formed the real strength of the Canadian army. On the other hand, the British had nearly 50,000 men under arms, or ready to take the field; provisions were abundant in all their colonies, and the people prosperous.

The gallant Montcalm saw the net with which fate was gradually encircling him, still he never faltered in his duty. He could tell the French minister plainly, "that Canada must be taken in this, or the next campaign, without unexpected good fortune or great fault in the enemy," yet he acted with the same vigor, 'as though he felt secure of victory. He was indefatigable in his preparations for the impending struggle. The several fortifications were strengthened, vessels built to command Lake Champlain, and every exertion made to collect provisions, now becoming exceedingly scarce.

On the 14th of May, M. de Bougainville returned from France, bringing out with him decorations and promotions in abundance for the officers who had distinguished themselves in the last campaign, and but a slender supply of food, needed much more. The Governor was instructed to make the best provision in his power for the defence of

Canada, for the conquest of which he was informed the British were making vast preparations, and the French minister wrote to Montcalm, "that the King relied upon his zeal and obstinacy of courage."

De Vaudreuil now addressed a circular to the militia officers, requiring them to be ready for marching in any direction at a moment's warning; and, at the same time, sought to excite their patriotism by a stirring appeal.

"This campaign," said he, "will afford the Canadians an opportunity of signalising themselves. His Majesty well knows the confidence I have in them, and I have not failed to inform him of their services. His Majesty trusts they will make those efforts that are to be looked for from the most faithful subjects, more particularly as they have to defend their religion, their wives, and their property, from the cruel treatment to be expected from the English.

"With respect to myself, I am resolved not to consent to any capitulation, in hopes that this resolution may have the most ruinous consequences to the English. It is most indubitable, that it would be more merciful for the inhabitants, their wives and children, to be buried under the ruins of the colony, than to fall into the hands of the English.

"It being highly necessary that the most prudent precautions should be taken to prevent a surprise, I have established beacons from post to post, along the south shore, below Point Levi, to be set fire to as soon as the enemy are discovered.

"We promise every protection to the inhabitants, their wives, children, and property, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English, who would make them suffer the same hardships and miseries experienced by the Acadians. In addition to which, we have the testimony of their late ill conduct, in their treatment of the inhabitants of Cape Breton, notwithstanding the capitulation, as well as those of the Island of St. John.

"There hatred is so well known towards every thing that is Canadian, that they even make them responsible for the cruelties of a few Indians, still forgetting the measures we have taken to prevent a repetition of these actions, and the good treatment which the nation has at all times shown to them when prisoners.

"We have a real satisfaction in declaring that we entertain no apprehensions for the safety of the colony, yet we shall adopt the most efficacious measures, for securing to the inhabitants, their rights and property."

But the most remarkable document which appeared in Canada at this period, was a pastoral letter from the Bishop, Henry de Pont Briant, to the clergy of his diocese, which gives considerable insight into the civil and religious condition of the people, and which is accordingly inserted at length. It ran thus:—

"You are not unacquainted, my dear brethren, with the immense preparations of the enemy, the designs formed to attack the colony in four different parts, the number of their regular troops, and

militia, six times at least superior to ours. Neither are you ignorant that they have sent emissaries to all the Indian nations to incite them to forsake us, and rouse those to take up arms against us who are willing to preserve a kind of neutrality. You are sensible, moreover, that they occupy those harbors at the lower end of our river, which hitherto we have regarded as so many barriers; you perceive every incitement to fear and terror; and you are undoubtedly astonished thereat. The uncertainty of the affairs of Europe, the many dangers to which the succors we expect are exposed, the numerous fleets destined for our destruction; the general scarcity that prevails of every thing necessary for our defence as well as our subsistence even in peace, ought naturally to make the greatest impression on our minds. But what ought still to be the cause of the greatest chagrin, is the little zeal for piety observed every where, the injurious and wicked speeches maintained against those in whom we ought to place all our confidence; and what may create still further fear in us, are the profane diversions to which we are addicted with greater attachment than ever; the insufferable excesses of the games of chance; the impious hypocrisy in derision or rather in contempt of religion; the various crimes against Heaven, that have been multiplied in the course of this winter; all these, my brethren, ought to make us dread every thing, and oblige me to declare to you, that God himself is enraged, that his arm is prepared to chastise us, and in fact, that we deserve it. Yea, my friends, we tell it, in the face of the altars and in bitterness of our heart, that it is not the number of the enemy, nor their utmost efforts that affright us, and make us reflect on the impending disasters both on the state and on religion, but our manifold sins and wickednesses. Eighteen years have now elapsed, since the Lord called us, though unworthy, to watch over this extensive diocese; we have frequently seen your suffer by famine, and disease, and almost continual war. Nevertheless, this year it appears to us, is in all respects, the most afflictive and deplorable, because in reality we are most criminal. Were there ever such open robberies, so many heinous acts of injustice, such shameful rapines heard of? Who has not seen, in this colony, families devoted publicly, if I may so say, to crimes of the most odious nature? Who ever beheld so many abominations? In almost all ranks the contagion is nearly universal; however, my brethren, matters are not yet remediless, neither are our misfortunes irretrievable. The Christian faith teaches us that a true and sincere conversion can stop the avenging hand of Divine justice, and that it even hath frequently stayed it. It is true the disease is great, but the remedy is in our own power. *O faithless Jerusalem, return to your God: and God according to his promise, will deign to relent!* Atone, my dear brethren, I say, atone speedily for the past, by tears of a sincere repentance; they will be acceptable to the meriful heart of God, who never punishes his creatures but with regret. Dear children, be diligent therein, sympathize with the ministers of the altar in weeping, wailing, and prayer. Implore the Lord with fervency to enlighten sinners with the misery of their souls, that he will affect and convert them; we mean those of our brethren who run to their own destruction;

dread, least you find yourselves involved in their calamities; and ye, O sinners! we beseech you in the name of Jesus Christ, at least be no hindrance to the blessings we ask for you; come rather, we conjure you by all that is capable of affecting you; come and solicit them of your own accord, with a spirit full of meekness and contrition. For these purposes, after conferring with our respectable brethren the Canons of our Cathedral Church, having invoked the holy name of God, we have ordered and do hereby order, the due performances of the services herein directed. Imprimis. In the country parishes, on the first Sunday of every month, shall be a procession, without the host or sacrament, to the place and at the hour each of the Rectors shall appoint. In that procession shall be sung the litanies of the Saints, then the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*; and immediately after the ancient and common prayers of salutation, the Priest shall make an honorable atonement in the name of sinners, which he may find in the Ritual for Trinity Sunday. Secondly.—Every secular and regular Priest, shall add to the prayers of the mass, the prayer of the *Deus Refugium*. Thirdly.—In all the benedictions of the holy sacrament shall be sung the tract, *Domine non secundum*, with the versicles and prayer for the remission of sins. Fourthly.—In the different Churches of Quebec, namely,—the Cathedral, the Church of La Victoire in the Lower Town, the Seminary, the College of the Jesuits, that of the Recollets and Ursulines, shall be performed alternately, a Nona or Ninth: the holy mass shall be celebrated at seven o'clock in the morning, the litanies of the Saints, and the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus* shall be sung thereat, an honorable atonement shall be made for sinners, and the whole concluded with the benediction of the Sacrament, in the holy Chalice only: on the working days, the votive masses of the Holy Angels, of the Holy Trinity, of the Holy Cross, of the Virgin Mary, for all necessities, for times of war and for peace, shall be said reciprocally. The mass of the patron of the church or chapel shall be said: first, at the Jesuits of Saint Francois Xavier, in the Lower Town at Ste. Genevieve, at the Ursulines, and at the Seminary instituted for the conversion of the Indians. What is prescribed for Quebec, shall be observed as much as possible at Montreal and at Three Rivers; the camps and forts shall also observe what is appointed for the country Parishes. This mandate shall be read after the gospel of the mass of the parish, on the first Sunday, immediately after the receipt thereof."

During the month of May, a council-of-war was held at Montreal, which after several meetings decided that a strong body of troops should be posted at Quebec under Montcalm; that Bourlemaque should take post at Ticonderoga, and blow up the works on the approach of the British, should he find himself unable to resist them. Crown Point was to share the same fate, and he was then to retire to an island at the head of Lake Champlain, and there, aided by the shipping, to make the most stubborn resistance possible, and thus prevent the junction of the armies under Amherst and Wolfe. To withstand any force which might descend from Lake Ontario, the Chevalier de la Corne, with 800

regulars and militia, was directed to intrench himself above Montreal, and there hold out to the best of his power.

The campaign of 1759 opened with the advance of Brigadier Prideaux, at the head of nearly 4000 regular troops and militia, and a large body of Iroquois led by Sir William Johnson, against the fort at Niagara. Leaving a detachment under Colonel Haldimand to construct a tenable post at Oswego, the army embarked on Lake Ontario the 1st of July, and coasting its southern shore landed on the 7th at one of its inlets, six miles east of Niagara. Situated at the apex of the angle, formed by the junction of the river with the lake, the fort was easily invested on the land side, while the numerous armed boats of the British effectually intercepted all communication by water.

Pouchot, the French commandant, had no sooner learned the approach of the British, than he despatched a courier eastward to Frontenac to solicit aid, and another to Detroit and the other western posts, with orders to their commandants to hasten to his assistance with all the men they could spare, and as many Indians as could be collected. Confidently expecting succor he determined to defend the fort to the last extremity, and returned a prompt refusal to the demand of the British general requiring him to surrender at discretion. "My post is strong," said he, "my garrison faithful; and the longer I hold out, the more I will win the esteem of the enemy."

Prideaux planned his approaches with skill, and rapidly advanced them towards the defences, which soon began to crumble under a well-aimed and vigorous fire. Encouraged by the arrival of a small body of French and Indians, who succeeded, at night in getting into the fort unobserved, the besieged made a sally on the 11th, but were almost immediately repulsed and driven in under the shelter of their guns. On the night of the 13th the British finished their parallels to the lake, and the next day their fire became so heavy, that the besieged could only find safety in the covered way and behind their ramparts. On the 19th the French schooner *Iroquois* arrived from Frontenac, and lay off the fort, but dare not venture in owing to the British guns, which night and day kept up a harassing and destructive fire. Still Pouchot held bravely out, and watched anxiously for the aid, which the summer breezes of Erie should bring to his assistance, and which Prideaux, aware of its approach, had already taken measures to intercept. But the latter was not fated to see the successful issue of his skill and courage. On the evening of the 19th he was killed in the trenches, while issuing orders, when the command devolved on Sir William Johnson.

Meanwhile M. de Aubrey rapidly descended from Detroit, at the head of 1200 Frenchmen, collected from the different posts towards the

Ohio, and nearly 1400 Indians. On the 23rd four savages made their way into the beleaguered fort with a letter to Pouchot, informing him that succor was at hand, and that the British lines would speedily be attacked. But Johnson's scouts had given him ample intelligence of de Aubrey's approach, and he coolly prepared for the combat. Leaving sufficient troops to guard the trenches, he threw forward strong pickets, on the evening of the 23rd, to occupy the woods on either side of the rough forest road, leading from Chippewa to Niagara, and connected these by a chain of Indian skirmishers. These arrangements completed, and no enemy appearing, the troops lay down to rest with their arms in their hands. It was a warm July night, and the stars glimmered brightly down upon the sombre forest, now unruffled by even the faintest breeze. To the contemplative mind, the scene must have been one of peculiar solemnity and grandeur. Close at hand, the stillness was unbroken save by the monotonous breathings of the many sleepers, or the sentinel's tread. A little further on there was a brief pause around the beleaguered fort, and then its dark sides were suddenly illuminated by its own guns, or revealed by the red light of a salvo from the hostile trenches. From the distance, the dull boom of the cataract fell upon the ear like the noon-tide roar of life in London, or the rush of the approaching storm. The white tents of the besieging army, the watch fires of the camp, the bright moon, whose rays peered softly down amidst the sprays of the forest tree to glance from the polished muskets of the sleeping sentinel, or the Indian's tomahawk, and the soft feathery cloud of spray that rose upward from the Horse-shoe Falls, all tended to complete a scene of surpassing interest.

On the following morning, at day-break, Johnson pushed forward his grenadier companies, and part of the 46th regiment, to strengthen his front, while the 44th regiment were formed in reserve to preserve the communication with the troops in the trenches, and to act wherever their assistance might be needed. About eight o'clock, the head of the French column was perceived advancing through the woods, with large bodies of Indians covering either flank. As they came on, the British out-posts fell steadily back on the main-body without firing, while the Iroquois pressed forward to parley with the French Indians, with a view of inclining them to peace. The latter refused to abandon their allies, and accordingly the warriors of the Six Nations again resumed their post on the flanks of the British.

De Aubrey now speedily formed his force, and advanced to the attack. Shouting their appalling war-cry the Indians burst through the woods, and fell furiously upon the British line, which coolly awaited their approach, and swept them away with a few rolling volleys. The

close and steady fire with which they were received completely astonished the western warriors, and so thorough was their discomfiture, that they disappeared altogether from the field of battle. Their flight left the flanks of the French completely exposed, and they were soon boldly turned by the Iroquois, who pressed rapidly forward through the woods, while the British held their ground in front with the utmost steadiness. Attacked on all sides by greatly superior numbers, the French hesitated, gave way, and, after an action of little more than half an hour, broke into utter route. De Aubrey, and all his surviving officers, with a great part of his troops were taken, while the fugitives were rapidly pursued, and slain or driven into the wilderness, where the numerous dead lay uncounted.

No sooner had Johnson withdrawn his forces from the battle-field, than he sent an officer with a flag of truce to inform Pouchot of the victory he had won, and exhorted him to surrender without further bloodshed. The French chief doubted the information, and requested that one of his officers might be allowed to see the prisoners, and hear the tale of their defeat from them. The request was granted, and thus assured of the hopelessness of aid, Pouchot surrendered up the fort and garrison. The terms were liberal. The French were to march out with all the honors of war, and then to lay down their arms on the lake-shore. The women and children were to have safe conveyance to the nearest port of France, while the garrison, 600 strong, were to be conveyed to New York by the most convenient route. All stores, provisions, and arms, were to be given up to the British general, who undertook, on his part to preserve his prisoners from every injury and insult, a promise, which unlike Montcalm, he faithfully redeemed. And thus did prudence and valor, with trifling loss of life, win the most important post on the great highway of the west. So decisive indeed was the victory, and so effectually did it weaken the western posts of the French, whose garrisons under de Aubrey had either been killed or captured, that the officer and troops, sent from Pittsburg by Stanwix, took possession of the forts as far as Erie without resistance. Johnson's modesty was equal to his merit. "I have only to regret," he writes in his despatch to Amherst, "the loss of General Prideaux and Colonel Johnson. I endeavored to pursue the late general's vigorous measures, the good effects of which he deserved to enjoy."

While the siege at Niagara was in progress, a strong body of Canadians and Indians under La Corne, who had ascended to Frontenac, made a demonstration against the detachment left at Oswego by Brigadier Prideaux. On the 5th of July, La Corne endeavored to carry the post by surprise, by rapidly advancing some Indians and Canadians :

but these were speedily repulsed, although their fanaticism was incited to the utmost by a Jesuit, the Abbe Piquet. The attack was renewed on the following day, but a few discharges of grape and musketry speedily compelled the enemy to retire, and La Corne was under the necessity of departing without a single scalp, although, as some deserters stated, he had offered a large sum for a trophy of this horrible description.

Meanwhile, the Commander-in-chief assembled the main army at Lake George, and had considerable difficulty in keeping the militia together, owing to desertion to their homes. Threats, and promises, and moderate punishments failed to keep them by their colors, till at length a general court-martial sentenced four deserters to be shot; and even this terrible example did not altogether abate the evil. On the 22nd of June, Amherst traced out the plan of Fort George, near the spot where Fort William Henry formerly stood, and on the 21st of July, every preparation being completed, his army, over 11,000 strong, one-half of whom were regulars, with 54 guns, embarked and moved down the lake in four columns. Next day it landed near the place where Abercromby had disembarked the year before. The British vanguard, composed principally of light troops, pushed rapidly forward into the bush, and soon encountered a detachment of French and Indians, who were overpowered and dispersed. Amherst followed with his main body in good order, and halted for the night at the Saw-mills, preparatory to an assault on the French lines, which he learned from some deserters were guarded by General de Bourlemaque, with a body of 3400 men, composed of regulars, Canadians, and Indians.

That night the British lay upon their arms, while every exertion was made to bring up the artillery. But, although their number was inferior to Abercromby's army, the French next morning withdrew from the lines, which had enabled them to gain their victory of the preceding year, and fell back upon Fort Carillon. The British grenadiers immediately occupied the deserted intrenchment, and the rest of the army encamped a short distance to the rear. A sharp fire was soon opened from the fort on the British camp, but no loss was sustained, owing to the great height and strength of the breastwork, which now proved a most effectual shelter. De Bourlemaque soon perceived that even the defence of the fort was impracticable, and in pursuance of his orders in that case, silently abandoned it on the night of the 23rd, leaving 400 men behind to continue such resistance as might conceal his retreat. These carried out their orders in the most effectual manner by making an assault upon the besiegers' trenches, where they killed and wounded sixteen men, and caused considerable confusion in the darkness of the

night. During the 24th and 25th they kept up a constant fire on the trenches, and having accurately got the range, caused a good deal of trouble and some loss of life. On the night of the 26th, deserters brought intelligence to Amherst, that the garrison had abandoned the fort, but left every gun loaded and pointed, mines charged to blow up the defences, and a lighted fuse communicating with the powder magazine. In a few moments a tremendous explosion confirmed their statements, and the next minute the flames of the wooden breastwork, barracks, and stores, fell far and near upon the lake and forest, their yellow hue deepened at intervals by the flashes of the bursting guns and exploding mines.

General Amherst promptly detached some light troops in pursuit of the retreating French, who captured several boats laden with powder and sixteen prisoners. At daylight a sergeant volunteered to strike the French flag, which still floated uninjured above the ruined fort, and raise that of Britain in its place. A detachment soon after succeeded in extinguishing the flames, when the work of repairing the fort was speedily proceeded with, while Captain Loring of the navy raised some French boats which had been sunk, and commenced the construction of a brig, in order to strengthen the British naval power on the lake, which was much inferior to that of the enemy.

The capture of Crown Point was the next important step to be accomplished, and Major Rogers was despatched with two hundred Rangers to examine the position, establish himself in some strong post near the fort, and hold out, if attacked, till relieved by the advance of the army. But, it was soon ascertained that the French had also dismantled and abandoned Crown Point, which was accordingly taken possession of by a British detachment. On the 4th of August Amherst came up with his main-body, encamped, and traced out the lines of a new fort, as a protection against the scouting parties of the French and Indians, who had so long been the terror of the British frontier settlements.

De Bourlemaque had retreated to the Isle-aux-Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake, where he strongly intrenched himself, and with a force of 3500 men, 100 pieces of cannon, and four armed vessels commanded by naval officers, he determined to defend the entrance of the Richelieu to the last extremity. Amherst has been much censured for not carrying this post, and effecting a junction with Wolf at Quebec, but when his position comes to be coolly examined, it is at once evident that he has been unjustly condemned. The command of the Richelieu was then absolutely necessary to the descent of an army from Lake Champlain on Canada, it being the only open road, and a

land force was utterly helpless before an enemy strongly intrenched on an island, and who held complete command of the surrounding waters with his fleet. Amherst under these circumstances had only two alternatives; one was to open a road through the forest, and push on to Montreal leaving de Bourl maque in his rear; the other to obtain command of the lake, and drive him from his position. He wisely adopted the last course; before, however, it could be fully carried out, the bleak winds of October swept the lake, and thus the main-body of the British invading army was compelled to waste its strength in inaction on the very threshold of Canada. Nor was the force which Prideaux had led against Niagara more fortunate. On learning the death of that officer, Amherst had sent Brigadier Gage to assume the command, and instructed him to descend from Oswego, with a sufficient force, to capture Ogdensburg; or, as it was then called, La Presentation, where a Jesuit Father, the Abbe Piquet, had founded a flourishing Indian settlement in 1750. But Gage allowed his harvest-time of honor to pass away, to Amherst's infinite chagrin, and this important operation was deferred till the ensuing year.

While the bulk of the army lay inactive at Crown Point, a detachment of 200 rangers under the indefatigable Rogers, already so distinguished in border warfare, was despatched to punish the Indians at Lake St. Francis for detaining an officer and some men, who had been sent with a flag of truce to offer them peace on condition of their remaining neutral. Rogers suffered the greatest hardships in penetrating the untrodden wilderness. One-fourth of his men dropped behind from fatigue, or perished in the march. Still he persevered, and arrived in the vicinity of his destination on the evening of the 22nd October, and pushed forward alone to reconnoitre. The Indians were engaged in the war-dance, and exhausted by fatigue, as mid-night approached, they sunk into a profound slumber. But a foe as subtle as themselves, and infuriated by long years of injury now hovered near, prepared to inflict the punishment their numerous massacres of women and children so justly merited. At two o'clock in the morning, the British burst upon the sleepers with a loud cry of vengeance, and 200 warriors were speedily slain, but the women and children were spared. Meanwhile, a French detachment had captured Rogers's boats, and threatened to cut off his retreat. Breaking into small parties, the British sought the shelter of the forest, and underwent the most extreme hardships before reaching a friendly settlement.

On the 10th of October, a brig mounting eighteen guns arrived at Crown Point from Ticonderoga, and a sloop of sixteen guns being also ready, the army embarked in boats for Isle-aux-Noix, and proceeded

up the lake in four divisions. But a severe storm, and mishaps of various kinds, retarded its progress, and although the greater part of the French fleet was destroyed, the lateness of the season rendered it useless to advance, and Amherst reluctantly retired to place his troops in winter quarters: a measure the more necessary as the Provincials had become uncommonly sickly. Thus closed the campaign of the British forces, which menaced Canada towards the west: it now remains for us to trace the operations in the St. Lawrence.

As soon as the weather permitted, Wolfe assembled his army, amounting to about 8000 men, at Louisburg. It was divided into three brigades, led by Brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, while its Adjutant-general was Isaac Barre, an Irishman^a of humble birth, eloquent, ambitious, and fearless, to whom the authorship of the letter of Junius has been attributed, very justly probably, and who subsequently perished on his return from the East Indies. The fleet, consisting of twenty-two men-of-war, and as many frigates and armed vessels, was under the command of Admiral Saunders, a brave, skilful, and kind-hearted sailor. On board of one of its ships was Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, while James Cook, the celebrated navigator, who subsequently traversed the unexplored waters of the Pacific, and threaded his way amidst its many isles, was sailing-master of another.

On the 1st of June preparations were made to put to sea from Louisburg, yet fully six days elapsed before the huge armament had entirely cleared the land. While spreading sail, the Admiral received the unwelcome intelligence, that his advanced squadron had suffered three French frigates and several store-ships to pass up the St. Lawrence. Two vessels only were captured, on board of which were found charts of the river, which proved of the greatest service to the British fleet.

On the 26th, the armament arrived safely off the Isle of Orleans, and preparations were promptly commenced for the disembarkation of the troops. Great was now the confusion and distress at Quebec, where the reverses of the preceding year's campaign had already produced the most dismal forebodings. To the clerical orders especially, the prospect of British rule was particularly unpalatable. This was forcibly illustrated while the British fleet was still ascending the river. The advance under Durell carried French colors till they arrived off Bic. Its inhabitants imagined in consequence that the expected succors had arrived from France, and messengers were despatched to Quebec with the intelligence. But when the white colors, were struck, and the Union Jack hoisted in their place, their consternation and grief was

inconceivable, and the occurrence so affected a priest, who stood on the shore with telescope in hand, that he dropped down and instantly expired.*

Early on the morning of the 27th, the troops landed on the island, which the inhabitants had abandoned during the previous night, and with the fertility and beauty of which the soldiers were delighted after their wearisome voyage. The eye of genius has often since rested upon the magnificent *coup d'oeil* which now burst upon the vision of their young general, from the western end of the isle, but the scene can hardly ever again awaken the emotions which then agitated his bosom. In the foreground, the white tents of his camp glauced in the sunshine; on his left, lay the magnificent fleet at anchor; in his front, the cliff of Quebec was seen in the distance rising precipitously against the horizon in the midst of one of the grandest scenes of nature, and apparently impregnable. For its defence, the gallant Montcalm had exhausted, with the means at his disposal, every plan which ingenuity and skill could devise. Above Quebec, the height, on which the Upper Town is built, spreads out into an elevated table-land, suddenly terminated towards the river by steep declivities. In this direction, for nine miles or more to Cape Rouge, every landing-place was intrenched and guarded. Immediately below the city, the River St Charles, its mouth then closed by a boom and defended by stranded frigates, swept its rocky base, and expanded into marshes which afforded additional security. From thence to the Montmorency, a distance of eight miles, extended the position occupied by the French army, protected by numerous redoubts and intrenchments, the shoals and rocks of the St. Lawrence, and almost impregnable. Behind lay the rich valley of the St. Charles, and the pretty villages of Charlesburg and Beauport, which, with a few other hamlets, gave shelter and hospitality in the rear. For the defence of these formidable lines Montcalm had 12,000 French and Canadian troops, and about 400 Indians.

As Wolfe gazed with intense interest on the prospect, to him at once beautiful and appalling, a storm suddenly gathered, and soon the teeming rain veiled the opposite shore, while a dangerous hurricane swept over the river with destructive force. Transports were driven from their moorings and cast ashore, smaller vessels were dashed against each other and swamped, while the vessels of war with difficulty held to their anchors. Wolfe retraced his steps thoughtfully to the camp, some-

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 291.

what discouraged by the great difficulties, which he now saw clearly beset the enterprize he had promised Pitt to accomplish if possible. The storm passed away; evening soon merged into a night at once still and dark; and now Montcalm sent down six fire-ships on the receding tide towards the British fleet. From these shot and shell crashed among the trees and rocks, or left long seething furrows in the stream. Presently lurid flames burst from their hulls, caught the sails, and ran along the masts and spars in thin red lines, lighting up the river, the hostile camps, and the city in the distance. As the blaze increased explosion after explosion tossed the burning vessels hither and thither, the tide still carrying them steadily towards the fleet. The sentries terrified at a sight so unusual, and believing that the French were advancing in force, fell back upon their pickets, and these in turn on the main-body, when the drums beat to arms. Day-light alone restored confidence and order. Meanwhile, a number of well manned boats had put off towards the fire-ships, and the sailors, waiting till all the guns had exploded, fastened grappling irons to their hulls, and towed them leisurely ashore.

Finding the channel at the Island of Orleans was neither a safe, nor convenient anchorage in rough weather, Admiral Saunders determined to pass up into the basin, or harbor of Quebec, and learning that the French occupied, with some troops and artillery, the head-land of Point Levi, from whence they could seriously annoy his ships, he requested Wolfe to take possession of it. This duty was assigned to Brigadier Monckton, who pushed forward one of his regiments on the evening of the 29th, and following next morning at day-break with the rest of his brigade soon occupied the point, despite a stout resistance by a body of Canadians and Indians, some 1200 strong.

In the possession of this post, Montcalm felt that the British had gained a dangerous advantage. From the first he had seen its importance, for, although it was three-quarters of a mile from the city, heavy guns could play from thence with destructive effect. In a council-of-war he had urged that 4000 men should be strongly intrenched at Point Levi, and hold it to the last extremity, but was overruled by the Governor, and from that hour the general regarded the latter with dislike. He made a feeble attempt to dislodge the British by attacking their position with three floating batteries, but these were repulsed by a single broadside from a frigate, which a fair wind speedily carried up to the scene of action.

Wolfe had already issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, offering safety in person and property if they remained neutre. But the counter proclamations and threats of Montcalm, and their own national

prejudices held them fast in their allegiance. In company with the Indians they hung upon the skirts of the British army, cutting off and scalping stragglers on every opportunity, and Wolfe's soldiers, some of whom had been at the massacre of Fort William Henry, and well trained in forest warfare, began to make reprisals of the same description, and burn and plunder on every opportunity. The British general endeavoured to restrain these excesses, but was ultimately so enraged by the cruel massacre of several of his men, that he allowed his light troops to retaliate on Indians, or on Canadians disguised like them, but forbid them under penalty of death to molest the peaceable inhabitants.

A battery at Point Levi, and another at the western point of the Isle of Orleans, gave sufficient security to the fleet. These were completed by the morning of the 9th of July, when three frigates of light draught opened fire upon the French lines below Quebec. Monckton, at the same time, marched his brigade along the opposite side of the river, in order to distract Montcalm's attention while Wolfe was taking post, with the main body of his army, on the eastern bank of the Montmorency. He was thus placed at an angle with the French lines along the St. Lawrence, and in their rear, but the rapid current of the Montmorency, rushing over its rocky bed in impassable eddies and rapids, still separated the armies. Three miles in the interior a ford was discovered, but the opposite bank was steep, woody, and well intrenched, and its passage impracticable in the face of a superior force. Not a spot along the Montmorency for miles into the interior, nor on the St. Lawrence to Quebec, was left unprotected by the vigilant Montcalm, and Wolfe began to despair of forcing him to a battle on any thing like equal terms. The French once defeated, he felt assured that Quebec, insufficiently supplied with military stores and threatened by famine, must surrender; but to compel them to fight with a fair prospect of success to British arms was the great difficulty. Vainly did Wolfe penetrate the dense bush, and rugged country along the Montmorency, in order to discover some favorable point to turn Montcalm's flank, and thus bring on a battle in rear of his lines. These reconnoissances only led to the slaughter of his light infantry, by the Indians and Canadians lurking in the secret places of the forest, and the British general soon saw that he must look for success in some other direction.

No sooner had Wolfe established himself at the Montmorency, than Montcalm, urged by the solicitations of the inhabitants of the Lower Town, who dreaded the destruction of their houses, resolved to hazard a night attack on Monckton's position at Point Levi. It failed completely, the Canadians missing their way and firing upon one another

in the dark, with a loss to themselves of seventy killed and wounded, while the British lines were left wholly undisturbed. Next day the battery opened upon the town, the lower part of which was soon much damaged, and on the 16th a shell set a house in the Upper Town on fire. Fanned by a strong west-wind, the conflagration destroyed many buildings before it was arrested, and among others the great cathedral, with all its paintings, images, and ornaments. But the defences still remained uninjured, and the destruction of property, caused by the fire from Point Levi, only diminished the value of the prize for which the British strove, without bringing them nearer to its possession.

Completely foiled in his endeavors to force Montcalm's lines, and bring on a battle below the city, Wolfe now determined to reconnoitre the bank of the river above it, and ascertain whether any thing could be effected in that direction. To effect this reconnoissance the protection of a sufficient force was necessary, and accordingly towards midnight of the 18th, a small squadron under Captain Rous, favored by a fair wind and tide, run the gauntlet of the enemy's batteries without being even discovered by their sentinels, two of whom Montcalm hung on the following day for their carelessness. The French speedily constructed a battery at Sillery, to annoy Rous's squadron, but its fire only had the effect of causing him to weigh anchor, and to move a little further up the river.

The French artillerymen had scarcely ceased firing at Rous's frigates, when a boat was observed skirting the southern shore, the mast of which they carried away by a shot. This boat bore Wolfe and Admiral Saunders on their way to reconnoitre the river's bank above. The keen eye of the general traced the outline of the precipitous hill on which stands Quebec, and beheld a natural fastness defended by cannon, boats, and floating batteries, at every assailable point. Matters looked just as unpromising above the town as below; the banks were everywhere high and precipitous; at every weak point intrenchments had been thrown up, and each movement of an enemy was jealously watched.

Wolfe was almost in despair, still he determined to persevere, in the hope that some fortunate occurrence would aid him. To divide and harass the enemy, and obtain intelligence, he directed Colonel Carleton, who commanded the troops with Rous's squadron, to make a descent on the small town of Point-aux-Trembles, twenty-one miles up the river from Quebec, and to which many of the inhabitants of the city had retreated with their goods, and valuables. A few Indians made a feeble resistance, and a number of useless prisoners, some plunder, and several packets of letters fell into the hands of the British. The latter

furnished important intelligence. "The Governor and Montcalm have disagreed," said one; "but for our priests and the dread of the savages we would submit," said another; a third stated "we are without hope and food, since the English have passed the town our communication with Montreal is cut off—God hath forsaken us." To increase the misery of the besieged, orders were now given to lay waste the surrounding country.

On the 25th, Wolfe proceeded up the eastern bank of the Montmorency, to examine some works which the French were erecting on the opposite side. His escort were attacked, and for a time hardly pressed by a strong body of Indians, who were only repulsed after a loss had been sustained of fifty killed and wounded. Next morning the 78th Highlanders surprised a French detachment, and slew nine of them. Scarcely a day passed away without skirmishes taking place. On the night of the 28th the French sent down a large fire-raft, but it was towed ashore without doing any injury, and Wolfe threatened that if any more such were made, they would be fastened to those vessels in which were the French prisoners. This threat had the desired effect.

July was now almost gone, and the British general as yet had effected little towards the capture of Quebec. It was true, he had severely harassed the enemy, that he occupied the most important points in the neighborhood of the beleaguered fortress, but its defences still remained untouched. Before leaving England, Wolfe had been taught that his force was merely auxiliary to Amherst's army, and another man, with the formidable obstacles which everywhere encountered him, would have awaited its arrival. But with dauntless resolution he hoped on almost against hope, and although his constitution was rapidly breaking up, he resolved to make every effort to serve his country.

The Montmorency after falling over a perpendicular rock, expands into shallows for a distance of three hundred yards, and flows into the St. Lawrence at an obtuse angle. Near the apex of this angle Montcalm had placed a four-gun redoubt. The shallows of the Montmorency were fordable at low tide, and Wolfe now arranged with the Admiral, that one column should wade across the stream, and assault this redoubt, while another disembarking from the boats of the fleet supported the movement from the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile, the batteries from beyond the Montmorency were to sweep the French lines, while that at Point Levi was to play vigorously on the city. Could he possess himself of this redoubt and turn the right of the French line, Montcalm must then either fight or retreat. In the latter case the St. Charles, defended by a boom and two stranded frigates, would still be

be between Wolfe and the town ; but one difficulty overcome, he trusted to surmount the other.

On the 31st July, every preparation being made, three vessels of light draught, two of which however grounded, run in-shore, and opened fire upon the redoubt. The movements of the British warned Montcalm of their true point of attack, and he promptly made disposition to baffle it by a flank movement across the ford of the Montmorency, to capture their batteries, while their main body wasted its strength against his intrenchments. The British general, however, saw his intention, and directed the 48th, left in the works at Point Levi, to push up the river as if to attack the French position above the city. This proceeding compelled Montcalm to relinquish his flank movement, and detach the two battalions he intended should accomplish it, to observe the 48th. Meanwhile, night was coming on apace, and a storm already darkened the distant horizon ; but Wolfe, observing disorder in the enemy's line, owing to new formations of troops, gave the signal to advance at five o'clock, and with a loud cheer the sailors bent to their oars, and the long motionless flotilla sprang into life. Some of the leading boats grounded on a rock ; others were swamped by the guns of the enemy. Wolfe sprang into a cutter and soon discovered a safe passage to the shore, to which a few pulls carried the flotilla. The next moment the eager troops jumped upon land, when the French gave a parting volley, abandoned the redoubt, and retreated to their intrenchments, crowning the crest of the slope beyond.

Thirteen companies of grenadiers, and some Royal Americans, were the first ashore. These had orders to form in four columns on the beach, and wait the arrival of the remainder of the troops from the boats, and Townshend's brigade, already advancing across the Montmorency. But proud of their post of preference, exasperated at their long delay, and regardless of the orders of their officers, they rushed forward to storm the French intrenchment. Wolfe saw that this rash valor had ruined the fortunes of the day, and instead of supporting the advance of his grenadiers, whom he strove to recall, formed the remainder of his troops in admirable order on the beach, to cover their retreat.

Meanwhile, the storm burst, the ground became slippery, and the teeming rain soon spoiled the ammunition of the grenadiers. Still they pressed on, relying upon the bayonet, although they could scarcely keep their feet ; but one close and steady volley from the French was sufficient to roll them back from the crest of the hill, when they sullenly retired leaving over two hundred of their killed and wounded behind at the mercy of the Indians, who speedily swarmed across the

field. The evening was far advanced, the tide was beginning to flow, the ammunition of the whole army had been damaged by the rain, the French, who had suffered little or no loss, while the British were weakened by that of 33 officers and 410 men, had concentrated their strength, and all that Wolfe could now do was to effect an orderly retreat. Such of the wounded as could yet be saved were carried from the field, the stranded ships were abandoned and burnt, and the flotilla embarked and rowed away from the fatal shore, while Townshend's and Murray's brigades recrossed the ford without interruption, and resumed their position on the heights east of the Montmorency.

In the meantime, Admiral Holmes had joined Rous's squadron above the town, and 1200 men were now despatched under Brigadier Murray, to aid in the destruction of the French vessels which had retired up the river. These avoided the danger of capture by sending their guns and stores ashore and taking refuge in the shallows towards Montreal, one brigantine excepted, which having grounded was abandoned and destroyed. Murray, as the fleet advanced up the river, found every landing place fortified, and the French on the alert. After two fruitless attempts to disembark, he finally effected his purpose at the village of D'Eschambault, thirty-nine miles from Quebec, which was defended by some invalid soldiers, and carried without difficulty. A few prisoners of some importance were taken, and letters fell into Murray's hands from which he learned the occupation of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by Amherst, and the capture of Niagara by Johnson. Finding that he could effect nothing of importance the brigadier hastened down the river to convey this glad intelligence to Wolfe. He found the general, chagrined by the failure at Montmorency, and worn out by his exertions, stricken with fever, and unable to bear the presence of his officers. Still the British batteries thundered vigorously from the heights of Montmorency on the French lines, while the fire from Point Levi laid waste the city. On the morning of the 10th of August, at one o'clock, a shell pitched upon the vaulted roof of a cellar in the Lower Town, and burst beneath, igniting a large quantity of brandy, which was stored there. The flames quickly spread, and nearly the whole of the quarter was burned down, including the church erected to commemorate Phipps's defeat. A fire broke out at the same time in the Upper Town, but did not do much injury.

Amherst's and Johnson's success, though gratifying by itself, gave no hope to Wolfe of aid before the close of the campaign. The difficulties which had hitherto impeded his own progress, taught him what they had to encounter, and he saw that he must depend solely on himself, and struggle on unaided. The numerous body of armed men

under Montcalm "could not," he said, "be called an army;" but the French had probably the strongest country in the world to cover the approaches to the only vulnerable points of the town. The keen eye of the Indian scout prevented surprise, the peasantry, so long as they could be kept together, being thoroughly exasperated by the forays of the British troops, and incited by their clergy, were zealous to defend their homes, their language, and their religion. Every one able to bear arms was in the field, and old men and boys fired upon the English detachments from every position which gave them concealment—from the edges of the woods, from behind rocks and houses. Still Wolfe felt that every exertion must continue to be made, and while yet disabled by sickness, laid a plan before his brigadiers embracing three different and equally desperate methods of attacking Montcalm in his intrenchments below the town. They unanimously rejected them all, and adopted instead Brigadier Townshend's plan of landing an army above the town, and thus draw the French from their impregnable position to an open action. "I have acquiesced in their proposal," said Wolfe in his admirable despatch to Pitt of the 2nd September, alluding to the course recommended by his brigadiers, "and we are preparing to put it into execution. There is such a choice of difficulties, that I am myself at a loss how to determine." Attended by the Admiral he once more examined the citadel with a view to a general assault. Although every one of the passages from the Lower to the Upper Town was intrenched, the gallant Saunders was willing to join in any hazard for the public service. But the general saw that the undertaking promised no success, and while he had the main force of Canada to oppose, the magnificent fleet could give him no assistance.

But if Wolfe's difficulties were great, so also were those which surrounded Montcalm. He knew not where to turn for a ray of hope, except to the now rapidly approaching winter. Danger menaced him on every side. Gage threatened him from Lake Ontario, Amherst from Lake Champlain, while the stately fleet riding securely at anchor below, left no hope of succor from France. The peculation and misconduct of the civil officers wasted his resources, and he hesitated not to tell even the Governor himself, that he had sold his country; "but while I live," exclaimed the intrepid soldier, "I will not deliver it up." "Of one thing I can assure you," wrote he to a friend, "I shall not survive the probable loss of the colony. There are times when a general's only resource is to die with honor; this is such a time; no stain shall rest on my memory." But he found consolation in the fact, that the conquest of Canada must speedily lead to the independence of the British colonies. Provisions and ammunition were becoming scarce in his

camp, and the unhappy peasants stole to their homes by dozens to gather in their harvest. He scourged some offenders, hanged others, and threatened their villages with the vengeance of the savages; still he could not keep them together, and was finally obliged to allow 2000 of the militia to depart to gather in their crops, at the most critical period of the campaign.

The new plan of operations adopted by Wolfe, rendered the concentration of his troops at Point Levi necessary, and preparations were at once made to evacuate the position at the Montmorency. These were all completed by the 3rd September, when the troops safely crossed over the river. The vigilant eye of Montcalm had anticipated this movement, from the unusual stir among the British, and he marched two strong columns to attack them while embarking. Monckton, from the heights of Point Levi, discovered the danger which menaced the retiring brigades, and embarking a strong detachment in boats, which were protected by some sloops and frigates, rowed towards the Beauport shore, as if about to assault the French lines. Montcalm was accordingly compelled to recall his battalions for their defence, and to permit the British troops at Montmorency to embark without molestation.

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, Admiral Holmes constantly manœuvred his fleet above the town, and harassed the enemy by threatening their different posts. Wolfe had partially recovered, and, in company with his brigadiers, now closely reconnoitred the bank of the river, in the hope of discovering some point by which his army could ascend to the Plains of Abraham. At length, about three miles above the city, he discovered a narrow path winding up the steep precipice from the water's edge, at a point where the bank curved slightly inward, and which is now known as Wolfe's Cove. Two men could scarcely ascend this path abreast, yet here he determined his army should disembark, and take the guard at the summit, which he knew by the number of tents could not exceed a hundred, by surprise. Once above, he knew the French must give him battle.

Preparations were promptly commenced for the execution of this plan; and in order to deceive Montcalm as to the true point of attack, Cook, the great mariner, and others, were sent to sound the river at Beauport, and plant bouys along the shore, as if an assault was intended in that quarter. But the real design was kept carefully secret, as otherwise the treachery of a single deserter would have prevented its execution. On the morning of the 12th one of the Royal Americans did go over to the enemy, but from the caution observed was unable to warn them of their danger. At the same time, a French deserter brought most important intelligence to Wolfe. "The main force," said he,

"is still below the city, and our general will not believe that you meditate an attack anywhere but from the Montmorency side. The Canadians are alarmed by the fall of Niagara, and in great distress for provisions. M. de Levi, with a large detachment has left us for Montreal to meet Amherst, and M. de Bougainville, with 1500 men, watches the motions of your fleet in the upper river."

As evening approached, the heavier ships of the line moved towards the Beauport shore, and anchored as near it as the water would permit, when the boats were lowered and filled with sailors and marines, as if to make a descent on the French intrenchments. While the enemy's attention was thus occupied, all the smaller ships of the fleet suddenly spread out their sails, and with a fair breeze swept proudly past the batteries of Quebec, and soon joined Holmes's squadron at Cape Rouge. At the same time Monckton's and Murray's brigades pushed up along the river from Point Levi, till they arrived opposite the fleet, on board of which they embarked without being observed by the enemy. At nine o'clock the first division of the army, 1600 strong, silently removed into flat bottomed boats, and waited the orders of their chief.

It was a pleasant Autumn night, and the full lustrous stars of a northern firmament, twinkled cheerfully down on the noble current of the St. Lawrence, as Wolfe quietly passed from ship to ship to make his final inspection, and utter his last words of encouragement. In a pure and gifted mind like his, the solemn hour could scarcely fail of awakening befitting associations. He spoke of the poet Gray, and the beautiful legacy he gave the world in his "Elegy in a Country Church-yard." "I would prefer," said he, "being the author of that poem to the glory of beating the French to-morrow;" and, while the cautious dip of the oars into the rippling current alone broke the stillness of the night, he repeated:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inexorable hour,
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

About one o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, the order to advance was given, and the flotilla dropped silently down with the receding tide, Wolfe commanding in person. He still continued his poetical musings, but his eye at the same time was keenly bent on the outline of the dark heights, beneath which he floated past. He recognized at length the appointed spot, and leaped ashore. Meantime, the current had carried a few boats lower down, which had on board the light com-

pany of the 78th Highlanders. These were the first troops to land : without a moment's hesitation they scrambled up the face of the wooded precipice, clinging to the roots and branches of trees. Half the ascent was already won, when for the first time the "*qui vive*" of the French sentry above was given. "*La France*," promptly answered M'Donald, the Highland Captain, with ready self-possession, and the sentinel shouldered his musket and pursued his rounds. In a few minutes, however, the unusual rustling among the trees near at hand alarmed the sentinels, their guard was turned out, who fired one hurried volley at the Highlanders, then panic-stricken turned and fled. By this time another body of troops had pressed up the pathway, and possessed themselves of a four-gun redoubt which commanded it. As day dawned Wolfe stood with his invincible battalions on the Plains of Abraham, the battle-field which gave a new empire to the Anglo-Saxon race. Only one gun, however, could be got up the hill, so difficult was the ascent.

Meanwhile, Montcalm had been completely deceived by the demonstration against his lines below the town. All night long boats plied off and on from the shore, while the ships of war swept the beach with their fire, as if to keep it clear for the landing of troops. Daylight at length came on, still he knew nothing of the danger that menaced him in another direction. Presently the morning breeze bore along the boom of a distant gun, and the scattered roll of musketry, from above the beleaguered town. While he yet doubted as to their cause, a horseman galloped up, and told him the British had ascended to the Plains of Abraham. "It can be but a small party come to burn a few houses and retire," said Montcalm in amazement. The man persisted that the British were there in force. "Then," said the general, "they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison; we must give them battle and crush them before mid-day."

Leaving Governor de Vaudreuil behind with fifteen hundred militia, and despatching a courier to recall M. de Bougainville, Montcalm hurried his troops across the valley of the St. Charles, over the bridge, and along the northern face of the ramparts to the battle ground, where Wolfe having already formed his line, calmly awaited his approach. The 35th regiment were posted on the extreme right near the precipice. On their left stood the grenadiers of Louisburg; the 28th, the 43rd, the 58th, the 78th Highlanders, and the 47th, completed the front, led by Wolfe and Monckton on the right, and Murray on the left. The second line composed of the 15th regiment, and two battalions of the 60th, or Royal Americans, was led by Townshend. The 48th regiment in four columns formed the reserve, under Colonel Burton. Colonel

Howe, with the light infantry posted in houses, or scattered through the neighboring coppices, covered the left flank and rear. The right flank was effectually protected by the precipice. The entire British army was somewhat under 5000 men, but they were all well trained veterans.

About six o'clock small bodies of the French troops deployed on the slopes, near the ramparts of the city; by seven they mustered more numerous, and brought up two field guns, which caused some annoyance to the British. Towards eight o'clock Montcalm had arrived with the bulk of his army, which he formed in three distinct masses, on a slope to the northwest of the city, where they were sheltered from Wolfe's solitary but mischievous gun. At nine o'clock he pushed to the front, and began to form his line of battle, being assured that M. de Bougainville was close at hand, and whose light cavalry, of which he had 350, already threatened the British left. His centre was formed of 720 regular troops and 1200 militia. The right was composed of 1600 veterans and 400 militia; on the left were 1300 trained soldiers, supported by 2300 of the Canadian levies. His total force thus amounted to 7520 men, besides Indians, who were not less than 400.* Of these only about one half were regular troops, but the expected arrival of M. de Bougainville would add 1500 veterans to his force, and he trusted enable him to win the battle and save Quebec.

Montcalm designed to avail himself of his superior force, by out-flanking the British left, and thus crowding them towards the landing place, where he would assail them again with his own left and centre, while de Bougainville threatened their rear. Thus attacked on three sides of a square at the same time, he considered that the stubborn courage of the enemy must give way. The British position formed two sides of a square, one of which was occupied by their line of battle, the other by Colonel Howe's light infantry, who, as already stated, thus covered the left flank and rear.

Agreeable to his plan of operations, Montcalm began the battle at ten o'clock, by assailing Howe's position with a strong body of Canadian and Indian skirmishers, who speedily drove in the British pickets on their supports. Under cover of the cloud of smoke, which soon rose over this part of the battle-field, the French veterans of their right wing passed swiftly at an angle with the British left, and fiercely as-

* Bancroft estimates the French army under 5000, but quotes no authority in support of this statement. Smith, who wrote shortly after the battle, and had access to the most accurate sources of information on this head, gives the number as above.

saulted their light infantry. Howe felt the importance of his post, and made a stout resistance. His men fell fast, but in a few minutes Townshend with the 15th regiment, and two battalions of the 60th, came to his aid, and the assailants were speedily beaten back with heavy loss.

The attempt to out-flank the British left being thus completely defeated, Montcalm's only resource was to attack their right and centre. Throwing forward a swarm of skirmishers, their fire speedily dislodged the few light infantry with which Wolfe had covered his front, and drove them back in disorder on the main body. This occurrence somewhat alarmed the British troops, but Wolfe, hurrying along the line, cheered them by his voice and presence, and directed them on no account to fire without orders. He speedily succeeded in restoring confidence. Recalling his light troops, Montcalm now pushed forward his whole centre and left, who, with loud cheers and arms at the recover, moved boldly on to the attack. As the smoke of the skirmishers' fire cleared off from the battle-field, the long ranks of the French were seen rapidly approaching the British position. At the distance of 150 yards, an oblique movement from the left gave their lines the appearance of columns, which chiefly threatened Wolfe's right wing. Another moment passed, the French paused, and from flank to flank poured a murderous and rapid fire upon the British line. The 35th and grenadiers fell fast, still not a shot was returned. Wolfe was struck in the wrist, but wrapping a handkerchief round the wound, he hurried from rank to rank, warning his men to reserve their fire for a shorter and deadlier range. Not a single trigger was pulled. With arms shouldered as if on parade, and motionless, saved when they closed upon the ghastly gaps made in their ranks by the French fire, these gallant men waited the word of command, with that indomitable endurance, which has ever characterized the British soldier when properly trained and led.

The French were still unharmed, their confidence increased, and with a loud cheer they pressed forward against the British. A few moments more, and only forty paces separated the combatants. And now the clear voice of Wolfe giving the word to fire rises over the field. The order passes like an electric shock along the British line; its long row of muskets is swiftly levelled; and the next instant a well-aimed volley, almost as distinct as a single shot, rolls over the battle-field. It fell with terrible effect upon the advancing foe. Numbers of the French soldiers reeled and fell at once, others staggered for a moment, then dropped aside to die; others again burst from the ranks, shrieking in agony. Presently the breeze which blew gently across the battle-field, carried away the smoke of one of the deadliest volleys that ever burst

from British infantry, and the assailing battalions were seen reduced to mere groups among the slain.

Scarcely fifteen minutes had elapsed since Montcalm had made his principal attack, and already the battle was lost. The Brigadier de St. Ours was killed, and M. de Senezergues, the second in command, mortally wounded, while the Canadian militia had broken and fled in confusion. Still the gallant Frenchman was not dismayed. Riding through the broken ranks, he cheered the men with his voice, and induced them to reform. Meantime, the British troops had reloaded, and Wolfe resolving to take advantage of the disorder in the French ranks, ordered his whole line to advance, placing himself at the head of the 28th and grenadiers. For a few minutes they move forward steadily, then their pace increases to a run, and with bayonets at the charge they rush upon the French. Just then Wolfe was wounded a second time in the body, but still pressing forward he received a ball in the breast. "Support me," he said to an officer near him, "let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear, and water was brought him to quench his thirst.

Still the British pressed forward with fiery valor. On the right the 35th swept all before them; in the centre, the 28th and Louisburg grenadiers moved firmly on; on the left, the 58th and 78th overcame a stubborn and bloody resistance, and the last corps with its terrible claymore followed swiftly in pursuit, and supplied the want of cavalry. This fierce struggle fell heavily on the British, but was terribly destructive to the French. They wavered under the carnage; but Montcalm galloping among his stubborn veterans, called on them to re-form, and again oppose the advancing foe. His efforts were vain; the head of every formation was mowed down by the terrible fire of the British, who soon rushing forward at the charge compelled his troops to give way in every direction. At this critical period he fell mortally wounded, and from that moment all was utter route and confusion.

Wolfe's life ebbs fast away; yet from time to time he essays to look upon the battle, and clear away the death-mist that gathers on his sight. Presently his spirit draws nearer "to that bourne-whence no traveller returneth;" he sinks backward and gives no signs of life beyond a heavy breathing, and the occasional groan of painful dissolution. The French fly in all directions. "They run! they run!" exclaimed some of the officers, who stood by their dying general. "Who runs?" eagerly asked Wolfe, like one aroused from sleep. "The enemy, Sir," answered the officer who supported him, "they give way everywhere." "Go one of you to Colonel Burton," said Wolfe, "tell him to march Webb's regiment (the 48th) with all speed down to the St.

Charles River to cut off their retreat." His voice grew fainter and fainter as he spoke, and he turned as if to seek an easier position on his side. Four days before he had looked forward to an early death with dismay, but he now felt he would breath his last breath on the field of victory, and that he had well done his duty to his country. "Now God be praised! I die happy," said the gallant soldier, faintly, yet distinctly; and Wolfe, who had won a new empire for his race, passed from this material world to immortality. But while tongue can tell, or pen record, the annals of the past, he will never be forgotten. In a few brief years he had crowded actions that would have reflected lustre on the longest life. The morning of his career had given promise of no ordinary greatness, that promise was more than realised at a period when other men only appear prominently on the world's stage, and his day closed as it reached its meridian in the blaze of one of the most momentous victories that has ever marked the annals of the human race.

Grape shot from the ramparts of Quebec, and the fire of the frigates grounded in the St. Charles, checked the pursuit of the British, whose rear was already threatened by the near approach of M. de Bougainville's formidable corps of veterans. Monckton had been shot through the lungs, and Townshend, now the senior officer, hastened to recall his disordered battalions to oppose this new enemy. His arrangements were strictly defensive; and while forming his line of battle he advanced the 35th and 48th, with two field-pieces, one of which had just been captured from the French, to meet the advancing force, and if possible to check its approach. But the news of Montcalm's total defeat speedily reaching M. de Bougainville, he declined meeting a victorious enemy, and hastily retreated to Cape Rouge. On the same day the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with his 1500 Canadians, deserted the lines below Quebec, and leaving all his artillery, tents, ammunition, and stores behind, made a hurried retreat towards Jacques Cartier.

The loss of the British, in the memorable battle of the Plains of Abraham, amounted to 59 killed, and 597 wounded of all ranks; that of the French to 600 killed, and over 1000 wounded and taken prisoners.* The militia were completely disorganised by the defeat, and a large

* I have followed Smith and Russell in giving this estimate of the French loss. Every probability is in favor of its correctness. Besides Wolfe, the British had of officers, 1 captain, 6 lieutenants, and 1 ensign killed. One Brigadier (Monckton), the Quarter-master General (Barre), 3 staff officers, 14 captains, 26 lieutenants, and 11 ensigns were wounded. Vide War Office Return of killed and wounded on 13th September, 1759. Previous to the 13th, Wolfe's army had lost 182 killed, 655 wounded, and 17 missing.

proportion of them never rejoined their colors. As they ran away when they saw victory inclining towards the British, they suffered much less than the regular troops, who were almost destroyed.

From the field of battle and its results—from the last moments of the immortal Wolfe, let us now turn aside for a brief space, and stand at the bed-side of the gallant Montcalm. When his wound was dressed, he asked the surgeons if it was mortal, and being answered in the affirmative, calmly said "I am glad of it; how long can I survive?" "Perhaps a dozen hours, and perhaps less," was the reply. "So much the better," rejoined the general, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." To a council-of-war which hastily assembled, he showed that in twelve hours all the troops near at hand might be concentrated, and the British attacked before they had time to intrench themselves; but his proposition was overruled.* With him the hope of France in Canada was departing. De Ramsay, who commanded the garrison, asked his orders about defending the city. "To your keeping," he replied, "I commend the honor of France. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your perplexities. As for me, my time is short, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." To another he said, "since it was my misfortune to be discomfited, and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to be vanquished by so great and generous an enemy." He shortly afterwards called for his chaplain, who, with the Bishop, administered the last offices of his religion, and remained with him till he died next day. Thus terminated the career of a great general, and a brave man. Trained from his youth in the art of war; laborious, just, and self-denying, he offered a remarkable exception to the venality of the public men of Canada at this period, and in the midst of universal corruption made the general good his aim. Night, the rushing tide, veteran discipline, and more brilliant genius, had given his rival the victory, yet he was not the less great; and while the name of Wolfe will never be forgotten, that of Montcalm is also engraved by its side on the lasting scroll of human fame. The latter has been censured for not abiding the chances of a siege, rather than risking a battle. But with a town already in ruins, a garrison deficient in provisions and ammunition, and an enemy to contend with possessed of a formidable siege train, the fire of which must speedily silence his guns, he acted wisely in staking the issue on a battle, in which if he found defeat, he met also an honorable and glorious death.

No sooner had his men recruited themselves after the fatigues of

* Raynal's America, vol. 2, p. 128.

battle, and the wounded been cleared from the ground, than Townshend promptly proceeded to intrench himself, and secure his position from assault by the construction of redoubts. The communications of the city with the country were next cut off as far as possible, and breaching batteries rapidly pushed forward. By the evening of the 17th no less than sixty-one pieces of heavy artillery, and fifty-seven of smaller calibre, had with the united labor of soldiers and sailors been dragged to the camp. To support the land-force, Admiral Saunders had already moved the whole of his fleet into the basin, preparatory to an attack on the Lower Town. The besieged had endeavored to retard these operations by constantly plying their guns, but their exertions were ineffectual, and to their great dismay the trenches of the British rapidly rose up before them.

Governor de Vaudreuil had retreated precipitately, without throwing provisions into the city, and the small supply furnished by the cavalry of M. de Bougainville, who had established himself at Beauport, was of scarcely any importance. Reduced to a few ounces of bread per diem, extreme famine now menaced the wretched garrison. The unhappy citizens pressed Governor de Ramsay to capitulate, before they were reduced to the last extremity. "We have cheerfully sacrificed our houses and our fortunes," said they, "but we cannot expose our wives and children to massacre." De Levi, at Montreal, had already heard of the death of Montcalm, and by request of the Marquis de Vaudreuil hastened to Quebec to assume the chief command. He arrived at the French head-quarters, in the neighborhood of Jacques Cartier, on the 16th, and immediately convened a council-of war, at which it was determined to raise the siege if possible. A message was despatched to M. de Ramsay, to tell him to hold out to the last extremity, as on the 18th the whole army would be in motion, and a disposition made to throw in a large supply of provisions, and relieve the town. But this intelligence came too late. On the evening of the 17th the terms of capitulation had been agreed on; early next morning they were fully ratified, and Quebec surrendered. In the evening the keys of the city were delivered up, and the Louisburg Grenadiers marched in, while at the same time Captain Palliser, of the navy, with a body of seamen, took possession of the Lower Town. De Levi heard all this at Cape Rouge, whither he had advanced with his disposable force, and immediately retired to Jacques Cartier, whence he shortly after proceeded to Montreal, leaving M. de Bougainville to watch the enemy.

Quebec had at length fallen. All the British colonies rung with ex-

ultation; towns were illuminated, bonfires flashed on the hills of New England; and legislative halls, the pulpit, and the press, re-echoed the tumultuous sounds of joy that arose over the land. Wolfe's despatch of the 9th September had caused the British nation to despond only for two brief days, when intelligence arrived of his victory, his death, and the surrender of Quebec. A generous people bewailed his untimely end, while they rejoiced in his triumph. Parliament voted him a monument in Westminster Abby, Lord Dalhousie subsequently erected a pillar in honor of him and Montcalm at Quebec, and Lord Aylmer placed a memorial where he fell. His body was embalmed, and conveyed to Greenwich, where it was placed beside his father, who had died only a few months before.

CHAPTER IX.

SURRENDER OF CANADA TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Wet, cold, and stormy weather, which threatened the British troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident, led Saunders and Townshend to grant very favorable conditions to the garrison of Quebec,* amounting to about 1000 of all ranks. They were permitted to march out with all the honors of war, to be afterwards conveyed to the nearest port in France. On laying down their arms the inhabitants were to be protected in their persons and property, and permitted the free exercise of their religion, while churches and convents were to be shielded by guards from insult. These conditions were faithfully fulfilled by the British, and so grateful were the people for the clemency shown them, that numbers came of their own accord to take the oath of allegiance to King George II.

On the 18th of October, the entire fleet, with the exception of the *Racchorse* of 20, and the *Porcupine* of 18 guns, departed for Halifax or England. Brigadier Townshend at the same time proceeded home, while Monckton went to winter in the milder climate of New York, where he soon recovered from his wound. To Murray was intrusted the government of Quebec, with Colonel Burton as his lieutenant-governor, and the troops of all ranks and arms, now amounting to only 7300 men, for his garrison. The sick and wounded, who were not likely to recover speedily, were taken home in the fleet. Soon after its departure a French vessel, bearing despatches from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendant, passed secretly down by Quebec during a fog, and after escaping many dangers arrived safely in France. These despatches were filled with criminations and recriminations. De Vaudreuil bitterly censured M. de Ramsay for his precipitate surrender of Quebec, while others held up his own flight from the lines at the Montmorency in no very flattering terms.

* General Townshend's Letter to Pitt, September 20th, 1759.

The condition of Canada, so recently the most important colony of France, had been completely altered by one disastrous campaign. Shut out from Lake Champlain, by the loss of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, from the west, by the fall of Niagara, while the conquest of Quebec excluded her from the sea-board, all the posts of importance that now remained in French hands, were those of Three Rivers, Montreal, Frontenac, Detroit, and Mackinaw. The strongest positions had all passed into British hands, and many of the bravest veterans of France had found graves in the land, which their valor had vainly striven to defend, or had been borne away as prisoners across the Atlantic. The condition of the unfortunate Habitants was most deplorable. Every hamlet had its sick or wounded men, provisions became scarcer than ever as winter progressed, rose to famine prices, and many people perished from want. At length the farmers would scarcely part with their provisions at any price; still Bigot and the commissary-general, Cadet, managed by force at one time, by threats and promises at another, to procure a scanty subsistence for the troops at Montreal. Even at Quebec, the British soldiers suffered severely from the want of fresh provisions. Scurvy broke out amongst them from the almost continual use of salt food and biscuit, and carried off nearly 1000 men, while it rendered twice that number unfit for duty.

During the winter Murray made every exertion to strengthen the defences of Quebec, and provide for the comfort of the garrison. He erected eight timber redoubts outside the defences towards the Plains of Abraham, and armed them with artillery, laid in eleven month's provisions in the citadel, and repaired 500 of the injured houses as barracks for his troops. He likewise established out-posts at favorable points in the neighborhood, which proved of considerable advantage in concealing his movements from the enemy, in collecting provisions, and confirming the country people in their allegiance, eleven parishes having already placed themselves under the protection of the British.

Meanwhile, the French troops at Jacques Cartier were not idle. They harassed the British out-posts whenever an opportunity presented itself, while M. de Levi, at Montreal, steadily pushed forward preparations for the re-capture of Quebec in the spring, before succor 1760. could arrive. The moment the weather permitted, he directed the French vessels, which had escaped up the river from Saunders's fleet, to be refitted, the small craft to be repaired, and galleys built, on board of which he placed stores and ammunition withdrawn from the Forts at St. John's and Chambly, and such other supplies as he could collect. The Marquis de Vaudreuil seconded these exertions by publishing an inflammatory address to the Canadian people, in

which the injuries and injustice inflicted by the British governor of Quebec were painted in false and highly colored language.

On the 17th of April, General de Levi, having completed his preparations, left Montreal with all his available force, and collecting on his way downwards the several detached corps scattered at the different posts, arrived at Cape Rouge with eight battalions of regular troops, 4500 strong, 6000 Canadians, of whom 200 were cavalry, and over 200 Indians. De Vaudreuil had sent belts to several of the native tribes to induce them to join the French army, but the wary savages held aloof from its falling fortunes, and either allied themselves with the British, or remained neutre. De Levi's heavy artillery, ammunition, and stores, were conveyed down the river in boats and other vessels.

On the morning of the 27th, before day, a French artilleryman was rescued from the river off a floating cake of ice, who gave Murray the first intelligence of the approach of a hostile force. He stated the French flotilla had been seriously injured by a storm, as well as by the difficulty of navigation, owing to the river not being free from ice, which still drifted in large quantities. The boat in which he was had been swamped in the storm, and he had great difficulty in saving himself by scrambling from one piece of ice to another. He rated the French army at nearly 12,000 men, which was speedily to be supported by all the frigates and vessels of war they could collect. The aid of a fleet from France was also looked for, as well as the immediate arrival of a frigate, laden with stores, which had wintered at Gaspé.

Murray marched out during the day, with all the troops that could be spared from garrison duty, to cover the retreat of his advanced posts at Cape Rouge and elsewhere, a duty he performed with the loss of only two men, and retired on the approach of evening, after breaking down all the bridges. De Levi, however, pushed rapidly forward down the St. Foy road, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th was within three miles of Quebec. The British general with an army reduced by disease, desertion, and death, to less than 3500 available men, had already formed the unaccountable resolution of giving the enemy battle. In his subsequent report to the Secretary of State, he excused this unfortunate determination. "Having well weighed my peculiar position," said he, "and well knowing that in shutting myself within the walls of the city I should risk the whole stake on the chance of defending a wretched fortification, which could not be lessened by an action in the field."

Shortly after day-break Murray formed his skeleton battalions on the Plains of Abraham, supported by twenty pieces of artillery, planted at the most favorable points. Having completed his order of battle, he

rode to the front to reconnoitre the enemy's position. The previous night had been wet, so he found the French occupied in putting their arms into order, and in other respects unprepared, as he supposed, for action. Thinking this a favorable opportunity to assail them, he gave orders for an immediate attack, which was gladly obeyed by his little army, who pushed forward in admirable order over the brow of the heights, and into the plains beyond.

De Levi at first could scarcely believe that the British seriously intended to attack his overwhelming force, and they had almost advanced within gun-shot range before he called his troops to arms. His line of battle, after a momentary confusion, was speedily formed, and some companies of grenadiers thrown into the woods on the right, to cover his flank in that direction. These almost immediately encountered the skirmishers and light troops on the British left, who speedily drove them in on the main-body, and following too far in pursuit got in front of their own artillery, and compelled its silence for a time. The advance of the British light troops was soon checked, however, by the steady front of the French supports, whose fire quickly compelled them to retire.

De Levi's army was by this time formed in battle array, and the action speedily became general. For an hour and three-quarters did the battle rage with the utmost fury; but finally the numbers of the French prevailed. The British left was thrown into disorder and gave way; the right was also hardly pressed, and Murray was compelled to retreat, leaving nearly the whole of his guns in the hands of the enemy, and 300 dead upon the field. The greater part of the wounded, amounting in all to 700, he succeeded, however, in carrying with him.

Nearly a third of the British army were killed or wounded; but still the French had dearly purchased their victory, by a loss, according to their own admission, of fully 1800 put *hors de combat*. So exasperated were they at the obstinacy of the contest by so small a force, that they stained their triumph by refusing quarter to several English officers,* and giving up the British wounded, left on the field, to the fury of the Indians. Out of nearly 100 of these, unavoidably abandoned by Murray in his retreat, only 28 were sent to hospital; the rest were massacred by the savages.†

But, if the British general had committed an error in hazarding a battle with his inferior force, he amply atoned for it by the resolute manner in which he prepared to defend the city. On the very evening of the battle he issued a general order to his troops, in which he sought

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 337.

† Conquest of Can. vol. 2. p. 232.

to raise their spirits by stating, "that although the morning had been unfortunate to the British arms, yet affairs were not desperate, that a fleet might soon be expected; and it only remained for officers and men patiently to bear the unavoidable fatigues of a siege." The garrison was now reduced to 2200 effective men, but these were animated by the best spirit, and even the wounded men, who could not walk without crutches, seating themselves on the ramparts, made sand-bags for the works, and cartridges for the cannon. The soldiers's wives, of whom there were nearly 500, and all of whom with scarcely an exception had enjoyed excellent health during the Winter, were also active in attending the wounded, and cooking for the troops.

De Levi broke ground on the evening of the 28th, eight hundred yards from the ramparts, but several days elapsed before his batteries, consisting of thirteen guns and two mortars, opened upon the town. Murray had in the meantime placed 132 guns in position on the walls, and as many of the infantry had been trained to act as artillerymen during the preceding winter, he was enabled to keep up a fire which completely overpowered that of the French. But the hopes of the besieged rested chiefly for deliverance on the arrival of the fleet. The French army looked also for aid from an expected squadron.* On the 9th of May, a frigate was seen rounding the headland of Point Levi, and standing towards the city. For a brief space, an intense anxiety had complete possession of besiegers and besieged. But presently a flag is run up to the mizen peak of the strange ship, the Union Jack floats boldly out, and a boat puts off for the Lower Town, when the garrison—officers and men, mounted the ramparts in the face of the enemy, and made the welkin ring with hearty British cheers. On the 15th two other frigates arrived, under the command of Commodore Swinton. Next day the French shipping above the town, consisting of two frigates and several armed vessels, were attacked, and forced on shore or destroyed.

The following night the siege was raised, and M. de Levi precipitately retreated, leaving his provisions, guns, tents, ammunition, and intrenching tools behind. Murray had made preparations for a vigorous sally on the morning of the 17th, and when informed of the retreat of the besiegers pushed rapidly out in pursuit with his grenadiers and light infantry, but was only able to capture some stragglers from their rear-guard. De Levi retreated to Jacques Cartier, and afterwards proceeded

* This, consisting of one frigate, two store-ships, and nineteen smaller vessels, was captured in Chaleur Bay by a British squadron from Louisburg.

to Montreal, where the last stand was to be made against the efforts of the British.

The siege of Quebec, short as it had been, furnished many opportunities to the officers of the different French departments to make money. They felt their time was short; and, resolving to make hay while the sun shone, indulged in the most shameful peculations and public robberies. The people gradually became more and more dissatisfied, and several began to look forward to English rule as a benefit instead of injury. Murray increased this feeling by issuing a judicious proclamation on the 22nd May. He stated briefly that the peaceable inhabitants would be fully protected, as well as those who at once laid down their arms, and remained neutre. France, her fleets defeated, and her treasury exhausted, could give them no assistance. The bills of exchange of the last year, drawn upon the government by the Canadian officials were still undischarged, and the total depreciation of the colonial paper money,* in consequence, must entail a train of misfor-

* In the early settlement of Canada, there had been but little specie in it, and whatever sums of money that had been imported, were remitted to France, to purchase goods and other articles wanted by the inhabitants. The Court of France, with the view of increasing the quantity of money, issued, in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy, a particular coin for all the French settlements in America, and directed, that its value should be one fourth more than it passed current at in France. This expedient had not the effect expected, which led the Government to substitute *la papier aux metaux*, which answered every purpose, both in paying the troops and the other expenses of Government, until the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, when the Government of France, not having made provision for the redemption of the stock, they sunk into discredit and became of little or no value. This circumstance again introduced the use of gold and silver, but the merchants finding remittances in cash, both hazardous and difficult, presented a memorial to the King of France, requesting the introduction of paper money; card money was then introduced. On each card was stamped the arms of the King of France, and each was signed by the Governor, Intendant and Comptroller. These bills were of different denominations, from a thousand livres to fifteen sous, and were preferred by the inhabitants to specie, and answered every purpose for which they were intended. In the month of October of every year, the holder was at liberty to bring these cards to the Intendant's Office, and had a right to demand bills of exchange on old France in payment. This right gave the paper currency even a preference over ready cash, for the government would not take cash for bills of exchange. Although the inhabitants might have brought all their cards, to the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine for payment, yet being as current as cash, considerable quantities remained in circulation; as a proof of which, it may be mentioned, that there were extant, some of the cards of the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. It was at this period that the Intendant, and

tunes they could alone escape, by adhering to a nation like Britain, abounding in riches and great prosperity. It concluded by informing the inhabitants, "that if they withdrew themselves from the army of M. de Levi, and gave it no assistance, further injury should not be done their homes or growing crops, and that thus the evils of another famine would be averted."

This proclamation, which was widely circulated, had now a most excellent effect upon the Habitants. Several copies were even sent to Montreal, which so enraged the French general, that he threatened to hang any person found with one in his possession. But his anger availed him little; the ardor of the peasantry visibly abated, and it was evident from the progress of events, that the reign of French official oppression and extortion in Canada was rapidly drawing towards its close.

By the 22nd of July, Amherst had assembled an army 10,000 strong, and 700 Indians at Oswego. On the 10th of August he embarked *en route* for Montreal, and arrived at Ogdensburg on the 19th. The French fort at this place was invested next day. On the 23rd the British batteries opened their fire, which was vigorously replied to by the garrison, who, however, surrendered at discretion on the 25th. Amherst learned that the Iroquois intended to massacre the French soldiers as soon as they gained admission within the works. This he sternly forbade, and declared if they attempted such an outrage that he would restrain them by force. They now sullenly threatened to return home, to which course Amherst gave his consent; but at the same time stated, that if they committed any acts of violence on their way, he would assuredly chastise them.

others concerned in the government of Canada, issued considerable quantities of bills of exchange, which they pretended were for the use of the government, but as the French court charged them with mal-administration, this point continued in dispute until judgment was passed in France on Bigot, and other speculators, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. Bigot was banished from France for life, the others for a shorter period. They were moreover condemned to make restitution of several sums in proportion to the frauds of which they had been found guilty. As the Canadians had always had great confidence in Bigot, who they supposed had been vested with full powers from the Court of France, they continued to take bills as usual, and in general paid the full value for them. Upwards of four millions and a-half sterling of this paper remained at the conquest, unpaid. These bills, immediately after that event, become of little or no value; but by an arrangement with the French government, at the peace, Great Britain obtained for her new subjects three millions in contracts, and six hundred thousand livres in money.—Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 344-346.

Passing down the St. Lawrence, the British army, after losing eighty-four men and several boats in the Cedar Rapids, landed on the Island of Montreal, about nine miles from the town, the 6th of September. Meantime, Murray had left Quebec on the 14th of June, with a force of 2400 men of all ranks, and ascended the river, subduing some small posts on its banks, and compelling its inhabitants whenever practicable to submit to the authority of Great Britain. At Sorel he found M. de Bourlemaque posted with 4000 men, and judged it prudent to await the arrival of an expected reinforcement from Louisburg. This coming up he pursued his way. On the 7th Sept. his troops were disembarked, and posted to the north-east of the town. On the following day Colonel Haviland, who had penetrated into Canada by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, also arrived at Montreal with a force of over 3000 men; and thus an army of nearly 16,000 men were assembled under the walls of a defenceless town. On the same day the Marquis de Vaudreuil signed the capitulation,* which severed Canada from France forever. This capitulation included the vast country, extending from the fishing stations in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Michigan and Illinois. The regular troops, amounting to 4000, were to be permitted to march out from their several posts with all the honors of war, and afterwards conveyed to France. The militia, numbering over 16,000, were allowed to return unmolested to their homes. To the inhabitants the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed, as well as undisturbed possession of their properties and slaves, and the same commercial privileges which other British colonists enjoyed.

On the 13th, Major Rogers was detached with two hundred rangers, and a few artillerymen, to take possession of the French posts on the Lakes. At Kingston an Indian hunting party brought him wild fowl and venison. From thence he ascended to Niagara. The lateness of the season terminated his journey at Detroit, which was promptly surrendered by the French commandant. At the head of Lake Erie Rogers encountered the great Outawa chief, Pontiac, who had united the surrounding tribes in a confederacy, held supreme sway over them, and subsequently caused much trouble to the British.

Shortly after the capitulation of Montreal, General Amherst established a military government for the preservation of public tranquillity, and the administration of justice. He divided the colony into three districts: the first, was that of Quebec, over which Murray was placed; the second, three Rivers, at the head of which was Colonel Burton;

* Vide Appendix No. 1.

the third, Montreal, was intrusted to Brigadier Gage. Within these districts were established several courts of justice, composed of Canadian militia officers, who decided cases brought before them in a summary manner, with right of appeal, however, to the Commandant. The British ministry approved of this procedure, and decided that the military government should remain in force until the restoration of peace, when, in the event of Canada being relinquished by France, a proper form of government would be established.*

At length this country, after years of warfare and bloodshed, was about to enjoy the blessings of peace. Freed from the terrors of Indian massacre, on one hand, and the fears of British invasion, on the other, the inhabitants once more cultivated their fields in quiet, and enjoyed their increase without fear of the extortions and oppressions of a Bigot, a Cadet, or the host of smaller fry, who had so recently enriched themselves at their expense. Many of the upper classes, it is true, disgusted at the prospect of British rule, returned to France. A proud nobility, however, was little suited to Canada, and the departure of persons, whose idle habits, imperious manners, and poverty of resources, made them of little value to the community, was a cause of no regret, but rather of congratulation.† The bulk of the people had soon reason to bless the change which placed them under the dominion of Great Britain. "To the impenetrably mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition," said the French author, Abbe Raynal, "succeeded a cool, rational, and public trial: and a tribunal dreadful, and accustomed to shed blood, was replaced by humane judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality. The conquered people have been still more delighted, by finding the liberty of their persons secured forever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of just laws."‡

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 1. p. 375. † Raynal, vol. 2. p. 132.

‡ Ibid, vol. 2. p. 133. In 1752 a soldier was subjected to the punishment of the rack at Three Rivers, in order to make him confess his accomplices in an attempt to burn the town. The punishment of the rack was frequently applied to criminals, and in one instance a female for having hidden the birth of an illegitimate child was tortured by it. The rack was actually in use a very short period before the conquest. Christie's Canada, vol. 1. p. 11.

During the time that Canada was a colony of France, a person suspected with, or without, foundation, was seized, thrown into prison, and interrogated without knowing the charge against him, and without being confronted with his accuser: and was deprived of the assistance of relations, friends, or counsel. He was

Great Britain had begun the memorable war in which she was now engaged, to establish her own interpretation of the boundary of Nova Scotia, and her claims to the valley of the Ohio. She had succeeded to her heart's content; had won Canada and Guadaloupe in addition, and now desired peace. "The desire of my heart said George II. to parliament, shortly before his death, is to see a stop put to the effusion of blood." Pitt was also desirous to terminate a contest which had already given him all he sought for: and the public began to discuss which of their conquests should be retained, and which surrendered. The majority of the British nation were in favor of keeping Canada, yet many reflecting men doubted the wisdom of this course. William Burke the relative and friend of the great Irishman of that name, in a pamphlet at this time found arguments for retaining Guadaloupe in the facilities it presented for profitable investment, the richness of its soil, the number of its slaves, and the absence of all competition with England. "If the people of our colonies," he added, to alarm the public mind, "found no check from Canada, they will increase infinitely from all causes. What the consequence will be, to have a hardy, numerous, and independent people, possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with England, I leave to your own reflections. A neighbor that keeps us in some awe, is not always the worst of neighbors. There should be a balance of power in America."

Even from Guadaloupe itself came a warning voice. "A country of such vast resources," it said, "and so distant as North America, could never remain long subject to Britain. The acquisition of Canada would strengthen America to revolt. The islands from their weakness can never revolt; but, if we acquire all Canada, we shall soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be governed by us at a distance." "If Canada were annexed," objected British traders, "the Americans will be at leisure to manufacture for themselves, and throw off their dependence on the mother country."

Such were the momentous questions, which agitated the minds of the reflecting portion of the British public, on the approach of peace. Franklin, then in England, strongly advocated the retention of Canada, on the grounds that it would promote a perpetual peace in North America, that the facilities for profitable agricultural labor would pre-

sworn to tell the truth, or rather to accuse himself, and was never confronted with the person who had accused him, except at the moment before judgement was pronounced, or when the torture was applied, or at his execution: and judgement in capital cases was invariably followed by confiscation of property. *Smith's Hist. Can.* vol. 2. p. 70.

vent the colonists from engaging in manufactures, and, that the separate interests of the different governments, would always hinder a union against the mother country. Pitt leaned to the same opinions. He delighted, with a truly liberal and generous mind, to foster British liberty in America, and made it his glory to extend the boundaries throughout which it was to be enjoyed. He desired to retain both Guadaloupe and Canada; but, when overruled in the cabinet, held fast to this country. And thus, unwittingly, did this great statesman lay the foundation for the speedy independence of the United States.

On the 25th of October, 1760, George II. died suddenly of apoplexy, after a long reign of over thirty-three years, and his grandson, then but twenty-two years of age, ascended the British throne. Although so young, George III. was determined to rule as a king; he was unfriendly to Pitt, whose influence dimmed even monarchy, and the latter was soon made to feel that he had forced himself into the highest place in the ministry, over the heads of an envious and unwilling aristocracy, and that his influence with the crown was on the wane.

1761. The minister was unwilling to desert the king of Prussia in his extremity. But George III. caring little about Hanover, and the German policy of his predecessor, displayed small consideration for Frederick, and desired to negotiate separately with France. Other circumstances, also, conspired to weaken the influence of the premier; and on the 5th of October, William Pitt, the greatest minister of the age; the profound orator—the rival of Demosthenes; the man who without title or fortune had rescued Great Britain from an abyss of weakness and disgrace; who had conquered Guadaloupe, Canada, and the Great West; who had preserved Prussia from annihilation, and sustained continental Protestantism; who had humbled France, gained the supreme dominion of the seas, won an empire, greater than that of the Mogul, in Hindostan, and had vanquished faction at home; this man stood in the presence of his young and inexperienced sovereign to resign his power. A few weeks before, France and Spain had concluded a convention, by which Spain bound itself to declare war against England, unless peace should be established, contrary to all expectation, before the 1st of May, 1762. Pitt, warned of this treaty, would fain have crushed the whole race of the Bourbons, but a majority of the privy council had decided against his purpose, and thus compelled his resignation. Pious, and sincerely desirous to stop the effusion of blood, George III. felt that the minister alone stood in the way of the peace he desired, and received the seals without requesting that Pitt should resume his office. Yet the king was not ungrateful, and desired to bestow some mark of favor on the retiring minister. He was offered

the government of Canada, with a salary of £5000 per annum, but this was declined. His wife was made a peeress, with a grant of £3000, to be paid annually during the lives of herself, her husband, and her eldest son. So Pitt retired from office, having confirmed France and Spain in implacable hostility to Great Britain, and destroyed the balance of the European colonial system, by the naval preponderance he had given to his country, and the conquest of Canada and Guadaloupe.

But Pitt was the minister of the nation, and the public were indignant at his retirement from the government. This event was attributed to the secret influence of the Earl of Bute, who was grossly insulted on lord mayor's day in London : at the same time, the king and Queen were received with coldness and silence, when proceeding to dine in the city, while Pitt was welcomed with the loudest acclamations. A still greater triumph awaited him. The force of circumstances soon compelled his successors to adopt his policy, and war was declared against Spain.

All Europe was now arrayed against Great Britain, with the exception of Prussia and Portugal. The latter country was invaded by the armies of the Spaniards. With the aid of English auxiliaries these were defeated in two decisive engagements, and driven back. But it was in her colonies and commerce that Spain suffered most severely. Havannah, with plunder to the amount of three millions sterling, was taken by the Earl of Albemarle and Admiral Pococke : Draper and Cornwallis captured the city of Manilla : and while the cannon of the Horse Guards announced the birth of a Prince of Wales, waggons conveyed two millions of treasure to the Tower, a prize to the captors of two Spanish vessels. While the arms of Britain thus triumphed in various parts of the World, the King of Prussia, after a series of brilliant exploits, was brought to the brink of utter ruin by the junction of the Russians with his inveterate enemies. Fortunately the death of the Empress Elizabeth released him from this new danger, and Frederick soon retrieved his disasters.

The world had now enough of war, and the various governments of Europe were anxious for peace. France, deprived of her colonies, found her commerce on the brink of ruin. Spain had sustained the most severe reverses, and the Austrians and Prussians were wearied of costly campaigns which produced no territorial additions. The terms proposed to France were severe, but she yielded to necessity. "What else can we do," said the French minister, Choiseul, "the English are drunk with success, and we are not in a condition to abase their pride." Accordingly, on the 3rd of November, the preliminaries of

peace were signed by France and Spain, on one hand, and by Great Britain and Portugal, on the other.

By this peace Britain, besides islands in the West Indies, gained the Floridas, Louisiana to the Mississippi, all Canada, Cape Breton, and the other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and Senegal ; while in Asia the victories of Clive and Coote, by land, and Watson and Pococke, by sea, had given her the ascendancy in the East Indies, and suddenly opened to her the promise of untold treasures, and endless territorial acquisitions.

"Never," said George III., "did England, nor I believe any other power in Europe, sign such a peace before." Yet Pitt opposed the treaty, on the ground that it did not give his country the advantages it was entitled to by conquest. The nation at large sustained him in this position ; yet in parliament he was out-voted by a considerable 1763. majority. On the 10th day of February, 1763, the treaty was finally ratified ; and peace was also restored, at the same time, between Austria and Prussia. The map of Europe remained exactly as before the war ; but in Asia, and on this continent, everything was changed. In America the Anglo-Saxon element was immeasurably in the ascendant.

CHAPTER X.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL MURRAY.

For the long period of one hundred and fifty-seven years—from the first settlement of New France by Champlain, to its surrender to Great Britain by the Marquis de Vaudreuil at Montreal, have we traced the fortunes of the French in this country as faithfully as possible. We are now about to enter on the annals of a new era, in which Canada is presented under a totally different aspect, to wit, that of a British colony. Instead of painting the vicissitudes of a military settlement, governed by arbitrary law-givers, a sanguinary penal code, and oppressed by a proud and poor nobility,* we have now to record the progress of a peaceful community, in the enjoyment of a larger liberty.

From 1760 to 1763, Canada scarcely presents a single event of note to record. The peasantry had gladly laid aside the musket and sword to devote themselves to agricultural employments, and were soon in the enjoyment of abundance of food. These people had been taught to look for every outrage at the hands of the British, and were most agreeably surprised at the humane manner in which they were treated. Their gratitude was also awakened by the generous way in which large sums of money had been subscribed by British officers and merchants, to alleviate their sufferings during the famine. A disastrous war, the departure of French troops, and the return of many persons to France, had reduced the population of Canada to 70,000 souls, and immediately after the conquest, it was supposed a large portion of even these would quit the country. But the daily instances of lenity they

* They are extremely vain, and have an utter contempt for the trading part of the colony. They were usually provided for in the colony troops, consisting of thirty companies. They are in general poor except such as have command of distant posts, when they usually made a fortune in three or four years. * * * They were great tyrants to their vassals, who seldom met with redress, let their grievances be ever so just. Governor Murray's Report on the state of Canada, Quebec 5th June, 1762.

now experienced, the cheap and impartial justice administered to them by the military tribunals, and the indulgence shown to their religion, soon reconciled them to their new condition, and their only dread was lest they might be torn from their country like the Acadians.*

No sooner had peace been established, than the attention of the British ministry was turned to the formation of governments in the countries conquered during the war, and which had been ceded at its termination. In the month of October, 1763, a proclamation was published under the Great Seal for erecting four new civil governments in America, to wit, those of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Granada. In this proclamation, the king exhorted his subjects to avail themselves of the advantages which must accrue, from his recent acquisitions, to commerce, manufactures, and navigation. It was also stated, that as soon as the circumstances of these colonies would permit, general assemblies of the people would be convened in the same manner as in the American provinces; in the meantime, the laws of England were to be in force. Thus all the laws, customs, and judicial forms of a populous and ancient colony were in one hour overturned, and English laws, even the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, introduced in their stead. It was a most rash and unwise measure, and history furnishes no instance of greater injustice to a conquered people, nor less true wisdom on the part of conquerors. The disorders it introduced produced a re-action, which has perpetuated the French civil law in Lower Canada to the present day, whereas, had changes been at first gradually and wisely introduced, as the altered condition of the people permitted, the laws of England ere now would have been the rule of decision in that province. Shortly after the publication of this proclamation, General Murray was appointed to the governorship of Canada, or the Province of Quebec, as it was now styled, and proceeded, agreeable to his instructions, to nominate a council of eight members to aid him in the administration of government.

While the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau penetrated every corner of France, and planted the germs of revolution throughout Europe, —while newspapers and books were scattered broadcast over Great Britain and America, Canada remained without a printing press. This medium of intelligence had been jealously excluded by the French governors as unsuited to their despotic sway; but scarcely had the country been finally ceded to Britain, than William Brown and Thomas Gilmore, of Philadelphia, determined to publish a journal at Quebec.

* Murray's Report.

There was then no type-founder in America, so Gilmore went to England to purchase the necessary material, and on the 21st of 1764 June, 1764, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette* made its appearance; and Canada had its newspaper, a new and potent element of civilisation. The *Quebec Gazette* is still in existence, although it began with only one-hundred and fifty subscribers; and it is to be hoped will long continue to enlighten the community.

On the 17th of September, a proclamation, based on the presumed introduction of English laws into the colony, was issued by the Governor in council, establishing a Court of King's Bench for the trial of all criminal and civil cases agreeable to the laws of England, and the ordinances of the province. A Court of Common Pleas was also instituted, in which the French laws were to be allowed in all cases of action, arising before its construction, but not afterwards. The introduction of the English civil law occasioned much dissatisfaction among the public, and accordingly, in the month of November, the Governor in council enacted "that in actions relative to the tenure of land, and the rights of inheritance, the French laws and usages should be observed as the rule of decision." A Court of Chancery was erected soon after, at the head of which presided the Governor, as chancellor, with two masters, two examiners, and one register.

The English-speaking inhabitants of the colony were few in number, and the sudden introduction of the English language, as well as English laws, into the courts of justice, was found to be productive of the greatest disorder. Trial by jury was of little value to a people who did not understand a word of the pleadings unless through an interpreter, and it was soon evident that some change must be made in this respect.

All public offices, moreover, were conferred on British born subjects, of which there were scarcely four hundred in the country, exclusive of the military. Many of these came out expressly from England, and as they neither knew the language nor customs of the people they were sent to control, much disgust and dissatisfaction were the result. Nor were officials always selected with the sole view to the public good. The ignorant, the covetous, and the bigotted, were appointed to offices, which required knowledge, integrity, and abilities. Several of the principal situations were given away by patent to men of interest in England, who let them out to the highest bidders. No salary were attached to these patent places, the value of which accordingly depended upon the fees, which the Governor was directed to establish on the same scale as in the richest colony. Much extortion and oppression were the necessary consequences of this order of things, and which

Governor Murray found it most difficult to prevent. His endeavors to protect the people made him many enemies among the English of the colony, who were too apt to show a contempt of the old inhabitants, not even excepting the seigniors. The Governor, however, continued to alleviate their condition to the best of his power, and won their sincere gratitude.*

Complaints were soon sent to England relative to the establishment of these courts, the harsh conduct of law-officers, and the enormous fees that were exacted. These were laid, by the Board of Trade, before the English Attorney and Solicitor Generals who made an elaborate report thereon. They gave it as their opinion, that the introduction of the English language into the courts of Canada was inadvisable, and that it was unwise and arbitrary at once to abolish all the French usages and customs, especially those relating to the titles of land, the law of descent, of alienation, and settlement. They likewise supported the view that Canadian advocates, attorneys, and proctors, should be permitted to practice in the courts. †

During this year several Canadians who had gone to France returned. Bishop de Pont Briant had died in 1760 and a new bishop also came out. On his arrival his friends received him with all the ceremony and respect which they had ever paid to bishops. These courtesies, however, he refused on the ground of altered circumstances. In pursuance of this humble determination he wore only a common black gown, like the other priests for some time. But the liberal manner in which he found himself treated by the authorities, soon assured him he might adopt a higher tone with safety, and he accordingly assumed all the insignia of episcopal dignity. ‡

In the following year, General Murray proceeded to England, leaving Brigadier Carleton to act in his absence. A more lucrative post prevented him from returning, and the Brigadier was accordingly appointed Governor of Canada on the 12th of April. His humanity had made him popular with the public, who already regarded him as a protector, and looked forward to his administration with confidence. Nor were they disappointed. Sir Guy Carleton ever proved himself their friend.

* In a letter to Shelburne, 30th Aug., 1766, General Murray, alluding to the English officials, declared them to be the most immoral collection of men he ever knew.

† Yorke and De Grey to the Lords of Trade, 14th April, 1766.

‡ Smith's Hist. Can. vol 2. p. 38, 39.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GUY CARLETON.

Montreal, the population of which had now increased to 7000 souls, suffered severely this year by a most destructive fire, which broke out on the evening of the 18th April, and consumed nearly one hundred houses. The greatest sympathy was displayed towards the sufferers. In England a considerable sum was raised for their relief, but many were, nevertheless, reduced to poverty. Its citizens suffered also from the arbitrary conduct, and petty extortion, of the English justices of the peace, whose irregularities, however, were speedily restrained by the action of the Governor. Hitherto, they had been allowed a jurisdiction in civil cases to the amount of five pounds currency. This was now taken away, and they were only permitted to decide in criminal matters.* Beyond these events there is not a single fact of moment to record at this period. Although America was already heaving in the throes of revolution, the people of Canada remained peaceable, and tolerably contented. Trade was reviving, and the population on the increase.

Governor Carleton having obtained the royal permission to 1770. proceed to England on leave of absence, Mr. Cramahe, as the oldest member of the council, assumed direction of the government. The Governor had always been desirous that the French civil laws, or "*Coutume de Paris*," should be introduced again into the colony, and he had them accordingly compiled by several Canadian advocates of acknowledged ability. This compilation he took with him on his departure for England, and where, soon after his arrival, it was revised by the principal law officers of the crown, and became the chief authority at once in the Canadian courts,† as regarded questions affecting land and inheritance. In cases of personal contract, and debts of a commercial character, the English laws remained the practical authorities. This arrangement was cheerfully acquiesced in by the people generally: and although there was no fixed standard of decision, and judgement was dealt out sometimes according to French law, and at other times according to English law, still it was evident that justice was always intended, and the public were tolerably satisfied with matters as they stood, until more permanent and better defined arrangements could be effected. The criminal law of England, including trial by jury, and the Habeas Corpus, had been fully introduced into Canada, and

* Debates on the Quebec Bill, p. 128. In one case the costs on suing for 11s amounted to £4 0 0.

† Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 2. p. 60.

appeared to give general satisfaction among the bulk of the people, with the exception that Canadian jurors grumbled a good deal about not being paid for their loss of time. The old French gentry, however, did not like by any means that laborers and mechanics should sit in judgement upon gentlemen, and wondered that the British people should be so fond of trial by jury.*

The long peace had enabled the Canadian people to recover 1773. fully from the effects of war. Trade had now become more prosperous than ever. Emigrants returned from France; numbers of the Acadians, scattered through the neighboring colonies, gladly proceeded to this country; and in the space intervening between 1760 and 1773 it was estimated that the population had increased a fourth. In May, 1774, General Carleton, in his evidence under oath before a committee of the House of Commons, estimated the population of Canada at 100,000 Roman Catholics and 400 Protestants. The latter were chiefly merchants, officers, and disbanded soldiers, who resided principally at Quebec and Montreal: in 110 rural parishes there were only 19 Protestants.† With the exception of the change in the laws; that there was less speculation on the part of public officials; and, that the country was more prosperous, matters remained pretty much in the same state as they were before the conquest. A Governor and council, although with limited powers, still ruled the colony, the common people were as uneducated and simple as ever,‡ and the clergy.

* General Carleton to the House of Commons, May 1774. The seigniors actually petitioned the British Parliament on this head in 1773, and against the general introduction of English law. See Debates on the Quebec Bill.

† The royal proclamation of the 7th October 1763, which provided for the government of Canada, granted to the officers and soldiers, engaged in the war in this country, lands in the following proportions, viz. To a field-officer 5000 acres, captain 3000, subaltern 2000. Sergeants and other non-commissioned officers 200, and privates 50 acres. Very few, however, claimed these grants, and soldiers preferred to keep public houses, than engage in agriculture. Strangers to Canadian customs and the language of the people, British settlers disliked the colony and did very poorly. Many left it altogether in disgust.

‡ Volney, a distinguished French traveller, who visited Canada, towards the close of the last century, does not draw a very flattering picture of the *Habitants'* intelligence. After stating their easy and indolent habits he observes: "having several times questioned the frontier Canadians respecting the distances of times and places, I have found that in general they had no clear and precise ideas: that they received sensations without reflecting on them; in short that they knew not how to make any calculations that were ever so little complicated. They would say to me from this way to that is one or two pipes of tobacco; you can or you cannot reach it between sunrise or sunset, or the like." Education is

received their parochial dues and tithes as punctually as during French dominion. Still the peasantry began to feel a stray glimmering of independence, and to resist such exactions of the seigniors as they considered were legally unjust.

As the country gradually became more and more prosperous, and thinking people had leisure to look round them and reflect, a good deal of anxiety began to prevail as to the future government of the colony, and whether the French or English laws would be permanently established. As might be expected, the British settlers were unanimous in favor of English law, and a government based on a popular representation. The inhabitants of French origin, on the other hand, generally desired the establishment of their old civil law, but were divided with regard to a House of Assembly. Some supposed that a representative constitution would give the settlers of English origin, who were much better acquainted with this mode of government than themselves, a great preponderance in public affairs. Others leaned to a governor and council, as the mode of government they best understood, while a few of the better informed desired to be ruled by their own representatives, like the other British colonies. Mr. Lotbiniere, described by one of the principal law officers* of Canada, as a very sensible and reflecting man, and a large Canadian landed proprietor, gave it as his opinion, before a committee of the House of Commons on the Quebec Bill, in June 1774, that if Roman Catholics were allowed to sit in a House of Assembly, there would be no objections made to its establishment. He also stated, that if a Legislative Council were established, and composed in part of the Canadian noblesse, it would have the best effects.†

Such was the unsettled condition of this country, when in the month of October, 1773, meetings were held at Quebec to petition the Deputy Governor, General Carleton being still absent from the province, to summon a House of Assembly in agreement with the royal proclamation of 1763. The principal Canadians were invited to attend these meetings, and take part in the proceedings, but on their declining to do so, the British inhabitants determined to proceed alone in the matter, and after some delays presented their petition to the Deputy

Canada before the conquest was entirely restricted to the upper classes and clerical orders. Common schools were unknown, and few of the peasantry could either read or write.

* Mr. Massere, Attorney General, author of "The Canadian Freeholder," and who was strongly opposed to the continuation of the French civil law in Canada.

† Debates on the Quebec Bill, p. 160, 161.

Governor, on the 3rd of December. He replied to it a week after by stating "that the matter was of too great importance for the council of the province to decide upon, and the more so, as the government appeared likely soon to be regulated by act of parliament." A fresh draft of the petition was soon after presented to the Secretary 1774. for the colonies, the Earl of Dartmouth, but beyond hints that the Province was not yet ripe for a General Assembly, no answer was returned.

In Great Britain the reflecting portion of the community were gradually becoming more aware of the fact, that unless parliament receded from its assumed right to tax the American colonies, their independence was very near. The hostile position assumed by their Houses of Assembly, was ill-calculated to make the British legislature regard popular colonial representation very favorably, and it was now determined to give Canada a different form of government. On the 2nd of May, 1774, a bill, usually known as the Quebec Act, was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Dartmouth, which passed without opposition, and was sent down to the Commons for their concurrence.* This bill repealed all the provisions of the royal proclamation of 1763, annulled all the acts of the Governor and council, relative to the civil government and administration of justice, revoked the commissions of judges and other existing officers, and established new boundaries for the province, which was now declared to embrace all ancient Canada, with Labrador and the countries west to the Ohio and Mississippi. The Quebec Act released the Roman Catholic religion in Canada from all penal restrictions, confirmed their dues and tithes to its clergy, but as regarded members of their own church only, (Protestants been freed from their payment,) and also confirmed all classes, with exception of the religious orders and communities,† in the full possession of their properties. The French laws were declared to be the rules for decision, relative to property and civil rights, while the English criminal law was established in perpetuity. Both the civil and criminal codes, however, were liable to be altered or modified by the ordinances of the Governor and a Legislative Council: this council was to be appointed by the Crown, and to consist of not more than twenty-

* The King on opening parliament recommended the question of a government for Canada to its consideration. There can be little doubt that this bill owed its origin principally to himself.

† With the exception of the Jesuits, whose order was suppressed by the Pope, none of the religious orders or communities of Canada, have ever been disturbed in the possession of their property. Their right to this property was clearly left an open question by the Quebec Act.

three, nor less than seventeen members. Its power was limited to levying local or municipal taxes, and to making arrangements for the administration of the internal affairs of the province : the British Parliament jealously reserving to itself the right of external taxation, or levying duties on articles imported or exported. Every ordinance passed by this council was to be transmitted within six months, at furthest, after enactment, for the approbation of the King, and if disallowed to be null and void on his pleasure becoming known in Quebec.

Such were the principal provisions of the Quebec Act, under which Canada was governed for a period of seventeen years. Taking into consideration the want of education among the great bulk of the Canadian people, their ignorance of popular institutions, and of the English laws and language, there can be no doubt that this bill gave them the mode of government best suited to their condition, and was a real boon so far as they were concerned. But to the inhabitants of British origin, who had settled in Canada or the valley of the Ohio,* and were subjected thereby to French laws; and deprived of the right of a jury in civil causes, of the Habeas Corpus, and of a constitutional government, the measure was oppressive in the extreme, and at variance with all their ideas and experience of popular liberty. The law was based on the supposition that the French would remain the dominant race in Canada, as well as on a desire to restrain the progress westward of the Anglo-American population. The American revolution, and the rapid increase of a British-Canadian population, ultimately placed it in error in both respects, and compelled its repeal. It met with strenuous opposition in the House of Commons chiefly on the grounds of its being opposed to the British constitution, and granting too extensive territorial limits to Canada. "You have given up to Canada," said Thomas Townshend, "almost all the country which was the subject of dispute, and for which we went to war; extending, in the words of the bill, southward to the Ohio, westward, to the Mississippi, and northward, to the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company.

The bill, however, passed in the Commons by a majority of 36, and was returned, on the 18th of June, to the House of Lords, whither Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, went to oppose it, although very ill at the time. "It will involve this country," said he, "in a thousand difficulties, and is subversive of that liberty which ought to be the ground-work of every constitution." And he prophesied "that it would shake the affec-

* It was estimated that over 20,000 people had already settled in the valley of the Ohio. They were chiefly from Pennsylvania and Virginia.

tions and confidence of his Majesty's subjects in England and Ireland, and lose him the hearts of all the Americans." But the bill passed, nevertheless. Only six siding with Pitt while twenty-six of the Peers voted against him.

The city of London, always in front of the battle for constitutional liberty, became speedily alarmed ; and, on the 22nd of June, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, petitioned the King not to give his sanction to the bill. He gave them an evasive answer, and immediately after proceeded to the House of Lords, and signified his assent thereto : observing " that it was founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity, and would, he doubted not, have the best effect in quieting the minds, and promoting the happiness of his Canadian subjects."

As soon as the act reached Quebec, the English settlers met in the greatest alarm, and promptly petitioned the king, as well as both houses of parliament, for its repeal or amendment. They complained that it deprived them of the franchise they had inherited from their ancestors, that they had lost the protection of English laws, the Habeas Corpus, and the trial by jury in civil causes, which was disgraceful to them as Britons, and ruinous to their properties.

In the American colonies the passing of this act awoke a storm of indignation. All they had struggled for beyond the Alleghanies, almost, was taken from them at one swoop. Their Congress, on the 24th of October, endeavored by a forcible address to awaken the people of Canada to a just sense of what it deemed their true interests. They were now invited to elect delegates to represent their province in the " Continental Congress," to be held in Philadelphia on May 10th of the following year.* But this document produced no effect among the simple Canadians. Not one in a thousand ever saw it, and even if they had, they cared little for the privileges of English freemen, and looked upon their own laws and customs, as by far the most desirable. These had now been secured to them, and they were fully satisfied.

Sir Guy Carleton returned from England in the latter end of the year, (1774) when a meeting of the new council, into which several Roman Catholic gentlemen had been admitted, was held, and such measures taken under the Quebec Act as were deemed immediately necessary for the public welfare. The Governor's return was gladly hailed by the people, with whom his humane conduct and liberal sentiments,

* This Congress enumerated the Quebec Act among its grievances. Its provisions in favor of Roman Catholics gave great offence to the Protestant clergy of the American colonies, and led the majority of them to support the Revolution.

had rendered him deservedly popular. On all possible occasions he had shown himself their friend, and had interfered in many instances to protect them from the extortions and oppressions of the English civil officers.

Meantime, the final struggle of America for independence was rapidly approaching, owing to the arbitrary and vacillating conduct of the British Parliament, and the firm determination of the colonies to resist taxation without representation. Lord Chatham's bill for composing all difficulties and disputes, was rejected ; and, as neither parliament would recede as a body from its assumption of the right to tax the colonies, on one hand, nor the latter, on the other, give up the determination to preserve the privileges secured to them by their charters, and their position as British freemen intact, both parties now looked forward to a fearful contest. For a brief space a calm, with presage of a terrible storm, settled darkly over North America, and the crisis approached with the first days of early spring. On the 19th of 1775. April the Americans began the struggle for constitutional liberty by the battle of Lexington ; and, blood once shed, it was evident that the sword alone could now decide the unnatural quarrel between the mother-country and her offspring.

While the New England militia besieged General Gage, the British commander, in Boston, a small force was promptly raised in Connecticut and elsewhere for the capture of Ticonderoga. Led by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allan, it crossed Lake Champlain on the night of the 9th of May, and succeeded next morning in capturing the fort, in which were only a few men, by surprise, without firing a shot. Crown Point had only a garrison of a sergeant and twelve men, and was immediately afterwards taken possession of : and thus the Americans, at the first outset of the contest, acquired two strongly fortified positions, and a large amount of military stores. The speedy capture of the only British sloop of war on Lake Champlain, gave them also complete command of its waters.

On receiving intelligence of these offensive operations, General Carleton at once resolved to possess himself, if possible, of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and regain the command of the lake. Considering that the French feudal law still prevailed in Canada, and that the seigniors, accordingly, as well as their tenants, owed military service to the King, and would forfeit their lands by not rendering it, he resolved to enroll the militia on these grounds. Many of the seigniors took the same view as the Governor of this matter, and showed great alacrity in assembling their tenants to explain to them the situation of the province, the services expected from them, and the absolute necessity of prepar-

ing for hostilities. But the peasantry, who had not yet forgotten the hardships they had suffered during the last war, and whose long absence from military training had sunk them into inglorious and contented ease, stoutly resisted the claims of their seigniors. They stated the latter had no right to command their military services; and, that when they had paid them their quiet-rent, and the other seigniorial dues, no further claim on them could be established.

This determination of the Habitants placed the Governor in an awkward position. For the defence of the colony, and its numerous frontier posts, he had only the 7th and 26th regiments, containing together but 800 effective men; and he felt that unless aided by the Canadians, he could only make a very ineffectual resistance in case of attack. He accordingly endeavored to call out the militia of the province by proclamation, and declared marshal law to be in force, at the same time, in his government; but even these measures proved ineffectual. As a last resort the Governor applied to Bishop de Briand for his aid and influence. He promptly responded by a mandate to his clergy, to be read in their churches, exhorting the people to take up arms in defence of their country. Even this appeal failed. The British authorities had as yet acquired no influence with the masses, who knew little of the quarrel in progress, and wished to give themselves the least possible trouble about it; and while they had no leaning whatever towards the Americans, they preferred to remain neutral as long as they could. In short, they felt like a conquered people; if their homes were threatened with danger, they would defend them, but they cared little to take up arms in defence of their rulers.

The American Congress, however, believed the Canadian people to be favorable to their cause, and resolved to anticipate the British by striking a decided blow in the north. They accordingly despatched a force of nearly 2000 men, under Schuyler and Montgomery, to penetrate into Canada by the Richelieu. After taking the forts along that river, they were next to possess themselves of Montreal, and then descend to Quebec, and form a junction there with Colonel Arnold, who was to proceed up the Kennebec with 1100 men, and surprise the capital of Canada if possible.

On the 5th of Sept. the American army arrived at the Isle-aux-Noix, whence Schuyler and Montgomery scattered a proclamation among the Canadians, stating that they only came against the British, and had no design whatever on the lives, the properties, or religion of the inhabitants. General Schuyler being unwell now returned to Albany, and the chief command devolved on Montgomery, who having received a reinforcement invested Fort St. John on the 17th; and, at the same

time, sent some troops to attack the fort at Chambly, while Ethan Allan was despatched with a reconnoitring party towards Montreal. Allan accordingly proceeded to the St. Lawrence, and being informed that the town was weakly defended, and believing the inhabitants were favorable to the Americans, he resolved to capture it by surprise, although his force was under 200 men. General Carleton had already arrived at Montreal to make dispositions for the protection of the frontier. Learning, on the night of the 24th, that a party of Americans had crossed the river, and were marching on the town, he promptly drew together 250 of the local militia, chiefly English and Irish, and with 30 men of the 26th regiment, in addition, prepared for its defence. Allan, however, instead of proceeding to attack Montreal, becoming intimidated, took possession of some houses and barns in the neighborhood, where he was surrounded next day, and compelled to surrender after a loss of five killed and ten wounded. The British lost their commanding officer, Major Carsden, Alexander Paterson, a merchant of Montreal, and two privates. Allan and his men were sent prisoners to England, where they were confined in Pendennis Castle.

While those occurrences were transpiring at Montreal, Montgomery was vigorously pressing forward the siege of Fort St. John, which post was gallantly defended by Major Preston of the 26th regiment. His conduct was not imitated by Major Stopford, of the 7th, who commanded at Chambly, and who surrendered, in a cowardly manner, on 200 Americans appearing before the works with two six pounders. This was a fortunate event for Montgomery, whose powder was nearly exhausted, and who now procured a most seasonable supply from the captured fort. His fire was again renewed, but was bravely replied to by the garrison, who hoped that General Carleton would advance and raise the siege. This the latter was earnestly desirous to do, and drew together all the militia he could collect, and the few troops at his disposal, for that purpose, and pushed across the river towards Longueuil on one of the last days of October. General Montgomery had foreseen this movement, and detached a force, with two field-pieces, to prevent it. This force took post near the river, and allowed the British to approach within pistol shot of the shore, when they opened such a warm fire of musketry and cannon, that General Carleton was compelled to order a retreat on Montreal. Montgomery duly apprized Major Preston of these occurrences, and the garrison being now short of provisions and ammunition, and without any hope of succor, surrendered on the 31st October, and marched out with all the honors of war.

With Fort St. John and Chambly a large portion of the regular troops in Canada was captured, and the Governor was in no condi-

tion to resist the American army, the main body of which now advanced upon Montreal, while a strong detachment proceeded to Sorel, to cut off the retreat of the British towards Quebec. General Carleton, with Brigadier Prescott and 120 soldiers, quit Montreal, after destroying all the public stores possible, just as the American army was entering it. At Sorel, however, their flight was effectually intercepted by an armed vessel and some floating batteries, and Prescott, finding it impossible to force a passage, was compelled to surrender. The night before, General Carleton fortunately eluded the vigilance of the Americans, and passed down the river in a boat with muffled oars. Montgomery treated the people of Montreal with great consideration, and gained their good will by the affability of his manners, and the nobleness and generosity of his disposition.

While the main body of the American invading force had been completely successful thus far, Arnold sailed up the Kennebec, and proceeded through the vast forests lying between it and the St. Lawrence, in the hope of surprising Quebec. The sufferings of his troops from hunger and fatigue, were of the most severe description. So great were their necessities, that they were obliged to eat dog's flesh, and even the leather of their cartouch boxes; still, they pressed on with unflagging zeal and wonderful endurance, and arrived at Point Levi on the 9th of November. But their approach was already known at Quebec. Arnold had enclosed a letter for Schuyler to a friend in that city, and imprudently intrusted its delivery to an Indian, who carried it to the Lieutenant-Governor. The latter immediately began to make defensive preparations, and when the Americans arrived on the opposite side of the river, they found all the shipping and boats removed, and a surprise out of the question.

On the 12th, Colonel McClean, who had retreated from Sorel, arrived at Quebec, with a body of Fraser's Highlanders, who had settled in the country, were now re-embodied, and amounted to 150 men. In addition to these, there were 480 Canadian militia, 500 British, and some regular troops and seamen, for the defence of the town.* The *Hunter* sloop of war gave the garrison the command of the river, yet despite the vigilance exercised by her commander, Arnold crossed over during the night of the 13th, landed at Wolfe's Cove, and next morning appeared on the Plains of Abraham, where his men gave three cheers, which were promptly responded to by the besieged, who in addition complimented them with a few discharges of grape-shot, which compelled them to retire.

* Journal of an officer of the garrison.

Finding he could effect nothing against the city, Arnold retired up the river to Point-aux-Trembles, to await the arrival of Montgomery.

On the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison, General Carleton arrived from Montreal, bringing down with him two armed schooners which had been lying at Three Rivers. One of his first measures was to strengthen the hands of the loyalists, by ordering those liable to serve in the militia, and who refused to be enrolled, to quit the city within four days. By this means several disaffected persons were got rid off, and the garrison speedily raised to 1800 men, who had plenty of provisions for eight months.

On the 1st of December, Montgomery joined Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles, when their united forces, amounting to about 2000 men, proceeded to attack Quebec, in the neighborhood of which they arrived on the 4th, and soon after quartered their men in the houses of the suburbs. Montgomery now sent a flag to summon the besieged to surrender, but this was fired upon by order of General Carleton, who refused to hold any intercourse with the American officers. Highly indignant at this treatment, the besiegers proceeded to construct their batteries, although the weather was intensely cold. But their artillery was too light to make any impression on the fortifications, the fire from which cut their fascines to pieces, and dismounted their guns; so Montgomery determined to carry the works by escalade. He accordingly assembled his men on the 30th of December, and made them a very imprudent speech, in which he avowed his resolution of attacking the city by storm. A deserter carried intelligence of his intention that very day to General Carleton, who made the necessary preparations for defence. On the night of the 31st the garrison picquets were on the alert. Nothing, however, of importance occurred till next morning, when Captain Fraser, the field-officer on duty, on going his rounds, perceived some suspicious signals at St. John's Gate, and immediately turned out the guard, when a brisk fire was opened by a body of the enemy, concealed by a snow-bank. This was a mere feint to draw off attention from the true points of attack, at the southern and northern extremities of the Lower Town. It had, however, the effect of putting the garrison more completely on their guard, and thus was fatal to the plans of the assailants.

Montgomery led a column of 500 men towards the southern side of the town, and halted to reconnoitre at a short distance from the first battery, near the Pres de Ville, defended chiefly by Canadian militia, with nine seamen to work the guns, the whole under the command of Captain Barnsfair. The guard were on the alert, and the sailors with lighted matches waited the order to fire, while the strictest silence was

preserved. Presently the officer, who had made the reconnoissance, returned and reported every thing still. The Americans now rushed forward to the attack, when Barnsair gave the command to fire, and the head of the assailing column went instantly down, under the unexpected and fatal discharge of guns and musketry. The survivors made a rapid retreat, leaving thirteen of their dead behind to be shrouded in the falling snow, among whom was the gallant Montgomery. Of a good family in the north of Ireland, he had served under Wolfe with credit, married an American lady, Miss Livingston, after the peace, and had joined the cause of the United States with great enthusiasm.

At the other end of the Lower Town, Arnold at the head of 600 men had assaulted the first barrier with great impetuosity, meeting with little resistance. He was wounded in the first onset and borne to the rear. But his place was ably supplied by Captain Morgan, who forced the guard, and drove them back to a second barrier, two hundred yards nearer the centre of the town. Owing to the prompt arrangements, however, of General Carleton, who soon arrived on the ground, the Americans were speedily surrounded, driven out of a strong building by the bayonet; and compelled to surrender to the number of 426, including 28 officers.* In this action the garrison had ten men killed and thirteen wounded; the American loss in killed and wounded was about one hundred.

The besieging force was now reduced to a few hundred men, and they were at a loss whether to retreat towards home, or continue the siege. As they were in expectation of soon receiving aid they
1776. at length determined to remain in the neighborhood, and elected

Arnold as their general, who contented himself with a simple blockade of the besieged, at a considerable distance from the works. Carleton would have now gladly proceeded to attack him, but several of the Canadians outside the city were disaffected, as well as many persons within the defences, and he considered, with his motley force, his wisest course was to run no risk, and wait patiently for the succor which the opening of navigation must give him.

During the month of February a small reinforcement from Massachusetts, and some troops from Montreal, raised Arnold's force to over one thousand men, and he now resumed the siege, but could make no impression on the works. His men had already caught the small-pox, and the country people becoming more and more unwilling to supply provisions, his difficulties increased rather than diminished. When the Americans first came into the country, the Habitants were disposed to

* Journal of an Officer.

sell them what they required at a fair price, and a few hundred of the latter even joined their army. But they soon provoked the hostility of the bulk of the people, by a want of respect for their clergy, by compelling them to furnish articles below the current prices, and by giving them illegal certificates of payment, which were rejected by the American Quarter-master-general. In this way the Canadians began gradually to take a deeper interest in the struggle in progress, and to regard the British as their true friends and protectors, while they came to look upon the Americans as a band of armed plunderers, who made promises they had no intention of performing, and refused to pay their just debts.*

All the Canadians now required was a proper leader, and a system of organization to cause them to act vigorously against Arnold. Even in the absence of these requisites they determined to raise the siege, and led by a gentleman of the name of Beajeau, a force advanced towards Quebec, on the 25th of March, but was defeated by the Americans, and compelled to retreat. This check, however, did not discourage the Canadians, who now resolved to surprise a detachment of the enemy at Point Levi. By some means their design became known, and they were very roughly handled.

The month of April passed over without producing any events of importance. The Americans had meanwhile been reinforced to over 2000 men, and Major-General Thomas had arrived to take the command. The small-pox still continued to rage amongst them, then they could make no impression on the fortifications, and the hostile attitude of the Canadians disheartened them, so nothing was effected. On the 5th of May, Thomas called a council-of-war, at which an immediate retreat was determined on.

On the following morning, to the great joy of the besieged, the *Surprise* frigate and a sloop arrived in the harbor, with 170 men of the 29th regiment and some marines, who were speedily landed. Now General Carleton at once resolved on offensive operations, and marched out at noon with 1000 men, and a few field-pieces, to attack the Americans. But the latter did not await his approach, and fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving all their cannon, stores, ammunition, and even their sick behind. These were treated with the utmost attention by General Carleton, whose humanity won the esteem of all his prisoners, who were loud in his praise on returning home. For his services during the siege, the Governor was knighted by his sovereign.

The Americans retreated as rapidly as possible, for a distance of

* Frost's United States, p. 205. Journal of an Officer.

forty-five miles up the river, but finding they were not pursued they halted for a few days to rest themselves. They then proceeded in a very distressed condition to Sorel, where they were joined by some reinforcements, and where, also, their general, Thomas, died of the small-pox, which still continued to afflict them. He was succeeded in the chief command by General Sullivan.

Meantime, some companies of the 8th regiment, which were scattered through the frontier posts on the lakes, had descended to Ogdensburg. From thence Captain Forster was detached, on the 11th of May, with 126 soldiers and an equal number of Indians, to capture a stockade at the Cedars, garrisoned by 390 Americans, under the command of Colonel Bedell. The latter surrendered on the 19th, after sustaining only a few hours' fire of musketry, and the following day 100 men advancing to his assistance, were attacked by the Indians and a few Canadians. A smart action ensued, which lasted for ten minutes, when the Americans laid down their arms, and were marched prisoners to the fort, where they were with difficulty saved from massacre.

After providing for the safety of his numerous prisoners, Forster pushed down the river towards Lachine, but learning that Arnold was advancing to attack him with a force treble his own number, he halted and prepared for action. Placing his men in an advantageous position on the edge of the river, and spreading the Indians out on his flanks, he made such a stout defence, that the Americans were compelled to retire to St. Anne's. Forster, encumbered with his prisoners, now proposed a cartel, which Arnold at once assented to, and an exchange was effected, on the 27th of May, for 2 majors, 9 captains, 20 subalterns, and 443 privates. This cartel was broken by Congress on the ground that the prisoners had been cruelly used, which was not the case. They had been treated with all the humanity possible, when the difficulty of guarding so large a number, with less than 300 men, is taken into consideration.*

While these events were in progress above Montreal, a large body of troops had arrived from England, under the command of Major-General Burgoyne. Brigadier Fraser was at once sent on by the Governor with the first division to Three Rivers. While the troops still remained on board their transports off this place, General Thompson advanced with 1800 men to surprise the town, and would have effected his object, had not one of his Canadian guides escaped and warned the British of his approach. General Fraser immediately

* Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 2. p. 139, 140. Frost's United States, p. 207.

landed his troops, with several field-pieces, and posted them so advantageously that the Americans were speedily defeated, their general, his second in command, and 500 men, made prisoners, while the retreat of their main-body being cut off, they were compelled to take shelter in a wood full of swamps. Here they remained in great distress till the following day, when General Carleton, who had meanwhile come up, humanely drew the guard from the bridge over the River du Loup, and allowed them to escape towards Sorel. Finding themselves unable to oppose the force advancing against them, the American army, under Sullivan, retreated to Crown Point, whither Arnold also retired from Montreal on the 15th of June. Thus terminated the invasion of Canada, which produced no advantage to the American cause, but on the contrary aroused the hostility of the inhabitants, and drew them closer to Great Britain.

The military operations in the United States during the Revolutionary War, do not properly come within the scope of a history of Canada. We have, therefore, only to add, that Sir Guy Carleton followed up his successes by launching a fleet on Lake Champlain in October, which after several actions with the American naval armament, obtained complete command of its waters. He likewise obtained possession of Crown Point, evacuated by the Americans, who concentrated all their strength for the defence of Ticonderoga. At the close of the campaign, the troops were quartered, along the Richelieu and St. Lawrence, on the Canadians, who received them as their protectors from invasion.

General Burgoyne visited England soon after the troops had gone into winter quarters, and concerted with the ministry a plan of operations against the Americans by way of Lake Champlain. He 1777. returned the following spring to assume the chief command of the army, much to the dissatisfaction of Sir Guy Carleton, who at once demanded his recall, on the ground that he had been treated with injustice. Burgoyne opened the campaign at the north by the capture of Ticonderoga; and after an advance, at first distinguished by victory, but afterwards by defeat, he was compelled to surrender his entire army, amounting to 6000 men, at Saratoga, on the 17th of October.

The first regular sitting of the Legislative Council, constituted by the Quebec Act, was held in the spring of 1777. At this session sixteen acts were passed, which received the sanction of the Governor, and the approval of the Home Ministry. One of these acts erected a Court of King's Bench, a Court of Common Pleas, and a Court of Probates for testamentary and succession causes. The whole Council was con-

stituted a Court of Appeal, and any five of their number, with the Governor, or Chief Justice, were declared competent to try all causes brought before them. Owing to the ignorance, however, of the judges of these courts with regard to French law, much confusion was caused, and matters did not proceed as smoothly as they should. Towards the latter part of the summer, Major-General Haldimand arrived to take charge of the Government.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR-GENERAL HALDIMAND.

That the British ministry gave all their attention to the war with the American colonies, is the only apparent reason which presents itself for the appointment of Mr. Haldimand to the government of Canada. A military man by profession, a Swiss foreigner by birth, he knew little of the laws or customs of either the British or Canadians, and was wholly unfitted to control the colony. His administration was 1779. distinguished by undue severity, and many persons were imprisoned on improper pretences, some of whom afterwards instituted actions against him in England for this violation of their liberty, and received damages, which were paid by the British Government.

But few important events occurred during the government of General Haldimand. The records of this period are of the most meagre 1780. description, and chiefly distinguished by the many petitions to the Crown and its ministers from the British colonists, praying for an alteration in the laws, so as to make them more in unison with the English constitution. The treaty of peace, the preliminaries 1782. of which were arranged on the 30th November, 1782, which acknowledged the independence of the United States, strengthened the hands of the advocates of reform, and made them more earnest in their demands for a House of Assembly, and the other privileges they deemed necessary to their welfare.

But the close of the Revolutionary War, was destined to have a still more important influence on the condition of this country, by adding largely to the Anglo-Saxon portion of the population, a circumstance which soon produced of itself the desired reforms. During the progress of the contest several families removed to Canada; and soon after the surrender of Burgoyne, there was a considerable emigration of loyalists from the State of New York. On the close of the 1783. war a still larger number followed, and to make proper provision for these devoted servants of the Crown, became a question of serious moment with the British ministry.

Western Canada up to this period was a mere wilderness, the greater part being wholly uninhabited. A few military posts along the St. Lawrence, and the French settlements in the neighborhood of Detroit, embraced the entire European population, which scarcely amounted to 2000. The military post at Frontenac, or Kingston, as it will in future be termed, had been abandoned immediately before the conquest; Toronto had also been long deserted; there was still a small military post at Niagara; but with the exception of an occasional trapper, or a few wandering Indians, human being rarely trod the vast and fertile districts, stretching along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and the upper St. Lawrence.

The Home Government felt that it would not be at all politic, to bring the two dominant races in Canada closely together, they being desirous to preserve the French element as a safeguard to future revolutionary tendencies. They now conceived the idea of establishing a new colony farther westward, and at the same time of rewarding the American loyalists, who might desire to join it, by liberal gifts of land. With regard to those who had served in the army, the scale of grants was the same as after the peace of 1763, with the exception that all loyalists, under the rank of subaltern, now received 200 acres.* In pursuance of this determination Governor Haldimand was instructed to grant patents for land, on applicants taking the usual oath of allegiance, and subscribing a declaration acknowledging the three estates of Great Britain as the supreme legislature of the province. He was instructed, however, to state, that this declaration had no reference to internal taxation, and that Parliament only reserved to itself the right of legislating for the regulation of trade and commerce. "By this they could not be affected, or deprived of any indulgence, or encouragement, to which they were entitled."† The grants to royalists and disbanded soldiers were directed to be made free of every expense.‡

In the following year the Governor appointed commissioners 1784. to take a census of the population of Lower Canada; when the districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, were found to contain 113,012 inhabitants; § 28,000 of whom were fit to bear arms, and had been enrolled in the militia. As this census, however, only embraced the more populous districts, it may reasonably be presumed.

* In 1798, owing to complaints of the profuse manner of granting lands, the allowance was limited to a quantity from 200 to 1200 acres.

† Lord North to Governor Haldimand, 24th July, 1783.

‡ Gourlay, vol. 1. p. 11.

§ Smith's Hist. Can. vol. 2. p. 149.

that the entire population of Canada, at this period, amounted to 120,000 souls. At the same time, surveys continued to be made of the lands lying along the banks of the St. Lawrence, from the highest French settlement at Lake St. Francis upwards, and round the Bay of Quinte, which were speedily divided into townships, and subdivided into concessions and lots. These townships were numbered but not named till several years afterwards. The original settlers long continued the habit, even after distinct names had been given, of describing them by first-township, second-township; and so on.

The survey being completed, the American royalists, and disbanded officers and soldiers of the 84th regiment, with a few other German and English soldiers, took possession of their allotments in the course of the summer. During the same season, also, a settlement was formed on the Niagara River, and another at Amherstburg by the royalists, who had likewise lands assigned them. This was the first effective settlement of Upper Canada, and before the close of the year its population amounted to about 10,000 souls.

The greater part of these settlers were poor and dependent. Some had served in the army, and from the small pay of a British soldier, amounting then to only 6d per diem, nothing had been saved; others had lost their properties; so for the first two years government was obliged to assist nearly all with provisions, farming utensils, and clothing.* Al-

* "‘To put a mark of honor,’ as it is expressed in the Orders of Council, ‘upon the families who had adhered to the unity of the empire, and joined the royal standard in America, before the treaty of separation in the year 1783,’ a list of such persons was directed, in 1789, to be made out and returned, ‘to the end that their posterity might be discriminated from the then future settlers.’ From the initials of two emphatic words, the *unity* of the *empire*, it was styled the U. E. list; and they whose names were entered on it were distinguished as U. E. loyalists, a distinction of some consequence; for in addition to the provision of such loyalists themselves, it was declared that their children, as well those born thereafter, as those already born, should upon arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and females upon their marriage within that age, be entitled to grants of two hundred acres each, free from all expense. In pursuance of that declaration these gratuitous grants continue to be made. Thousands of acres are thus granted every year. As the sons and daughters of those whose names are on the U. E. list become of age, they petition the Lieutenant-Governor, in council, stating the facts, and verifying them by their own oath, and affidavit of one witness, and upon such petitions obtain orders for land, which they locate in some of the new townships and then take out their patents without cost.

“To encourage the further population of the province, a lot of two hundred acres was allowed to every settler, upon condition of actual settlement, and payment of the expense of surveying and fees of office, amounting in the whole to a little less than thirty-eight dollars.”—Gourlay, vol. 1. p. 14, 15.

though cast thus destitute in the wilderness, these courageous people did not despond. The greater part had been bred to agricultural pursuits, and they now speedily adapted themselves to circumstances, and resumed their former occupations. The axe of the backwoodsman was swung as vigorously in the forests of Canada, as it had been in those of New England and New York. Clearings were speedily made, log-houses erected; in a few years the wilderness blossomed as the rose, and waving fields of grain bent to the summer winds, along the ancient hunting grounds of the Wyandots and the Algonquins.

It being now desirable to draw as many emigrants to the province as possible, lots of two hundred acres each, were granted to settlers on condition of actual occupation, and the payment of expenses of survey and fees of office, amounting together to about thirty-eight dollars. This soon led to an emigration from Great Britain; and when the passions excited by the recent war had somewhat subsided, and royalists went back to their old homes among the New England hills, or the more fertile districts farther south, to visit the relations and friends they had left behind, many of the latter were induced to settle in Canada.

The British Government having at length turned their attention to Canadian affairs, it was soon perceived that General Haldimand was not the proper person to rule the province. He was accordingly recalled, and Henry Hamilton sent out to act as Lieutenant-Governor, till a Governor should be appointed, the ministry being as yet undecided as to whom they would intrust this office.

THE GOVERNMENT OF HENRY HAMILTON, ESQ.

The new Governor, who arrived in this country in the spring 1785. of 1785, had been an officer in the army, but quit it, like numbers of others, on the establishment of peace. One of his first measures was to assemble the Legislative Council; and, pursuant to his instructions, to recommend to their consideration the introduction of the law of Habeas Corpus into the Province. The Canadians were now well acquainted with the objects of this law, and evinced great satisfaction when it came up for consideration in the Council: the Roman Catholic clergy, in particular, expressed their approbation. It was proposed to exclude the religious female communities from its benefits, at which they expressed no small indignation, on the ground that ill-disposed persons might suppose the exception was necessary to retain them in their cloisters. The bill was accordingly extended to embrace them, and was duly passed.

Beyond the establishment of a public library, and a great darkness which fell suddenly on Canada on the 9th of October, the introduction of the Habeas Corpus into the statute law of the province, was the only event of importance which marked the government of Mr 1786. Hamilton. He was recalled after a single year's administration, and the direction of Canadian affairs again committed to General Carleton, who had in the meantime been raised to the peerage.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD DORCHESTER.

In the month of June, Lord Dorchester received his appointment in England as Governor-General of all the British North American Provinces, and arrived on the 23rd of October at Quebec, where he was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants. One of his first measures was to assemble the Legislative Council, and forming them into committees, directed them to enquire into the state of the laws, the commerce, the police, and the education of the province. An investigation by the Chief Justice was also made, at the instance of the Council, with regard to the administration of the laws, when it was clearly shown that English Judges followed English law, Canadian Judges, French law, and some Judges, no particular law whatever, but decided according to what they deemed the equity of the case. Commerce was also represented to be far from in a 1787. flourishing condition, owing to the active rivalry of the United States and other causes; education was at the lowest ebb. 1788. The Jesuits had discontinued teaching, and there was not a school in the province where the higher branches of learning were imparted.

This condition of things, in connection with the rapid increase of the English-speaking population, strengthened the hands of the 1789. reform party, who finally employed an agent, Mr. Lymburner, to advocate their views in England. He was ultimately successful in attracting the attention of ministers, and a bill was prepared by the Colonial Secretary, Wm. Grenville, to give a new constitution to Canada, which, after being sent to Lord Dorchester for correction, was laid before Parliament, shortly after it assembled in the spring of 1791.

Mr. Pitt in introducing the bill briefly stated its provisions. The Province of Quebec was to be divided into Upper and Lower Canada, in order to prevent any dissensions between the French-Canadians

and settlers of British origin. Each province was to have its own legislature, composed of a Legislative Council, the members of which were to be chosen for life, and a House of Assembly, to be elected in the usual manner by the people. The Habeas Corpus act was to be a fundamental principle of the new constitution. Provision was likewise to be made for the maintenance of the Protestant clergy in both provinces, by the allotment of land (the Clergy Reserves); and while Parliament reserved to itself the right of regulating trade and commerce, the local legislatures were to have the sole power of internal taxation.

Mr. Fox warmly opposed the bill on several grounds. He argued that it would be wiser rather to unite still more closely, than to separate the British and French settlers; and, that the Legislative Council should be also elective, with a higher qualification on the part of elected and electors, than was necessary for the Lower House. "By this means," said he, "Canadians will have a real aristocracy, chosen by persons of property, from among persons of the highest property, who would thus have that weight and independence necessary to guard against the innovations of the people, on the one part, or of the Crown, on the other."

The Quebec reformers were also dissatisfied with the bill, and instructed Mr. Lymburner to oppose it, chiefly on the grounds that the division of the province would interfere with commerce, and would be really injurious to the inhabitants of Upper Canada. Mr. Lymburner was heard at the bar of the House of Commons against the bill, on the 23rd of March, and opposed its principles in a long and lucid argument. But his efforts failed to prevent a separation of the province, and the bill passed into law,* and continued to be the constitution of the Canadas until the Union.

One of the first measures rendered necessary by the new order of things, was the division of both provinces into electoral districts, and giving to each a fair proportion of the number of representatives fixed by the act. In making this arrangement regard was had solely to the number of the male population in each district, the extent of which was not taken into consideration. A careful census made the preceding year (1790) showed that the males in Canada, above sixteen, amounted to 37,411, while the entire population numbered about 150,000 souls,† being an increase of at least 30,000 in the preceding six years.

* Vide Appendix, No. 2.

† Mr. Smith gives a much larger number, but his estimate was evidently based on a much more extensive survey than that which was actually made.

Having obtained leave of absence, Lord Dorchester departed for England on the 17th of August, leaving Major-General Clarke to act as Lieutenant Governor. The winter passed over without producing any event of note. On the 14th May, writs, returnable on the 12th of July, were issued for the election of representatives. The elections took place in June, and in several instances were warmly contested. Among the members returned were some of the principal merchants of Montreal and Quebec. On the 17th of December, General Clarke opened the first parliament of Lower Canada, with a short and appropriate speech. William Smith, the Chief Justice of the province, was appointed Speaker of the Legislative Council, while J. A. Panet, an eminent Quebec advocate, was chosen to fill the same office in the Lower House.*

Shortly after the session commenced, considerable discussion arose as to the language in which the business of the House should be conducted. It was finally decided that the Journals of the proceedings should be kept in both languages, that motions made in English should be translated into French, and *vice versa*, before being put, and that each member should have the privilege of using his mother-tongue when addressing the House. As the session progressed the subject of education was taken up, and, an address voted to the King praying for the establishment of a Canadian college; as well as another, of a loyal character, when intelligence was received of the breaking out of war with the French Republic. Beyond this little business of importance was transacted, and the members being weary of attendance, General Clarke, after giving assent to eight bills, prorogued the House in the beginning of May, when they all gladly returned to their respective avocations.

While constitutional liberty thus gradually developed itself in this country, events were transpiring in the Old World of the deepest importance to civilised humanity. The American colonies had largely contributed to win Canada from France, and thus paved the way for their own independence. To achieve that independence France, in revenge, gave most important assistance. Her conduct in this matter precipitated the revolutionary crisis, originating in the national poverty and distress, brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and drove the iniquitous House of Bourbon forth as fugitives. The French soldiers, whilst fighting in the cause of American liberty, had gradually imbibed the prin-

and the proportion of the rest of the population could not be much greater than four to one.

* Christie, vol. 1. p. 126, 127.

ciples of their allies, and returned to their native country to disseminate the arguments of Otis, of Franklin, and of Jefferson, in favor of the inherent rights of man. However much the bulk of the British nation might have sympathised, at the commencement of the French Revolution, with the struggles of a gallant people for a larger measure of liberty, the horrid atrocities of the Jacobins soon produced a most unfavourable impression on their minds. A hostile feeling on both sides was engendered. France declared war against England, and the latter stood forth as the champion of legitimacy and aristocracy, and issued a counter-declaration of hostilities against the new republic. From that period, till Bonaparte became a prisoner at St. Helena, Great Britain was destined to be a stranger to the blessings of peace, and to spend countless treasure in forcing a sovereign on a people by whom he was afterwards speedily rejected.

But, although this long war militated seriously against the prosperity of Canada, and checked emigration thither from the mother-country, she was happily exempt from its evils otherwise; and in the enjoyment of a greater degree of liberty, was left to develop her resources as she best might. In the present age, when our rivers and lakes are covered with floating palaces, which traverse their waters at the rate of twenty miles an hour; when railroads annihilate space, and the electric telegraph speaks with the rapidity of the lightning's flash, it is difficult to form an accurate idea of the condition of matters in Canada sixty years ago, or what a "slow people" our Canadian ancestors were. It took a month for the mail to travel from New York to Quebec; the same period was necessary for the transmission of letters to Halifax; and four months must expire before an answer to a communication could be looked for from England. A mail from Montreal twice a month* to the New England States, was regarded as quit a progressive event; now the inhabitants of every little hamlet in Canada would grumble if they did not receive their letters and newspapers at least three times a week. Still, with all these disadvantages, the commerce and prosperity of Canada were steadily on the increase, and from ninety to one hundred vessels, from British and Foreign ports, annually visited Quebec,† while the net revenue of the Lower Province from lands, customs' duties, and licenses, was a little less than £5000 sterling.‡

The prudent legislators of Lower Canada, in those days, travelled fully as slowly and cautiously through the public business, as the mail bags journeyed to Halifax or New York. Lord Dorchester arrived from England on the 24th September, and assumed the reins of

* Quebec Gazette, 20th December, 1792. † Ibid. ‡ Christie, vol. 1. p. 182

government. On the 11th of November he opened the second 1794. session of parliament; it sat till the 23rd May, 1794, when it was prorogued, after the royal assent had been given to *five bills*. One more bill had indeed been passed, relative to a change in the judicature, which was reserved for the royal pleasure. Emissaries from France had arrived in Canada to propagate revolutionary principles, so the Assembly, in the fulness of its loyalty, levelled one of its bills against aliens who inculcated treason, and gave the Governor large powers to ferret out and punish such persons.

The next session commenced in the January following, when 1795. for the first time the public accounts were laid before the Assembly. From these it appeared that the expenses of the civil administration of the province amounted to £19,985 sterling. To defray this sum the revenue was wholly inadequate; £5000 sterling was all the Assembly could give, the remainder had to be supplied by 1796. the mother-country. In the year ending January, 1796, the revenue of the province had largely increased, and amounted to £10,425 currency, while the public expenditure was £24,711, including £1205 paid to Upper Canada, as the proportion of the duties levied on her imports at Montreal and Quebec.

On the 7th of May, the first parliament of Lower Canada closed its final session. Lord Dorchester declared himself highly satisfied with the course it had pursued. "In expressing my approbation of your proceedings," said he, addressing both Houses, "I must further observe that the unanimity, loyalty, and disinterestedness manifested by this first Provincial Parliament of Lower Canada, have never been surpassed in any of his Majesty's colonies."

On the 9th of July, Lord Dorchester took his final departure from Quebec, greatly to the regret of the inhabitants, all classes of whom presented him with addresses, couched in the warmest and most respectful language. From the first he had been a true friend to Canada; and its people had been largely indebted to his humanity, sound common sense, and love of constitutional liberty, for the comparatively happy condition in which they now found themselves.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MAJOR-GENERAL PRESCOTT.

On the departure of Lord Dorchester, Major-General Prescott assumed charge of the government of Lower Canada only, but was soon after created Governor-General. Writs for the election had 1797. been already issued, and the new Parliament met on the 24th of January, 1797. In his opening speech, the Governor alluded

to the recent treaty of commerce and navigation between Great Britain and the United States, as highly favorable to the province. "From the flourishing state of commerce," he observed, "amidst the hazards and obstructions of war, well founded hopes may be entertained of the future prosperity of the colony, when the blessings of peace shall be restored." The returns laid before the House, showed that the revenue for the preceding year had risen to £18,975, while the civil expenses were £25,380 currency.

During this year the first execution for high treason took place in Canada. David M'Lean, a bankrupt American, formed a chimerical project of possessing himself of Quebec, and tampered with some of the inhabitants. His designs were discovered, and he was accordingly tried and sentenced to be hung as a traitor. With this exception no event of much moment characterized the administration of 1799. General Prescott, who, in the year 1799, having obtained leave of absence, departed for England, much regretted by the inhabitants, with whom he had become deservedly popular. Sir Robert Shore Milnes now assumed charge of the administration as Lieutenant-Governor.

A contented community, blessed with peace and abundance in all its borders, presents but few occurrences of importance for the 1800. historian to record. In a community of this kind time glides smoothly on, like the placid stream whose current is rarely disturbed. Such was the state of things in Lower Canada at this period. All classes of the community were contented. The inhabitants of British origin felt they had all they could reasonably expect in a House of Assembly, and a Legislative Council, while the population of French descent, in the full enjoyment of their language, their customs, and their religion, lived on in an easy and good natured existence, which nothing disturbed. Meantime, the province was steadily progressing in population and wealth. Its civil expenditure had increased to about £30,000, but, at the same time, its revenue had risen to nearly £26,000, currency, so that the deficit was small in proportion to what it had been a few years before. The inhabitants showed their loyalty and devotion to Great Britain by contributing liberal sums to carry on the war.

During this year died Father Casot, the last of the Jesuits in Canada, and the large possessions of his order now devolved to government. For many years the Father had bestowed his revenues in charitable purposes, and he was, therefore, bitterly regretted by the poor. Down to the present time the "Jesuits' Estates" produce a separate government fund.

Slavery, although to a very limited extent, had hitherto existed in Canada. It prevailed during the long period of French 1803. dominion, and by Article 46 of the Capitulation of Montreal, in September, 1760, it had been stipulated that the Negroes of both sexes should remain in their quality of slaves, and in the possession of their respective owners, with the privilege of selling them, when deemed proper. In the census of 1784 the number of slaves in the districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, had been returned as 304. There is every reason to suppose that this number had decreased in the interval between that period and 1803, when the decision of Chief Justice Osgoode, at Montreal, declared slavery inconsistent with the laws of the country, and gave freedom to the persons in that condition. From that day to this Canada has remained "free soil," untainted by slavery, and the sure place of refuge to the oppressed man of color.

From 1803 to the departure of the Lieutenant-Governor, who was personally unpopular, for England, in 1805, every thing progressed in the province with the greatest harmony. Trade continued to increase, and the revenue of the year ending in January, amounted to £33,633; at the same time, the expenditure had risen to about £40,000 currency; 146 vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of 25,136 tons, visited Quebec during the season.

Mr. Dunn, being the senior executive councillor, assumed direction of the government on the departure of Sir Robert S. Milnes. His administration was distinguished for the first attempts to curb the liberty of the press in Canada. During the month of March, 1805, a dinner was given by the merchants of Montreal to the representatives of the town and county, at which Isaac Tod presided. The proceedings were reported in the *Montreal Gazette*, of the 1st April, and the

House of Assembly, considering themselves glanced at by 1806. some of the toasts, voted the publication a breach of privilege.

They accordingly directed their Sergeant-at-arms to proceed to Montreal and take Mr. Todd, and the publisher of the *Gazette*, Mr. Edwards, into custody. Neither of these gentlemen, however, could be found, and so the matter ended with respect to them. While these events were occurring in the Assembly, the *Quebec Mercury*, in an article headed "French Influence" criticised its illiberal proceedings in a manner highly distasteful to the members. The publisher, Mr. Cary, was summoned to the bar of the House, and compelled to apologize "for having presumed to render an account of its proceedings," when he was released. In the present day, when the action of our parliament is so narrowly watched and criticised by the public press,

the course pursued on this occasion must appear sufficiently despotic. But Canada was only imitating the mother-country, where the press, at this period, was shackled by the most odious restrictions, and where the proceedings in parliament dare not be published. Even in the present day reporters for the press are admitted to the Houses of Parliament in England, and also in Canada, by sufferance merely, and not as a matter of right; and may be excluded at any time they deem proper.

In those days the members of the Assembly were not paid for their services, and tenacious as they were of their privileges, they could not be kept together for the transaction of business, which was frequently retarded for the want of a quorum. The novelty of legislation had evidently worn off; and, in the absence of excitement of any kind, many of the members preferred staying at home to attend to their own affairs, than engage in the dull routine of public business. When Mr. Dunn prorogued the House, on the 19th of April, he expressed his dissatisfaction with this state of things. "The necessary business," said he, "has not been completed, which would not be the case had not so many members declined giving their customary attendance."

Hitherto, the newspapers of Canada had been exclusively owned and conducted by persons of British origin, who, as a mere matter of course, were far from being friendly to French laws or French customs. However prudent the different editors might be, their articles were undoubtedly biased by their feelings and their prejudices, and the educated portion of the French-Canadian population felt the want of an organ, which would represent their opinions, and repel the aspersions of the other journals. This feeling led to the publication of a newspaper, *Le Canadien*, exclusively in the French language, the first number of which was issued at Quebec in the month of November. Had this journal restricted itself to a moderate and sensible advocacy of French-Canadian interests and opinions, matters would have gone on smoothly. But, instead of pursuing this course, it appealed to national prejudices, and regarded the British emigrants as strangers and intruders. Being conducted with ability, it soon became popular, and commenced the reign of agitation and discord between the two races, subsequently productive of so much injury to the province.*

Sir Robert S. Milnes, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, as well as the Governor-General, continuing absent, Mr.

Dunn again convened the Legislature on the 21st of January, and congratulated them on the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, and the other successes which had distinguished the arms of Great Britain

* Christie, vol. 1. p. 252.

in the war with France and her allies. In responding to this address, the Assembly expressed their appreciation of Mr. Dunn's personal worth, in very handsome and well-merited terms. The session was chiefly distinguished by a motion to obtain an allowance for the expenses of the members residing at a distance from Quebec, which was negatived by a majority of two, sixteen voting against it and fourteen in its favor; and for the election of Mr. Ezekiel Hart, a Jew, by the people of Three Rivers. On the 19th of October, Lieutenant General Sir James H. Craig, who had been appointed to succeed General Prescott as Governor General of British North America, arrived at Quebec, and immediately assumed charge of the government.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JAMES H. CRAIG.

1808. On the 29th of January, the Governor proceeded in state to open the legislature, and was loudly cheered by the assembled crowd.* His speech on the occasion was prosy, contained little that was remarkable, and was responded to in courteous terms by the House.

A feeling had gradually arisen in the province, and was now pretty generally diffused, that the judges of the different courts should not be eligible for election to the Assembly. A bill was accordingly introduced to carry out this object, which was negatived by the Legislative Council. The next measure of the Commons was to unseat Mr. Hart, the member for Three Rivers, on the grounds of his being a Jew, although there was nothing in the constitution to warrant such a course. He was again re-elected by that constituency; but only, however to be unseated the second time. The militia bill was continued till repealed; the alien act, and also that for the better preservation of his Majesty's government, were passed for one year. On the whole this session, which terminated the fourth parliament, pleased the Governor, who signified his approval, when proroguing the legislature, on the 14th of April.

*Craig was slow, sedate, and solemn, and a different person altogether from Mr. Gore, the Governor of Upper Canada, whose speeches to its legislature were alike short and slipshod. Gore was a *bon vivant*, and on one occasion while making merry with his friends, the House passed a resolution he did not like, and he vowed, "he would send the rascals about their business." A few hours' sleep did not alter his determination; and next morning he was proceeding alone, and *en deshabille*, to prorogue the house, with a shoe on one foot and a boot on another. Fortunately he was met by Judge P——, who persuaded him to return and proceed to the legislature in a more respectable trim.

The general election took place in May. Panet, the speaker of the last Assembly, was rejected by one of the constituencies of Quebec, in consequence of his connection with the *Canadien* newspaper, but was returned in another quarter. Matters progressed quietly the remainder of the year, during which parliament was not called together. An annual session was then deemed sufficient in both provinces for the transaction of business.

On the 9th of April, in the following Spring, the new Assembly 1809. was convened. It was generally expected that Mr. Panet would again be elected speaker, an office he had filled during the four preceding parliaments, and considerable curiosity was excited as to whether the Governor, in that case, would assent to the choice of the Assembly. He wisely confirmed his election, although not in very gracious terms.

In his opening speech to the legislature, General Craig alluded, among other matters, to the prosperous condition of the province, owing chiefly to the impetus given to the lumber trade, by the American embargo on all intercourse with Great Britain. He regretted being obliged to call the House together at that busy period of the year, but excused himself on the ground of public expediency. Some of his remarks implied an indirect censure on the members, and were unfavorably received.

The question of the eligibility of judges for election to the Assembly was again taken up, as well as the expulsion of Mr. Hart, who had been elected a third time. A bill was introduced to disqualify Jews from a seat in the House, but five weeks had already elapsed when it underwent a second reading. General Craig's patience became exhausted; and regarding the corps-legislative as a refractory body, who had not a proper sense of their duty, he went down in state from the castle of St. Lewis, on the 15th of May, and dissolved the Assembly in terms of unmeasured censure. At the same time, he complimented the Legislative Council for their general good conduct.

In the ensuing month the Governor made a tour of the principal towns of the province; was well received; and presented with several very complimentary addresses, which were criticised with considerable asperity by the *Canadien*. The elections took place in October, when the recent representatives, or others still more opposed to the wishes of the executive, were returned. The Governor had gained nothing by his arbitrary policy.

While the public mind was still disturbed by the disagreement between the stern old general and the refractory Assembly, John Molson, an enterprising and spirited merchant of Montreal, was busily engaged in fitting out the first steamer that ever ploughed the waters of the

St. Lawrence. On the 3rd of November, this ever to be remembered little craft got up steam, shot out into the current, and after a voyage of thirty-six hours' sailing arrived safely at Quebec, where the whole city crowded to have a look at the nautical phenomenon. "The steamboat *Accommodation* has arrived," said the old *Mercury*, in the fullness of its wonderment, "with ten passengers." "No wind or tide can stop her. The price of a passage is nine dollars up, and eight down. The wheels are put, and kept in motion, by steam operating within the vessel." Fulton's first steamboat ploughed the Hudson, the *Accommodation* cleaved the more magnificent waters of the St. Lawrence, A new light had burst upon the mind of Canada; a fresh impetus had seized upon her prosperity. It was highly creditable to the province, that the second steamer built in the New World was launched at Montreal.

The new Assembly met on the 29th of January, when Panet 1810. was again elected speaker, and confirmed in that office by the Governor. The latter's opening speech was prosaic as usual. He alluded to the probable war with the United States, to the necessity of checking the forging of bills of exchange, touched upon the dissolution of the last Assembly, and declared himself prepared to give assent, "to any proper bill for rendering his Majesty's judges of the Court of Kings Bench, ineligible in future to a seat in the House.

The conciliatory tone of the speech, gave fresh courage to the commons of Lower Canada. "The Governor had incurred the displeasure of the Home Ministry," it was said, "by his arbitrary conduct," so the Assembly now determined to become arbitrary in turn. By a vote of twenty-four to eleven, they decided by resolution, "that the executive's approving the conduct of one part of the legislature, and censuring that of the other, was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, a breach of their privileges, and dangerous to the rights and liberties of his Majesty's subjects in the province. At the same time, an address was voted to the King, breathing the most ardent and devoted loyalty. The Assembly likewise offered to defray the expenses of the civil list, now amounting to some £50,000 annually. This offer was coolly received by the Governor, and as parliament was dissolved before the estimates were laid before it, no action for the present was taken thereon. The breaking out of war postponed its subsequent consideration.

Meanwhile, a bill had been introduced in the Assembly, to disqualify judges from sitting there, and was transmitted to the Legislative Council, who returned it with the amendment that it was not to come into force during the present parliament. The Assembly now became indignant, and declared the seat of Mr. De Bonne, a judge, vacant by a vote of eighteen to six. This brought matters to a crisis; and down came the

resolute old general to dissolve them again. He was loudly cheered by the people, who were more amused than otherwise by these novel occurrences, and the military promptitude of their veteran Governor. The late members, however, aided by their friends soon took measures to arouse another feeling in the minds of the multitude. Songs and pasquinades, suited to the vulgar taste, were written and circulated; while the *Canadien* became more abusive than ever. The breach became wider and wider every day. The colonists of British origin, almost to a man, ranged themselves on the side of the despotic Governor: those of French descent, stood up for the more constitutional Assembly.

Lower Canada, at this period, had five newspapers: four of these favored the government and the British minority, while *Le Canadien*, the smallest of the lot, was the sole advocate of the majority. Its tongue cut keen, and it stoutly stood its ground although there were four to one. This will never do thought the Governor and his council, insubordination must not be permitted in the ranks, and an election approaching. So, on the 17th of March, a party of soldiers, headed by a magistrate and two constables, proceeded to the office of *Le Canadien*, seized the press, and all the papers they could find, and conveyed them to the vaults of the city court-house. Mr. Lefrancois, the unlucky printer, was also pounced upon; and, after an examination before the executive council, committed to prison. The guards were strengthened, patrols scoured the streets, and a miniature "Reign of Terror" had begun. Six French-Canadian gentlemen were apprehended a few days afterwards, on a charge of treasonable practices, and the simple Habitants looked for the revelation of some terrible conspiracy. But nothing was discovered. The presumed conspirators were released one after another without trial as time progressed; and although the Governor issued a proclamation, as long and as prosy as one of his parliamentary speeches, on the 21st March, little ever came out of the business. "The mountain in labor brought forth a mouse."

This despotic and unconstitutional conduct, on the part of the executive, merely daunted the Habitants for the moment. Time had inoculated them with a portion, at least, of the spirit of British freemen, and they determined on an independent exercise of their franchise. The old members of the Assembly for the most part were re-elected, Panet was again chosen speaker, and the governor once more submitted to stern necessity, and confirmed him in that capacity.

A third dissolution would scarcely have been orthodox parliamentary usage, so the Governor met the new Assembly in a more conciliatory spirit, and the members disliking the idea of being unceremoniously

turned out of doors a third time, Cromwell fashion, were disposed to conduct themselves more amiably. A sly war of words took place between the belligerents, but the Assembly passed, however, the measures recommended by the Governor, with unusual speed, and among which was "the continuation of the act for the better preservation of his Majesty's government," under which the late arrests had been made, and under which, also, Mr. Bedard, one of their number, was still held in durance. The pill was decidedly bitter; but the Assembly swallowed it, nevertheless, though with a clause in favor of their own body: but as this had only a prospective effect, the executive still kept Bedard in prison. The Assembly now passed a resolution declaring this course illegal, and voted an humble address to his excellency, the "Governor-in-chief," praying that Pierre Bedard Esq., might be released, and allowed to take his seat in the House. But the committee appointed to present it, had not sufficient moral courage to beard the old 1811. lieutenant-general in his castle of St. Lewis, and the Assembly was fain to sympathise with their want of nerve, and relieved them from this duty. The victory was decidedly on the side of the Governor, so he released this Mr. Bedard shortly after at his own pleasure.

The session of the legislature, assembled in the beginning of 1811, passed smoothly off. The bill to disqualify judges from becoming members of the House was passed, and received the royal sanction through the Governor. The health of the latter was very feeble; he was about to return to his native country; and, after alluding to the great prosperity of the province, he recommended the legislature to act unanimously for the public good. "I am earnest in this advice, gentlemen," said he, "It is probably the last legacy of a very sincere well-wisher; who, if he lives to reach the presence of his sovereign, would be proud to be able to say, that the people he had found separated by mistrust and jealousy, he had left cordially united, and rivaling each other only in the affectionate attachment to your Majesty's government, and in generous exertions for the public good."

This language bears every mark of sincerity; and even if General Craig, from previous habit, and a long training in the camp and barrack-room, was arbitrary in his conduct, there can be no doubt that his intentions were of the purest character. Although he had overstepped the bounds of constitutional government, and thereby caused some individual suffering, his firmness had a salutary effect: it repressed the unwholesome spirit of dissension which had begun to manifest itself in the Assembly, and tended on the whole to the public good. Still, it must be admitted, he could have been equally firm, without being

equally arbitrary, and that he would have promoted the public weal, just as effectually, had he not imprisoned innocent men, and violated the rights of private property. Having obtained leave of absence, he quit Canada on the 19th of June, to the great regret of the British population. His frame had long been sinking under dropsy, and other infirmities. The shadow of death was already falling on him, and he died in England in the January of the next year, at the age of sixty-two, having served his country forty-seven years, in all parts of the world. Simple, earnest, and honest, there can be little doubt that Sir James Craig was the victim of circumstances, and that his confidence had been abused by the oligarchy, who, as in Upper Canada, then held supreme sway in the province. An irresponsible executive was at the root of most public disorders, and as time progressed, it became evident that Lower Canada had to pass through the same revolutionary ordeal as its western sister. In both provinces identical causes were producing precisely similar results, and at nearly the same time.

CHAPTER XII.

UPPER CANADA FROM 1791 TO 1811.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, ESQ.

We have already seen that Upper Canada, or Canada West, as it is now termed, remained a mere wilderness, with the exception 1791. of a few trifling settlements, till the termination of the American war of Independence. From that period to its separation from Lower Canada in 1791, it remained a portion of the Province of Quebec, and was under the immediate control of its government. Its population had in the meantime slowly increased, and when erected into a separate province, with a legislature modelled on the same principle as that of its sister government, Upper Canada contained about 20,000 souls. These were scattered along the St. Lawrence, from Lake St. Francis upwards to Kingston; thence around the Bay of Quinte; along the Niagara frontier; at Amherstburg; in the old French settlement on the Thames; and in the Iroquois' settlement at Grand River.*

The backwoodsman, whose fortunes are cast in the remote inland settlements of the present day, far removed from churches, destitute of ministers of the gospel, and medical men, without schools, or roads, or

* The Mohawk tribe, almost to a man quitted their beautiful valley and retired to Canada with the loyalists, under the leadership of their celebrated chief, John Brant, on whom Campbell conferred an unenviable, though, it would seem, unjust immortality in his "Gertrude of Wyoming." Stone asserts, in his life of Brant, that he was not even present at the massacre of Wyoming, and with every appearance of truth. Brant was a Christian, and a member of the Church of England. In 1786 he built a church on the Grand River, for which he collected funds during a visit to England, and there he placed the first "church going bell" that ever tolled in Upper Canada. Shortly before his death he built a commodious dwelling-house, two stories high, for himself near Burlington Bay. Here he died on the 24th November, 1807, at the age of 65 years, after a painful illness borne with Christian patience and resignation. He was succeeded in the chieftainship of the Mohawks by his fourth son, John.—See Stone's Life of Brant, vol. 2, p. 494-500.

the many conveniencies that make life desirable, can alone appreciate, or even understand, the numerous difficulties and hardships that beset the first settler among the ague-swamps of western Canada. The clothes on his back, a rifle or old musket, and a well-tempered axe, were not infrequently the full extent of his worldly possessions. Thus lightly equipped he took possession of his two-hundred acres of closely timbered forest-land, and commenced operations. The welkin rings again with his vigorous strokes, as huge tree after tree is assailed and tumbled to the earth; and the sun presently shines in upon the little clearing. The best of the logs are partially squared, and serve to build a shanty; the remainder are given to the flames. Now the rich mould, the accumulation of centuries of decayed vegetation, is gathered into little hillocks, into which potatoes are dibbled. Indian corn is planted in another direction, and perhaps a little wheat. If married, the lonely couple struggle on in their forest oasis, like the solitary traveller over the sands of Sahara, or a boat adrift in the Atlantic. The nearest neighbor lives miles off, and when sickness comes they have to travel far through the forest to claim human sympathy. But fortunately our nature, with elastic temperament, adapts itself to circumstances. By-and-by the potatoes peep up, and the corn-blades modestly show themselves around the charred maple stumps and girdled pines, and the prospect of sufficiency of food gives consolation. As Winter approaches a deer now and then adds to the comforts of the solitary people. Such were the mass of the first settlers in Western Canada. Within the brief space of sixty-four years—six years less than the allotted life of man, how marvellous has been the change.

When Governor Simcoe arrived in Upper Canada, on the 8th 1792. of July, 1792, beyond a small village at Kingston, and another at Newark, or Niagara, with an occasional cluster of log-cabins, there was nothing in the country that was entitled to the name of town. Newark, being the most central, and at the same time the most populous, he determined should be his capital for the present; and here he accordingly fixed his residence in a small frame house, about half a mile from the village; and here, also, he assembled the first Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada on the 17th of September. The Lower House was composed of sixteen members, plain farmers or merchants; the Upper House of a still smaller number. Yet the acts of the first session, of the first parliament of Upper Canada, display great common sense, and an intimate acquaintance with the necessities of the country. They were eight in number. One introduced the English civil law; another established trial by jury; a third provided for the easier recovery of small debts. There was an act to regulate the toll to be

taken in mills; from which we may gather, that millers were as much disposed to take more than their share in those days as at the present time. They were now restricted to one-twelfth as their proportion for grinding and bolting. Another act made provision for building a jail and court-house, in each of the four districts, into which the province was divided. These comprised the Eastern, or Johnstown district; the Middle, or Kingston district; the Home, or Niagara district; and the Western, or Detroit district. These districts were again subdivided into twelve counties.

Even in these rude times, when men flung down the axe, left the plough to repose, or ceased to swing the scythe, to mature laws, in what was little better than a log barn, at Niagara, there was more of the spirit of real progress in Upper than in Lower Canada. It took the courtly seigniors of the latter seven months, at their first session of parliament, to mature eight bills; the home-spun farmers of Upper Canada did precisely the same amount of work in five weeks. They were evidently men after Governor Simcoe's own heart, to judge from the following speech with which he closed the session on the 15th of October:—

"It is with very great satisfaction that I have considered the acts which you have found it expedient to frame, and to which, in consequence of the power delegated to me, I have this day given my assent, that they shall become laws of Upper Canada.

"As the division which his Majesty, in his wisdom, thought proper to make of the late province of Quebec obviated all inconveniencies, and laid the foundation for an establishment of the English laws in the province, it is natural to presume, that you would seize the first opportunity to impart that benefit to your fellow subjects; and by an act to establish trial by jury, and by that, which makes the English law the rule of decision, in all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, you have fully justified the public expectation. Your other acts seem calculated to promote the general welfare and convenience of the province.

"His Majesty, in his benevolence, having directed a seventh from such lands as shall be granted to be reserved to the crown, for the public benefit, it will become my duty to take those measures which shall appear to be necessary to fulfil his Majesty's gracious intentions; and make no doubt but, as citizens and magistrates, you will give every assistance in your power to carry into full effect a system, from which the public and posterity must derive such peculiar advantages.

I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote, by precept and example, among your respective counties, the regular habits of piety and morality, the surest foundations of all private and public felicity; and, at this juncture, I particularly recommend to you to explain, that this province is singularly blest, not with a *mutilated constitution*, but with a constitution which has stood the test of expe-

rience, and is the *very image and transcript of that of Great Britain* ;* by which she has long established and secured to her subjects, as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed, under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

Governor Simcoe had served in the American war, still retained the command of a regiment, and held besides the rank of brigadier. In addition to his pay he owned extensive estates in England,† and it is difficult to conceive what could have induced him to bury himself in the forests of Canada. The enlightened and liberal measures he pursued lead to the supposition, that he was actuated by patriotic motives; but very probably these were not unmixed with the belief a war would ere long spring up between Britain and her revolted colonies, in which as Governor of Upper Canada, he must play an important part, and thus gratify the dislike he had conceived against America.‡ As a member of the British House of Commons he supported Mr. Pitt's bill, giving a new constitution to Canada, and possibly he desired to carry out the measure he had advocated. But, whatever might have been his motives, his designs were on a scale commensurate to the vastness of the country, and were attended with the most beneficial consequences.

When Mr. Simcoe first came to Canada, he supposed that the Home Government would retain possession of the fort on the American side of the Niagara River,§ and which was still strongly garrisoned by British troops. When he found it was about to be surrendered, 1793. he abandoned the design of making Newark his capital, as it would be too near the frontier. "The chief town of a province, must not be placed under the guns of an enemy's fort," said the Governor, and he accordingly turned his attention to procuring a more suitable site for the metropolis of Upper Canada. In the summer of 1793, he coasted along the upper shore of Lake Ontario; took a look into Welland River, and Twenty-mile Creek; surveyed Burlington Bay; and finally halted near the ruins of the old French fort, Toronto, so called after the Italian Tarento, where the inmates of a solitary

* In making this statement Mr. Simcoe evidently forgot the irresponsible executive of Canada.

† Rochefoucault's Travels, 1795.

‡ Gourlay, vol. 2. p. 144.

§ During Simcoe's government the construction of Fort George on the British side of the river was commenced nearly opposite to Fort Niagara. Another fort was soon after commenced at Amherstburg to which the garrison from Detroit was withdrawn.

wigwam,* represented the Huron nation, on this their ancient hunting ground. Here, a neck of land stretching boldly out into the lake, formed a secure harbor for shipping. Lake Ontario rolled thirty-six miles of its waters between it and the American shore, thus lessening the dangers of invasion; and the vast forests of beech and maple, and the other hard-woods of Canada, that stretched away along the old French track towards Lake Simcoe, showed the land to be fertile. The geographical situation of Toronto was excellent. To the east, and south, and west, the broad lake gave easy access. To the north, thirty miles gained the Holland River, navigable for its short intervening distance to the beautiful lake into which it falls. From Lake Simcoe it was easy to penetrate to Lake Huron, on the one hand, and to the chain of small lakes lying towards the Upper Ottawa, on the other. All these considerations no doubt presented themselves to the mind of Governor

Simcoe, whose industry had already made him acquainted with 1794. the resources of the country; and he determined that Toronto should be his capital city. The result has amply justified his choice. From a locality, where fifty years ago the beaver gambolled in solitary streams, rarely visited by human footsteps, and where fever and ague reigned supreme, has arisen one of the most beautiful cities of the American continent, with a population, at the present 1795. moment, of 50,000 souls. In 1795 the infant city was described by the French traveller, Rochefoucault, as containing twelve houses, besides the barracks in which Simcoe's regiment were quartered. The inhabitants he stigmatized as not possessing the fairest character.

But, the liberality with which land was granted to actual settlers, soon induced many persons to emigrate from the United States to Upper Canada. Its population soon rose to 30,000 souls, and Governor Simcoe now began to dread that the country would be chiefly settled by Americans; who, despite their oath of allegiance, might not always make the most loyal subjects. They were hard-working, peaceable citizens, nevertheless, and his desire to see the country prosper would not allow him to thwart their settlement within his government. Here was a new difficulty. If Toronto, or York, as he named it, should be chiefly settled by Americans, he might just as well make Newark his capital. He now conceived the idea of establishing the metropolis of Canada on a river, named *De la Trenche* in old French maps, but which he re-christened by the name of *Thames*, and on which his London of the New World was to arise. A belt of loyal settlers stretched along the coast of Lake Erie was to give additional security

* Bouchette's Topography, p. 607.

to the future city, as regarded internal disaffection, and to form an efficient militia in time of war.

Governor Simcoe's plans, however, were thwarted in a direction he did not anticipate. In civil matters he was dominant in his province, and with regard to them communicated directly with the British ministry. But Upper Canada had little public revenue of its own, the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, held the imperial purse-strings, was moreover Commander-in-chief of British North America, and had therefore the disposition of troops, and vessels of war. He directed that Kingston should be the principal naval and military station of Lake Ontario; such it accordingly became, and such it remains to the present time. Forty-three years afterwards, Sir John Colborne carried out Governor Simcoe's plan in part, by erecting extensive barracks on the spot he had chosen for his metropolis.* Houses rapidly sprung up in their neighborhood; and the London of Canada has already expanded into a flourishing city of 12,000 inhabitants, the centre of a vast system of railroads, and the capital of the most fertile district of Britain in the New World.

The second session of the Provincial Parliament commenced 1793. at Niagara on the 31st of May, at which thirteen useful bills were passed. One of these provided for the payment of members, at the rate of two dollars per day; a very moderate allowance for legislators, at a time when ordinary farm-laborers received half that sum for eleven hours' work. But by far the most important law passed at this session, was one levelled against slavery, which, although opposed to the spirit of the common law of England, had nevertheless been permitted to exist in the Canadas by act of parliament. This act licensed the importation of slaves into the "Province of Quebec," and under its authority a few negroes had been already introduced into Upper Canada. But slavery was fully as repugnant to its rustic legislator as it was to the Magna Charta of King John, and he now declared that no more slaves were to be imported into the colony under certain pains and penalties, and that even voluntary contracts for personal services were to be limited to nine years. But he did not even think this a sufficient step in the cause of human freedom. While the act confirmed the property of masters in slaves, imported under authorized licenses, provision was made that their future children should be manumitted at the age of twenty-five years. Thus, ten years before slavery was abolished in Lower Canada, by the decision of its Chief Justice, the farmers of Upper Canada had struck a blow fatal to its existence, and in the lapse of a few years every semblance of it had disappeared.

The parliament of Upper Canada, in those days, was elected quinquennially as at present; and the first Assembly accordingly terminated with the session of 1795, held at Niagara. The laws enacted were all of a useful and eminently practical character, and reflected considerable credit on their framers.

Beyond the information to be gleaned from the Statute Book and public records, little is known of the social condition of Canada West at this period, although time stood on the threshold of the present generation. The public press of the province was limited to a demi sheet, issued as a *Government Gazette* at Niagara, not the fourth part of the expense of which was repaid by its circulation, averaging from 50 to 150 copies. It was published weekly, and contained short abstracts from the *New York and Albany Papers*, as well as from the *Quebec Gazette*, of news usually a month old. The little press on which it was thrown off, served also to print the acts of the Legislature, and the proclamations and circulars issued by the Governor, which gave it the greatest share of employment. What a delightful time that solitary printer of Upper Canada must have had! He had the job-printing of a province, three times as large as England to himself, and he indited his diminutive editorials, without the fear before his eyes of their being criticised by a snappish and ill-natured rival.

Owing to complaints made by the American government with regard to Governor Simcoe's exciting the hostilities of the Iroquois, both in Canada and western New York, and his plans not being approved of by either Lord Dorchester or the British ministry, 1796. he was recalled in 1796, when Mr. Russell, as senior member of the Executive Council, assumed the direction of public affairs.*

No sooner had the Governor departed, than the principal designs he had formed, many of which were most judicious, were abandoned, and several of his engagements with settlers violated. Lands which he designed should be given to actual occupants, were seized upon by the favorites of men in power for the purpose of speculation. Great injury was thus inflicted upon settlers whose properties were insulated by forest tracts, which shut them out from mutual intercourse and help, so necessary in a new country; while, at the same time, this condition of things rendered their farms of less value.†

This year Niagara ceased to be the capital of Upper Canada. The

* For an excellent account of Canada at this period, see Appendix, No. 3.

† Gourlay, vol. 2. p. 310.

Government offices were removed to Toronto, where the second 1797. Parliament of the province assembled on the 1st of June to hold its second session, at which seventeen acts were passed, and confirmed by the President.

No Governor having arrived, Mr. Russell still continued to direct the administration. On the 5th of June, in the following year, 1798. he again assembled the legislature; and likewise performed the 1799. same office on the 12th of June, 1799. Meanwhile, Major-General Peter Hunter had been appointed Lieutenant Governor of the province, and arrived out in the course of the year.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PETER HUNTER, ESQ.

Canada under French dominion, as we have already frequently seen, was never able to compete with the British colonies for the 1800. western trade. The rapids of the St. Lawrence, and the long portages they rendered necessary in its ascent, made the communication tedious and difficult with the great lakes; and, aside from a restricted trade, placed a formidable barrier in the way of inland commerce. The road to Lake Ontario was comparatively easy from New York or Albany, and the greater rapidity with which merchandise consequently traversed to and fro from the sea-board, gave the merchants of those cities an immense advantage over traders of Lower Canada. The same state of things precisely, continued long after the first settlement of Upper Canada, which became almost immediately tributary to the trade of the State of New York, and so continued till the construction of the St. Lawrence canals removed the unfavorable features in its geographical position. Western New York dates its settlement from the same period as western Canada. But the former had much greater advantages on its side, and its progress at first was consequently more rapid. An international commerce soon began to spring up across Lake Ontario, the upper St. Lawrence, and the Niagara River. This, the non-speechifying, practical legislators of the province, deemed it necessary to regulate, and accordingly in their session convened by General Hunter, at Toronto, on the 2nd of June, an act was passed with that object in view, and which gave the Governor in council power to establish ports of entry, and adopt such other measures as might be desirable.

Still, it was evident that the commercial intercourse, which had sprung up between the two countries, had not removed the 1801. jealousy of American desire for conquest; so, in the ensuing year an act, about to expire, for the better security of the pro-

vince against the King's enemies was continued in force. To help the Crown to defray the increased civil expenses, the duties collected on products brought from the United States, being the same as those levied on English goods, were handed over to his Majesty, for a certain term, and Cornwall, Brockville (Johnstown), Newcastle, Toronto (York), Niagara, Queenston, Fort Erie, Turkey Point, Amherstburg, and Sandwich, declared ports of entry. The Governor had the privilege of appointing collectors, whose salaries were not to exceed £100 currency; while below that sum, they were paid with one half the amount of all the duties they collected; from which it may be gathered, that this branch of revenue was not in a very flourishing condition. Another act, passed at this session, prohibited the sale of spirituous liquors and strong waters, in the Indian settlement on the Thames.

All this time English emigrants, Irish, Scotch, and Americans, the latter still the most numerous, came to seek a home in the new province; but the English, as at the present day, were the fewest of all. From Ireland, where the troubles of "98" had left many a hearth desolate, and many a heart seared and crushed with sorrow, came most of the old country people. Better a free home, even though it were the rudest shanty of the backwoodsman in the sad and sombre forests of Canada, than the cottage in old Erin, where any moment the White-boy might cruelly thrust the crackling turf into the thatch, or the minions of Castlereagh level its walls to the ground. And thus settlements gradually spread on every side. When the legisla-

1802. ture next sat the new district of Newcastle had been formed, and an act was passed providing for the administration of justice therein. Another act opened new ports of entry to meet the wants of the increasing population. A third grant £750 to encourage the growth of hemp, with a view to make England independent of Russia, and voted £84 for stationery for the House; a very moderate sum for writing materials, when compared with the present public expenditure of Canada in that way.

Aside from the proceedings of the Legislature there is very little known of Mr. Hunter's administration. Responsible 1803. government did not then exist: there was no "opposition party" in parliament, nor an independent press to chronicle its sayings and its doings, and comment on its measures, had the contrary been the case. The farmers and store-keepers kept close to their farms or their shops, and when they had legislated to their hearts' content, went home to look after their business, leaving the irresponsible executive to take care of theirs, without once troubling themselves about forming part of the ministry. At all events, in a Commons of sixteen,

and a Legislative Council of eight or ten members, some of whose literary acquirements barely extended to a knowledge of reading and writing, a majority against ministers would not be a very terrible affair. But, there were neither Reformers, nor Clear Grits, nor Conservatives in those days, so public questions were decided solely on their merits: party had nothing to do with them one way or the other, but government had. The Assembly made laws to guide the executive, and the executive enforced them or not as they deemed proper; so mat-

1804. ters up to 1804 had progressed pretty harmoniously. While the country was very sparsely populated, and the people poor and ill-informed, this might after all be the best possible state of things. Canada had hitherto been too young to admit of a healthy opposition, and faction among a rough race of backwoodsmen must have seriously retarded the progress of the country. The people had few taxes to pay, and for years had been too busy tumbling down the huge forests, getting out rails, planting wheat, and corn, and potatoes, and making their homes more comfortable, to trouble themselves much about the affairs of government.

Over twenty years of hard and incessant toil and average 1805. prosperity, at length gave leisure to the early pioneers of Canada to look around them, in order to see how matters had progressed during their long and arduous struggle with the forest. They now perceived that a new state of things had gradually arisen, and that while they had been improving their condition, and the country slowly prospering in proportion to their individual success, causes had been silently operating which laid the foundation of serious public evils. Among the principle of these was an irresponsible executive council, which had speedily gathered round itself the whole administrative influence of the colony. This council was composed of the Governor, and five others, removable at his pleasure. It was, therefore, to all intents and purposes a one-man-power, provided the Governor was a person of resolution and ability, but if he was weak or timid then the rest of the council became the supreme power, and acted as they deemed proper.

In a wealthy and populous community, a House of Assembly, and an intelligent and independent press, might serve as a counterpoise to an absolute executive of this kind, but in Canada West, at this period, the trifling public revenue, wholly inadequate to meet the current expenses of the civil list, had already been handed over to the government, and no check could under these circumstances be established by an annual vote of supplies. As for the public press of the province, it was still composed of the solitary *Gazette*, which was completely in

the hands of the government, and accordingly supported *per fas aut nefas* every measure of the executive.

To understand the position of Canada at this period it must be remembered, that in Great Britain the constitution had been the product of ages, and happily was of so expansive a character, as gradually to adapt itself to the increased intelligence and necessities of the people. Of this intelligence, and these necessities, Magna Charta itself was the offspring; at a later period they produced the revolution which drove the despotic James from the throne, and inaugurated a new era of constitutional liberty with the accession of William III. With him, also, came in responsible government, and from thenceforth when ministers could not command a majority they retired from office. It will, therefore, be seen at a glance, that the British ministry, in framing the constitution of 1791 for Canada, had presumed that its social condition must resemble that of England before the revolution of 1688, and gave it accordingly very nearly the form of government existing there anterior to that period. Canada had accordingly to go through the same revolutionary ordeal precisely, with the simple difference, that its rapid increase in population and wealth, brought the crisis about in a few years, which in England it had taken generations to mature.

Where electors do not exercise an indirect influence upon government through their representatives, the elective franchise is of little comparative value. The executive is the only real governing power in the state, and the people must be content to be either ruled by the king, or his representative, if he is a despot like James II, or Oliver Cromwell; if otherwise, by an oligarchy. Thus, the Canadian constitution of 1791 only permitted of two alternatives. To be governed by an oligarchy was the fate of both Upper and Lower Canada. Circumstances cast the balance in their favor, and even as early as 1805 their reign had already commenced. A pure despotism, wielded by a conscientious man of talent, would no doubt have been preferable to this mode of government, had it not, fortunately, been a stepping stone to a better state of things. Had the constitution of 1791 made due provision for a change to responsible government, when the wealth and intelligence of the people warranted such a step, much disorder, and some misery, would have been avoided. Still, it had all the progressive qualities of its venerable ancestor: time righted its errors: and as the English constitution outlived the revolution of 1688, so did that of Canada exist after the union of the two provinces. Its constitution is now a perfect transcript of that of the mother-country, and promises to endure for ages.

The evils of an irresponsible government, of themselves sufficiently

oppressive, were increased by causes of a local character, and which could only exist in a new country. As Canada West became more prosperous, it also became the refuge of a host of poor gentlemen, half-pay officers and others, who came thither to improve their fortunes. While under French dominion, this class of persons had proved a serious draw-back to the prosperity of Lower Canada; and as Canada West had no commissions to give in a corps of "Colony Troops," matters were now worse with them than ever. Some had sold their commissions: their grants of lands were likewise soon disposed of at a dollar or two an acre, and they then became hangers-on of the administration, to be thrust into every petty office as it became vacant, whether they were fit for it or otherwise. Others, more prudent, retained at least as much of their land as they considered they could cultivate to advantage, and sought to preserve by their exclusiveness the superiority, which they supposed their advantages of education, and the station they had occupied hitherto in society, ought to entitle them to. But, in a country where even Governor Simcoe could not retain a single male servant; where a man could acquire two-hundred acres of fertile land by simple occupation, or three months' wages; and where a number of small proprietors in fee-simple created a conservative democracy, this claim to superiority was somewhat difficult to be established. Hence, this class also came to regard government influence as the only way of preserving their presumed respectability. So their necessities gradually drew these poor gentlemen of Canada closer and closer, till at length they became a distinct party in the country. Fostered by an irresponsible government, which leaned to the foundation of a Canadian aristocracy, it gradually acquired strength and influence: its members intermarried backwards and forwards among themselves, and at length it emerged into the full-blown, famous, Family Compact.

But there was a third class of poor gentlemen, who pursued a wiser and more manly course. Acting on the truism, "that God helps them who help themselves," they readily adapted themselves without complaint to their altered condition. While they learned to wield the axe, and swing the cradle, with the energy and skill of the roughest backwoodsman, they retained their polished manners, their literary tastes, their love for the beautiful and the elegant, and thus exercised the most beneficial influence on their rustic neighbors. In the absence of schools, of churches, of most of the refining causes of civilised society, this class of the early settlers of Upper Canada were foremost in usefulness. Their superior education, their well-bred manners, their more refined habits, raised them in the estimation of the rural popula-

tion, who soon tacitly admitted a superiority, which would never have been conceded were it more directly asserted.

Thus, as early as 1805, we find two distinct parties existing in Canada West, which were very closely assimilated to the Tory and Whig parties of Great Britain, anterior to the revolution. The first clung to an irresponsible executive, as the source of their power and even of their very existence; the second, desired a larger measure of constitutional liberty. The advantages of government support, more ample means, and superior intelligence, gave the Tory party a long and decided superiority; still the triumph of their opponents remained merely a matter of time.

A system of favoritism, a desire of parties in power to benefit their friends and supporters, speedily produced many abuses under the easy sway of Governor Hunter. Patents were refused to actual settlers for lands, which were subsequently deeded to non-occupants. Upwards of sixty thousand pounds* was annually expended for the benefit of the Indian tribes, and presented a favorable opportunity for speculation, of which many were not slow to avail themselves. The provisions, clothing, and farming utensils, granted by the British government, for the benefit of poor loyalists, were in many cases handed over to favorites, in others, allowed to become useless, from negligence, in the public stores.†

Nor was the administration of justice what it might be desired, or what it most undoubtedly ought to have been. Judges did not hold their commissions for life, if they conducted themselves with propriety, as at the present day, and were removable at the pleasure of the Crown. This circumstance weakened their personal influence, and in some cases, possibly, swayed their decisions. Juries accordingly disregarded the bench; on one occasion, in the presence of the Chief Justice, the people became tumultuous, and the stocks were publicly broken. Shop-keepers were usually the justices of the peace, and thus armed with the means of extortion, and the power of enforcing payments, not unfrequently used both in their own favor. The courts of appeal were badly constructed; their practice arbitrary and oppressive. Favorite attorneys were made deputy clerks of the peace, so that writs might be more readily obtained, while the Crown-lawyer was "paid by the job," and allowed about seven pounds for each criminal prosecution, a temptation to frivolous indictments.

In one instance, an action was brought against a magistrate for an illegal decision, and he was mulcted in one hundred pounds. An attempt

* Gourlay, vol. 2. p. 150.

† Jackson's Pamphlet on Canada, 1809.

was made to set this verdict aside in the King's Bench, but that failing, the Crown-lawyer ordered the clerk of the court not to issue the execution, which was, therefore, refused. A sheriff again dare not apply for his fees; nor the printer sue for the money voted him by the Assembly for printing their journals; nor the public surveyors press their claims for services rendered in laying out new townships. Such was the condition of matters when Mr. Thorpe, a respectable English lawyer, arrived in Canada West, as one of the Judges of the Court of Kings' Bench; and whose upright conduct tended to allay the irritation now beginning to spread itself among the people.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FRANCIS GORE ESQ.

Mr. Hunter having been recalled, after a brief interregnum 1806. by Alexander Grant, as president, Mr. Gore arrived from England to take charge of the province, as Lieutenant-Governor. This gentleman stood high in point of personal worth, was of a manly and generous, though easily influenced, disposition; and no doubt desired to govern the province justly. The faults which subsequently distinguished his administration, were evidently owing to his ignorance of the country, in the first place; to a subservient legislature, with a too great proportion of arbitrary power, in the second, and which, unfortunately, he soon resigned into the hands of the oligarchy. As might naturally be expected he was almost immediately surrounded, on his arrival, by the leaders of the Tory party, and was speedily influenced in their favor. Compared with these courtly gentlemen, who composed, in a measure, the best society of the little capital, and enlivened the soirees of the Governor, by the wit and polished manners they had acquired in refined circles in the mother-country, the frieze-coated farmers had not the remotest chance of obtaining ministerial influence.

Still, the people did not stand the less sturdily up for their rights. An impartial administration of justice had made Judge Thorpe already popular, and when he went on circuit, the several grand juries intrusted their grievances to him to be laid before the Governor. The latter soon became prejudiced against the Judge, and when a constituency almost unanimously invited him to represent them in parliament, for in those days Judges were eligible for the office, every government engine was set at work to defeat him. Thorpe never solicited a vote, still he was elected. The solitary newspaper was now loud in its abuse, and denounced the people's favorite in no measured terms.

1807. This led to the establishment of an independent journal, the *Upper Canada Guardian*, so the war between the rival parties

had fairly commenced.* Thorpe, however, fell a victim to his popularity. The representations of the Governor procured his recall by the Secretary of State.† He subsequently sued Mr Gore in England for libel, got a verdict in his favor, was discarded by the ministry on the first opportunity, and in old age and infirmity consigned to poverty and neglect.‡

The first session of the Provincial Parliament, convened by Mr. Gore, was distinguished by a very liberal appropriation of £800 for the purpose of paying the salaries of masters of grammar schools, in each of the eight districts, into which Upper Canada had by this time expanded. The patronage was vested in the government. The sum of £100 a-year was an object to a half-pay officer, or possibly an officer without any pay at all, so the greater part of the masterships were given to this class of persons, who, from their previous habits, and ignorance of the principles of tuition, were every way unfit for the office. Other acts passed this session continued laws about to expire, the most important of which was that handing over the customs' duties to the Crown, for a period of two years longer.

While we have been thus careful to trace, as accurately as possible, the rise of party in Canada, and the origin of those causes which subsequently led to serious evils in the state, we do not desire to convey the impression for a moment that the people, at this period, were dissatisfied with the principles of the constitution. Responsible government was a question of much later origin. Whatever dissatisfaction was felt by the public, was chiefly directed against the arbitrary conduct of the executive, the extortions of law officers, and individual acts of oppression. The great bulk of the people continued to be steadily attach-

* Willcocks, the editor of this paper, was an Irishman of respectable parentage. He had been sheriff of the Home District, but was deprived of his office, in 1806, for voting against the wishes of the Governor at Thorpe's election. He soon became popular with the people, was elected to serve in the Assembly, which speedily thrust him in the Toronto jail, then a miserable log hut, for making too free with their affairs. Released from this he became still more popular, and for a while was at the head of the majority in the Assembly. The troubles of 1812 forced him to give up his paper, when he shouldered a musket and fought as a volunteer against the Americans at the battle of Queenstown. Still, government treated him harshly, and at length thoroughly disheartened and disgusted, he deserted to the enemy, taking a body of Canadian militia over with him. The Americans rewarded his treason by making him a colonel. He was killed at the siege of Fort Erie while planting a guard.

† Jackson's pamphlet on Canada, 1809.

‡ Gourlay, vol. 2. p. 335. Bonnycastle's Canada as it was, &c. vol. 1. p. 51, 52.

ed to Great Britain; and, although several desired to connect themselves with the United States, and whose representations led in a measure to the invasion of the province in 1812, this treasonable feeling was by no means general. There was no desire, as a rule, to cure existing evils by superseding the monarchical institutions of the colony with a republic. A pure administration of justice; a milder and more impartial sway on the part of the executive, were all that were necessary to secure the loyalty of the great mass of the people. Owing to the agitation connected with the election of Thorpe, the exposures made by the opposition press, and other occurrences, favorable to liberty and free enquiry, concessions of this character were made about this time, and public matters progressed more smoothly. During the course of the year, Judge Powell, who figured so prominently in the affairs of Canada West, became a member of the Executive Council.*

Meanwhile, the province had continued to prosper steadily. New settlements had spread themselves out in every direction in the 1809. interior, and the population had increased to about 70,000 souls.

The commerce of the country had progressed in proportion. By an arrangement with the lower province, goods for Canada West were now entered at Couteau du Lac, and the amount collected on these, for the year ending January 5th, exceeded £4000 currency. There was also a considerable importation by way of the United States, and the public revenue from customs' duties alone was now nearly £7000. The tariff was very low. The duty on liquors, exclusive of a small impost levied by the Imperial Government, for the support of the civil administration of the province, was sixpence per gallon; on wine ninepence; on teas, from two pence to four pence per lb. The importations chiefly embraced groceries, as the bulk of the inhabitants manufactured their own wearing apparel.

No civilized country in the world was less burdened with taxes than Canada West at this period. A small direct tax on property, levied by the District Courts of Session, and not amounting to £3500 for the whole country, sufficed for all local expenses. There was no poor-rate, no capitation tax, no tithes or ecclesiastical rates of any kind. Instead of a road tax, a few days of statute labor annually sufficed. Nowhere did the working man find the produce of his labor so little diminished by exactions of any kind. Canada West literally teemed with abundance; while its people, unlike the early French and American settlers, had nothing to apprehend from the Red Man, and enjoyed the increase of the earth in peace.†

* Seventh Grievance Report, p. 303. † Gourlay, vol. 1. p. 217-223.

The chief check to the greater prosperity of the country, at this period, was the want of a paper currency, there being no Bank in Canada. Gold and silver were the only circulating medium; and as the exports did not balance the imports, the little money brought into the colony by settlers, or paid out by the government, was insufficient to meet the increasing want of the community. A system of barter was thus originated between the merchant and farmer, highly prejudicial to the latter, which frequently led him into debt, and produced some individual misery. Nor were the public morals, as much calculated to advance the welfare of the country as could be desired. Intemperance was a very prevalent vice; the rough backwoodsmen, too, were often quarrelsome in their cups; and pugilistic encounters very frequently took place. Murders, however, unlike a former period, were now of rare occurrence. The mass of the people may be described as a rough, home-spun, generation, with little religion,* still less education; but honest in their general demeanor, sturdy yet simple in their manners, and exceedingly hospitable in their homes.†

During this year little of moment occurred. The legislature met on the 1st of February. To judge from the tenor of their proceedings, no apprehension was entertained of a war with the neighboring States, to which, however, events were rapidly tending. The sum of £2000 was granted for laying out new roads and building bridges, by one act; another, was levelled against forgers of bills of exchange and foreign notes and orders. These were the most important acts out of thirteen. During the summer of the ensuing year, Mr. Gore received leave of absence, being desirous to visit England. He proceeded thither shortly after, leaving the gallant Major-General Brock in temporary charge of the administration.

* In 1809 there were only four ministers of the Church of England in Canada West, and comparatively few of other Protestant denominations.

† Gourlay, vol. 1. p. 247-256.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAUSES LEADING TO THE SECOND AMERICAN INVASION
OF CANADA.

Nothing could be more natural, than that the American people, after the long and bloody struggle which won their independence, should cherish a feeling of bitter animosity towards the British nation, while they evinced a corresponding proportion of gratitude, with respect to their allies, the French. They totally lost sight of the fact, that the British parliament were not by any means the British people, the great majority of whom sympathised with the struggle of their relatives in America for constitutional liberty, and bitterly deplored the miseries it produced. This feeling intermingled itself with the popular poetry of the country; and many a mournful ballad, set to the pathetic strains of Celtic melody, commemorated the American revolutionary war among the highlands of Scotia, and the vernal valleys of Erin. But, the leaders of the revolution were not actuated by the hostile feeling, which had taken such firm hold of the undiscerning masses. Their aim was to overturn a pernicious system—to achieve their own independence, not to crush a people whose interests, whose laws, religion and language, were identical with their own. They felt America was merely an elder daughter of the old British family; and, that, although she had commenced house-keeping for herself, and had considerable difficulty in escaping from parental tutelage, a vast amount of mutual benefit must still result from friendly intercourse. Hence, the student of American history will readily understand why the whole efforts of the great Washington and his friends, up to the period of his retirement from public life, in 1796, were directed towards repressing the anti-British spirit which pervaded the Democracy of their country, and to laying the foundation of a lasting peace with Great Britain. Yet, so strong were the sympathies of the American people with France and revolution, that in 1793 it appeared as if the current of popular opinion would sweep even Washington from its path, and that a war with

Britain must speedily take place. This true patriot was accused, in that period of intemperate national folly, of being "like the traitor Arnold, a spy sold to the English." But, still unmoved, he firmly pursued the course, he was satisfied would most conduce to the benefit of his country. The horrors of the French Revolution soon cooled the ardor of American Democratic admiration; law-abiding citizens could have no sympathy with red-republican cut-throats. Washington's pacific policy triumphed, and he had at length the gratification to see a commercial treaty established with Great Britain.

But, although the partiality of the Democrats for France, had been successfully thwarted by the firm conservative conduct of the President, and lessened by the horrors of the guillotine, it had not by any means been wholly removed. As the war between Great Britain and France progressed, during the Presidency of Mr. Adams, it gradually acquired renewed strength, despite the haughty tone of the French Directory. Nor was this feeling very sensibly weakened by the hostilities which broke out between the United States and France in 1798, and which terminated in a treaty of peace with Bonaparte in 1800. The election of Jefferson to the Presidency, in 1801, completely established the ascendancy of the Democratic party in the Union, and no longer checked by the counteracting influence of government, the jealousy and dislike of everything British, began to show itself more unmistakably than ever. The republican sympathy of America, was about to exhibit the anomalous spectacle of allying itself to the despotic sway of Napoleon, and thus spurned the constitutional liberty of Britain, just as at the present day it palliates the tyrannical rule of a Nicholas or an Alexander.

While the fleets of Great Britain swept the seas, and completely annihilated the naval power of France and Spain, the astonishing successes of Bonaparte gave him an equal preponderance on land. Victory after victory completely crushed the power of Austria; the Prussians were irretrievably ruined at the battle of Jena; and the continent of Europe was completely at his mercy. England alone now stood in his way, and Bonaparte determined to execute the long cherished projects he had formed against her commerce, and thus strike at her power in the most vital part. By the celebrated Berlin and Milan decrees, all the continental ports were closed against English manufactures, the whole British Islands declared in a state of blockade, and the seizure authorised of all vessels bound from British harbors, as well, also, as that of British goods, wherever such could be found. England retaliated by the no less famous "Orders in Council," which declared all the ports of France and her allies, from

which the British flag was excluded, in a state of rigorous blockade, and that all trade in articles the produce or manufacture of the said countries, or colonies, should be deemed unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize. These "Orders in Council" were merely adopting Bonaparte's own measures against himself, and with him the responsibility solely rested. The state of things arising out of these measures pressed heavily upon neutrals, especially on the Americans, whose adventurous spirit had, during this long war, enabled them to engross a great part of the carrying trade of the globe. It might naturally be supposed, that the anger of their government would be directed against Bonaparte, as the first aggressor. But this course did not suit Mr. Jefferson, who now saw a favorable opportunity of stirring up the national hostility against England, and thus gratifying the Democratic party of which he was the exponent. He refused to ratify a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, concluded by the American minister at London with the British government; and, on the 27th of October, communicated an angry message to Congress, inveighing bitterly against the British Orders in Council, but not breathing a single syllable of complaint against the Berlin Decree, to which they were merely a reply. The Democratic majority responded to this message by decreeing an embargo, or prohibition to American vessels to leave their ports, which caused much distress and many murmurs, especially in the New England States, whose shipping interests were as yet the most important in the Union.

Meanwhile, the right of searching for British deserters in American ships, insisted on by the English government; and other unfavorable circumstances, continued to widen the breach between the two countries. On the 23rd of June, the American frigate *Chesapeake* was cruising off Virginia, and being known to have some British deserters on board was hailed by an English man-of-war, the *Leopard*, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Humphries, who made a formal requisition for these men. The American captain denied he had them, and refused to admit the right of search, but was compelled to strike his colors by a broadside, when the deserters, one of whom was afterwards hung at Halifax, were taken out of his vessel. But the English government disavowed this act, and offered to make reparation, as the right of search, when applied to vessels of war, extended only to a simple requisition, and should not be carried into effect by actual force.

The state of things which now existed between England and the United States, gave little hopes of an amicable arrangement of differences. The distress, however, caused by the embargo strengthened the hands of the Federalists, or peace party, who in New

England, especially, acquired a decided preponderance. Massachusetts boldly protested against the edict establishing it, demanded its repeal, and it now appeared as if there was a prospect of the satisfactory adjustment of the points at issue. This prospect was still further advanced by the election of Mr. Madison to the Presidency, by the 1809. repeal of the embargo law in March, 1809, and the substitution of an act, prohibiting all intercourse with France and England, but which provided, at the same time, that if either of the belligerents should repeal their hostile edicts, this act should cease to be in force with respect to that nation.

The English ministry, deeming this a favorable time for negotiation, despatched Mr. Erskine to the United States for that purpose. Unfortunately he exceeded his instructions. Considering the suspension of the Non-intercourse act a fair equivalent for that of the Orders in Council, he stipulated that the latter should cease to be in force at a certain period. The English ministry refused to ratify this arrangement; so a storm of indignation was raised in the United States; the hands of the war party strengthened; and the Non-intercourse act renewed.

During this period, it can easily be imagined what an immense injury the commerce of both countries sustained. The Orders in Council were not withdrawn, although Bonaparte offered to suspend the Berlin and Milan decrees if they were, and the matter now appeared to be reduced to a point of etiquette, as to which nation should first

1810. give in.* During the following year, matters became more gloomy, and portentous of war between England and the United

1811. States. The prospect grew still darker in the early part of

1811. Mr. Pinkney, the American envoy, at the British court took formal leave of the Prince Regent on the 1st of March, and a rupture now appeared inevitable. So entirely were the American people of this opinion, that the intercourse with France was openly renewed. French vessels crowded into their harbors, were in numerous cases fitted out as privateers, and did considerable mischief to British commerce. The crisis was hastened by an accidentally hostile collision, on the 16th of May, between an English sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, of 18 guns, and the American frigate, *President*, of 44, in which the former had thirty-two men killed and wounded. In 1812. the following January, Congress, by a vote of one hundred and nine to twenty-two, decided to increase the regular troops to 25,000 men, and raise an immediate loan of \$10,000,000.

* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 455.

By hastening hostilities, the Americans hoped to secure the capture of the homeward-bound West India fleet, before their designs would be discovered. With this view, Congress laid a general embargo on all vessels in the harbors of the United States. They thus hoped to conceal the intelligence of their warlike preparations from spreading; while, at the same time, their idle commercial marine would enable them to man their fleet more easily. In order to work the indignation of members of Congress more effectually up to the necessary point, the President laid certain documents before them, which he had purchased from a Captain Henry for \$50,000,* out of the secret service fund. This person had resided in Canada during the greater part of Sir James H. Craig's administration, and was sent by the latter to Boston, in 1809, without the knowledge of the Home government, to gain information of the condition of political parties in the United States.† The intelligence he supplied was of very little value, and could have been acquired just as well from the journals of the day.‡ He was recalled after a three months' absence, during which he wrote fourteen letters to General Craig's secretary. Not thinking himself sufficiently remunerated for his services, he went to England in 1811, and applied to the Foreign Office for an additional reward, stating that he would be satisfied with the post of Judge Advocate of Lower Canada, or a perpetual consulate in the United States. He was referred back to the Canadian government; but having already got all he could expect in that quarter, he proceeded to the United States, and offered to sell his papers to Madison. The latter expecting important disclosures would be made, which would strengthen his party, and blacken the British ministry, closed with the proposal, and paid him the enormous sum already stated. Henry, however, completely outwitted him. Still, although the President obtained no information of importance, he turned what he did get to the best advantage he could; but the excitement the affair produced speedily subsided,§ and the peace party suffered no injury.

On the 19th of June, Congress passed an act declaring war against Great Britain, and directing that hostilities be immediately commenced. About the same time, the Orders in Council were repealed, an occurrence which was known in the United States in a few weeks. Although the ostensible cause of war was thus removed, Congress did

* Frost's United States, p. 349.

† Christie, vol. 2. p. 9.

‡ Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 456.

§ Auchinleck's Hist. of the War of 1812, p. 36.

not recede from the hostile position it had assumed. Wide as were their limits, the Democracy of America desired additional territory, and would fain have gratified their hatred of Great Britain, by driving her from the valley of the St. Lawrence, and thus depriving her of the source whence she now derived her chief supply of timber, as well as a most important addition to her breadstuffs. But a most influential party in the United States vigorously opposed this unholy lust for conquest. Delegates from several counties of New York protested at Albany against the war, on the ground that the same injury had been sustained from France; that hostilities with the latter would equally have satisfied national dignity, without anything like an equal risk of injury; that England had revoked her Orders in Council; and that it was repugnant to a free people, to ally themselves with the Emperor Napoleon, "every action of whose life demonstrated a thirst for universal empire and the extinction of human freedom."*

In Congress, Randolph, of Virginia, opposed the impolicy of the war, in eloquent and forcible language. "It seems," he said, "this is to be a holiday campaign—Canada is to conquer herself—she is to be subdued by the principles of fraternity. The people of that country are first to be seduced from their allegiance, and converted into traitors as a preparation to the making them good American citizens. He detested this subornation of treason. If we must have them let them fall by the valor of our arms, by fair legitimate conquest, not as the victims of treacherous seduction. By this war," he continued, "you abandon all claims for the unparalleled outrages, insults, and injuries of the French government. By our own unwise measures, we have so increased the trade and wealth of Montreal and Quebec, that at last we begin to cast a wishful eye on Canada." "You will act absurdly," said another member of Congress, Mr. Sheffey, "if you expect the people of Canada to join you. Upper Canada is chiefly inhabited by emigrants from the United States. They will not come back to you; they will not, without reason, desert the government to which they have gone for protection. No, Sir, you must conquer it by force, not by sowing the seeds of sedition and treason among the people."

Such were the sentiments of the more honorable, the more moderate, and, certainly, not the least patriotic of the American people. The Democratic faction, in its thirst for conquest, would ally itself with the despotic Napoleon, against Britain, then the last stronghold of liberty in Europe, and avail itself of the most disreputable methods to acquire

* See Proceedings of Convention on the 17th and 18th September, 1812, at Albany.

Canada. Such, also, were the sentiments of most of the gallant men, who had struggled for freedom with Washington—of even the very States which had been the cradle of American liberty, and whose revolutionary sacrifices had been the greatest. The men of New England had striven too ardently for freedom, to ally themselves to despotism, or to visit the evils of invasion upon the unoffending people of Canada. At Boston, on the day war was declared, all the ships in the harbor displayed flags half-mast high, in token of mourning; and a meeting of the inhabitants passed resolutions, stigmatising the course of the majority in Congress as unnecessary, ruinous in its consequences, and leading to a connection with imperial France, destructive to American liberty and independence. While such were the calm sentiments of the free, and native-born men of New England, the foreign population of Baltimore—the refugees of the Irish rebellion, dreaming German socialists, and French pupils of the “Reign of Terror,” violated the freedom of speech, and the rights of person and property. The editor of the *Federal Republican* had rendered himself obnoxious to the war-party, and a mob assembled to attack his house. His friends collected to assist in its defence, and several times repulsed the assailants. At length a body of military appeared to whom the editor and his friends surrendered, upon assurance of safety, and were conducted to prison as a measure of protection. Next day the mob attacked the jail, and burst in the doors. Some of the prisoners escaped, but many were severely wounded; and General Lingan, a man of seventy, once the friend of Washington, was cruelly murdered in cold blood; while General Lee, a distinguished soldier of the revolution, and also an old gray-headed veteran, had his skull fractured.

In rushing into the war, the Democracy of the United States calculated upon an easy conquest of Canada. The regular troops in both provinces amounted to barely 4000 men, to which if we add 1300 fencibles and 500 artillery, the force for the protection of a vast frontier of some 1000 miles in extent was only 5800 men. The population of Upper Canada was less than 80,000 souls,* while that of Lower Canada did not exceed 220,000. On the other hand, the population of the United States had prodigiously increased since the revolution, and was now 8,000,000; while their warlike resources were enormous, and gave them immense advantages in carrying on a war against a comparatively poor, and sparsely populated country, like Canada. In point of numbers the odds were thus as twenty to one against the latter. The United States had also the advantage, in the commencement of the war, of

* Gourlay, vol. 1. p. 612.

being the assailing party; and could thus penetrate at leisure any part of our long frontier they pleased, while we had to protect the whole. But, aside from all these favorable circumstances, the Democratic party relied upon the people of Canada themselves, to aid in wresting this country from Great Britain. The trifling political troubles in Upper, and also in Lower, Canada led them to suppose, that the inhabitants were weary of British rule, and would readily ally themselves on the first opportunity to the United States. They were fully as much mistaken on this point, as they were in supposing they could conquer these provinces by force of arms. If the people were dissatisfied with the too great power of the executive, a system of favoritism, and the arbitrary conduct of judges, and other public officials, they were in no disposition to cure ills of this kind, by a recourse to the greater evil of unbridled republicanism. The bulk of the people remained sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy, and a very general feeling of loyalty pervaded both provinces. This feeling was decidedly the rule; a desire for an alliance with the United States was the exception. But comparatively few Canadians joined the American standard during the war, and throughout which none were more gallant in rolling back the tide of unprincipled invasion, than the emigrants from New England and New York, who, aside from the U. E. Loyalists, had settled in the country.

Apart from the monarchical predilections of the inhabitants themselves, Canada, at this period, possessed another element of strength in the north-western Indian tribes, who had transferred, at length, the feeling of regard they once entertained for the French to the British, and cordially disliked the Americans, whom they termed long-knives. To the important aid they rendered in the outset of the contest, before the militia were properly organised, or reinforcements had arrived from England, may in a great measure be attributed the preservation of western Canada. The famous confederacy of the Iroquois had been broken up after the revolutionary war, the Mohawks, and part of the Onondagas and Tuscororas, attaching themselves to the fortunes of the British, while the rest of the confederates, clung to their ancient hunting grounds, although closely hemmed in by the advancing tide of civilisation. Under their famous chief, Red Jacket, the latter gave most important aid to the Americans during the war, in which the Senecas engaged in the Fall of 1813, after having issued a formal declaration of hostilities against Upper and Lower Canada.* Nor had

* Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. 2. p. 287. See also Nile's Register, vol. 4.

the Iroquois suffered much diminution in point of numbers. They were very nearly as numerous in 1812, as they were when Count de Frontenac invaded their country, one hundred and sixteen years before.* Thus we see that the United States had as little compunction in availing themselves of Indian aid as Canada; but it must be remembered that the latter used it only in self-defence, while the others employed it in a war of conquest and aggression. The hostile feeling against the Americans, so sedulously fostered by the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his brother Elskwatawa, or the Prophet, prevented any part of the north-west Indians from joining their standard, and the Iroquois of New York State were, therefore, their only important allies.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

On the 14th of September, Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, recently the popular Governor of Nova Scotia, arrived at Quebec, and assumed charge of the administration of Lower Canada, with the supreme military command of both provinces. One of his first measures was to visit the different frontier posts on the Richelieu, and to make himself acquainted with the geographical features of a position, so likely to become soon the theatre of war.

Parliament met on the 21st of February; and although it refused to renew the "Alien bill," or the statute "for the better preservation of his Majesty's government," it passed a very liberal militia act. Twelve thousand pounds were granted for drilling local militia; twenty thousand more for incidental measures of defence; while a further sum of thirty thousand pounds was placed at the Governor's disposal, should war be declared between Great Britain and the United States. The returns laid before the House, showed that the revenue for the year ending January 5th amounted to £75,162, the expenses of the civil list to £59,667, currency; 532 vessels had cleared during the year from the port of Quebec, of which 37 had been built there.

* It is estimated that there are 14,000 Indians at present in Canada. They are consequently more numerous than at the period of the conquest, some ninety years ago. The Iroquois have still flourishing settlements in New York State, especially the Senecas, who have become, like the Cherokees, quite civilised. If we add the New York Iroquois to the Mohawks on the Grand River, and the people of the same race in Lower Canada, they will no doubt be found to be much more numerous now than ever. The great Indian tribes dwindle away much less slowly than has been imagined, while a few are actually on the increase.

The Governor pursued a wise and conciliatory policy, and many of the parties who had been deprived of their commissions in the militia by his predecessor, were now re-instated. The benefit of this course was soon apparent. On the 28th of May, a general order "directed the embodiment of four regiments of militia, which were filled up by the Habitants with the greatest alacrity. A regiment of Canadian Voltigeurs was also raised, the command of which was given to Major De Salaberry, a Canadian gentleman of French extraction.

On the 24th of June, it was known at Quebec that Congress had declared war, so all American citizens were warned to quit the province by the 3rd of July. On the 30th of June, a proclamation was issued imposing an embargo on all vessels in the harbor, and conveying the legislature for the 16th July. Parliament acted with the greatest liberality. A bill to legalise the issue of army bills to the amount of £250,000 was passed, in order to replenish the public exchequer; and an annual grant of £15,000 made for five years, to pay whatever interest might accrue. On the 6th of July, the whole militia of the province had been directed to hold themselves in readiness to be embodied, while the flank companies of the Montreal militia, were formed into a battalion and armed.

Meanwhile, General Brock, in Upper Canada, had been busily employed in making preparations for the contest, which he saw clearly was approaching. He had some trouble with the legislature, which he called together on the 3rd of February, and which refused to pass two of his proposed measures, namely, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and a militia supplementary act, as they did not think war would take place. No sooner, however, did they perceive their error, than a very effective militia bill was passed, and £5000 granted to defray training expenses. Still, Brock had considerable difficulties to encounter. There were but few troops in the province, and not sufficient muskets to arm half the militia; while, at the same time, the Governor General informed him no aid need be looked for from England for some months, as the idea prevailing there was, that the Orders in Council being repealed, war would not be declared by the United States.

Hostilities speedily commenced. On the surrender of Mackinaw to the Americans, a small military post for the protection of the fur-trade had been established forty-five miles to the north-east, on the Island of St. Joseph, in Lake Huron. No sooner had General Brock learned, on the 26th of June, that war had been declared by the United States, than he sent orders to Captain Roberts, commandant of this post, to possess himself of Mackinaw if possible; but if first attacked he was to defend

himself to the last extremity, and then retreat upon St. Mary's, a station belonging to the North-West Company. By the 15th of July, Roberts had prepared his little armament, consisting of 42 regulars, 3 artillerymen, 160 Canadian voyageurs, half of whom only were armed with muskets or fowling pieces, and 250 Indians. On the following morning he embarked, and landed on the 17th near Mackinaw, garrisoned by sixty regular soldiers, under the command of Lieutenant Hanoks. Roberts immediately summoned him to surrender, which was complied with after a few minutes' delay: and thus at the very outset of war a most important post, commanding the entrance into Lake Michigan, was acquired without loss of blood. But, apart from the value of the acquisition *per se*, the occurrence had an excellent effect in retaining the north-west Indians in the British interest.

While these events were transpiring, General Hull, who had spent several months in organising a force for the invasion of Western Canada, crossed over the Detroit River, on the 12th July, with 2500 men to Sandwich, where he planted the American standard, and published a most inflated proclamation calling on the inhabitants to surrender. "He did not come to ask their assistance," he said, "he had a force which would look down all opposition, and that force was but the vanguard of a much greater. The United States, he continued, "offer you peace, liberty, and security; your choice lies between these and war, slavery, and destruction." Very few, however, of the Canadians joined his standard, or accepted his offers of protection. On the 22nd of the same month, Brock issued a counter-proclamation at Fort George, in which he showed the odious alliance of the Americans with the despotic Napoleon, and taught the people the responsibilities they had incurred by their oath of allegiance, and the duty they owed to their country.

Eighteen miles from Hull's camp stood the village of Amherstburg, defended by Fort Malden, (unfit to stand a siege so imperfect were the works,) garrisoned by 300 regular troops, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. George. The surrounding country was difficult to traverse, and the River Canard, flowing a little distance behind the village, and falling into the Detroit River some three miles above it, offered a favorable position for checking the advance of an enemy. Off the mouth of the Canard lay the British sloop of war *Queen Charlotte*, 18 guns, which effectually prevented the advance of an armament by water.

On the 17th, Hull pushed forward a detachment towards Amherstburg to reconnoitre, which was speedily driven back by the few troops and Indians St. George had ambushed at the Canard. Next day the

Americans, in greater numbers, attempted to force a passage with no better success; and on the 20th they were a third time repulsed. On this occasion 200 of their army, attempting to ford the river higher up, were put to inglorious flight by 22 Indians; many in their hurry to escape, throwing away their arms and accoutrements. Hull now began to be encumbered with wounded, and the vessel in which were the hospital stores of his army having been captured, his difficulties increased. In his rear Mackinaw had fallen, while Colonel Proctor, who had been sent on by Brock with a small reinforcement, pushed a force across the river, opposite Amherstburg, on the 5th of August, which routed 260 of the enemy, captured a convoy of provisions, and effectually interrupted his communication with Ohio. Had Hull pushed forward at once, after crossing the river, with resolution and skill, Amherstburg must have fallen. But the right time for action had been allowed to pass, the Indians were arriving in considerable numbers to aid the British, the militia also began to muster; and, worst of all, Brock was advancing from Toronto. On the 7th and 8th he recrossed the river with the whole of his army, except a garrison of 250 men, left in a small fort he had erected at Sandwich, and established himself at Detroit. From thence he despatched a body of 700 men to open his communications with Ohio, a duty effected with heavy loss to themselves, while the British and their Indian allies, although compelled to retreat, suffered very little. On the other hand, Lieutenant Rochelle, with the boats of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Hunter*, attacked and captured a boat-convoy of the Americans.

After a fatiguing journey by land and water, Brock arrived at Amherstburg on the night of the 13th, and met the Indians in council on the following morning. Among the chiefs present was Tecumseh, destined to appear so prominently in Canadian history. His general appearance was prepossessing; of an average height, his figure was light, graceful, and finely proportioned; while his hazle eye, and sharp penetrating glance, showed him to be a man of energy and decision.

In one of the recent skirmishes Hull's despatches to his government were captured. These breathed so desponding a tone, and painted his position in such unfavorable colors,* that Brock determined to attack him before he received succor, a course most amply justified by the result. By the 15th a battery was constructed on the bank of the river, opposite Detroit, and three guns and two howitzers placed in position, when Brock summoned Hull to surrender. He refused to comply, when the battery opened fire. Next morning the British, numbering in

* Christie, vol. 2. p. 28.

all 700 regulars and militia, and 600 Indians, crossed the river three miles below the town. Forming his men in column, and throwing out the Indians to cover his flanks, General Brock advanced steadily towards the fort. When at the distance of a mile he halted to reconnoitre, and observing that little or no precautions for defence had been taken at the land side, he resolved on an immediate assault. But Hull prevented this movement by capitulating; the garrison and troops encamped in the vicinity, amounting altogether to 2500 men, surrendering to little more than half their number. With Detroit a large quantity of military stores and provisions were given up: the territory of Michigan was also surrendered, on the simple condition that life and property should be respected. The militia were permitted to return to their homes, while the regular troops and officers, over one thousand in number,* were sent down to Quebec.

Thus disgracefully, on the part of the Americans, ended the first attempt to conquer Upper Canada. Within the short space of five weeks Mackinaw had fallen, Detroit had been captured, and the chief part of their army of invasion compelled to surrender; while their whole north-western frontier was left exposed to hostile incursions. The successes of British regular troops and militia, against a force so much their superior in numbers, had a most excellent effect in raising the spirits of the Canadian people, and securing the fidelity of the Indians. Had Hull been a man of energy and decision, matters must have been very different. Yet, in any case, with the force at his disposal, he could scarcely have established himself permanently in a hostile country difficult to traverse, and which, as at the river Canard, presented many favorable positions to check the progress of an invading force. But aside from every consideration, his surrender was one of the most cowardly and humiliating occurrences, which had ever taken place in North America. Hull's timid and vacillating conduct appears in strange contrast with the foresight, energy, and decision of the gallant Brock. The rapid movement on Mackinaw; the advance to Amherstburg, after he had dismissed the legislature; and the passage of the Detroit River in the face of a superior force, when he had learned the timidity of its leader, unquestionably stamp him as a man of superior genius, and reminds one of the most fortunate days of the gallant Montcalm. The statement that Brock committed a grave military error, in assuming the aggressive at Amherstburg, is simple nonsense. There was no rashness about the movement. He understood his antagonist, acted as

* Auchinleck, p. 59.

any gallant man would, or should, have acted in the premises, and was accordingly successful. The great error would have been, in not availing himself of so favorable an opportunity, to strike the important blow he did.

On the same day on which Detroit surrendered, General Brock issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Michigan, confirming them in the full enjoyment of their properties ; and stating, that the existing laws would continue in force until the pleasure of the Crown should be known. Having made such other arrangements as he deemed necessary, he returned to Toronto, where, on the 17th, he was received by the heartfelt acclamations of a grateful people. He would have followed up his successes by an immediate attempt on Fort Niagara, but was prevented by his instructions from Sir George Prevost.

The Home Government was inclined to pursue a policy of forbearance towards America, under the supposition that the Orders in Council having been repealed, the quarrel would soon be arranged. Aggressive measures would only tend to exasperate the Americans, widen the breach, and hinder the establishment of peace. In pursuance of this line of policy, General Prevost had proposed, in the latter part of July, an armistice to the Commander-in-chief of the United States' army, Major-General Dearborn, in the hope that existing differences might be arranged. The latter agreed to this measure with the exception of General Hull's army ; but the American Secretary of war, General Armstrong, refused to ratify the armistice, presuming it originated in a sense of weakness and danger on the part of the British general.

The recent invasion of Canada had been based on the same principle of combined movement pursued by Amherst. Hull was to enter this country at Detroit, Van Ransallaer at the Niagara River, while Dearborn assailed it by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu. In addition to the troops assembled at these points, the Americans had established military posts at various favorable positions along the frontier, whence harrassing incursions were frequently made across the border, which inflicted serious injury on the inhabitants. At Gananoque a party of 150 landed, led by Captain Forsythe, defeated a small body of militia, took possession of some public stores, and retired after ill-treating the defenceless people of the neighborhood. At Ogdensburg a considerable force was stationed, under Brigadier Brown, which seriously interrupted the communication between Kingston and Montreal. Lieutenant-Colonel Lethbridge, commanding at Prescott, formed the design of capturing this position, and advanced across the river, on the 4th of October, under cover of the guns of his own fort. When about mid-channel the enemy opened a warm and well directed fire upon the

boats, which speedily compelled him to retreat, with a loss of three men killed and four wounded. On the 9th, an affair of more importance occurred at Fort Erie. An armed brig, together with another vessel laden with prisoners and furs, had arrived the preceding day, and were cut out just before dawn by a strong party of Americans. Both vessels drifted down the current of the Niagara river, and grounded near the opposite shore, where the crews after a sharp contest were made prisoners. During a fog a party of British from Fort Erie succeeded in boarding and dismantling the armed brig. A few lives were lost during these occurrences.

Owing to the infatuation of the Home Government, who confidently looked for the establishment of peace, and had no idea that the conquest of Canada was really desired by the Americans, the 103 regiment and a weak battalion of the 1st, or Royal Scots, with a few recruits, were the only assistance despatched to Sir George Prevost up to this period. Matters had in the meantime assumed a more threatening appearance along the American frontier. Irritated, rather than discouraged, by the surrender of Hull, preparations by land and water were energetically pushed forward for the conquest of Upper Canada before the winter set in. General Harrison had collected a large army at the west to revenge the fall of Detroit, while Dearborn instructed Van Ransallaer to penetrate Brock's line of defence on the Niagara at Queenston, and establish himself permanently in the province. For this operation the force at his disposal was amply sufficient, the British regulars and militia collected for the defence of this entire frontier of 36 miles being under 2000 men. But owing to the exertions of General Brock, who saw clearly the approaching storm, these were in the best possible state of efficiency, and thoroughly on the alert.

During the 12th, Van Ransallaer completed his preparations for attacking Queenston. The following morning was cold and stormy, but nevertheless his troops embarked in boats at an early hour, and every thing was made ready to push across the river with the first blush of dawn. These movements were soon discovered by the British sentries, who gave the alarm. Captain Dennis of the 49th, who commanded at Queenston, immediately collected two companies of his regiment, and about 100 of the militia, at the landing place, to oppose the enemy, whom he held in check for a considerable time, aided by the fire of an eighteen pounder in position on the heights above, and a masked battery about a mile lower down. A portion of the Americans, however, landed higher up, and ascending by an unguarded path, turned the British flank, captured the solitary gun, and speedily compelled their retreat, after having sustained considerable loss, to the north end of the

village. Here they were met by General Brock, who had heard the cannonade at Niagara, and pushed forward, in company with his aid-de-camps, Major Glegg and Colonel McDonnell, to ascertain its cause. Having learned how matters stood he dismounted from his horse, and resolving to carry the heights, now fully in possession of the Americans, he placed himself at the head of a company of the 49th, and, waving his sword, led them to the charge in double quick time, under a heavy fire from the enemy's riflemen. Ere long one of these singled out the General, took deliberate aim, fired, and the gallant Brock, without a word, sank down to rise no more. The 49th now raised a shout to "revenge the General!" when regulars and militia madly rushed forward, and drove the enemy, despite their superior numbers, from the summit of the hill.

By this time the Americans had been strongly reinforced, and the British, who had never exceeded 300 altogether, finding themselves nearly surrounded, were compelled to retire, having sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of about 100 men, including several officers. They reformed in front of the one-gun battery, already stated as being a mile below Queenston, to await the arrival of assistance. Van Ranssalaer had, therefore, made a solid lodgement on Canadian soil with nearly 1000 men, and after giving orders to form an intrenched camp, recrossed the river to send over reinforcements. But the American militia, having now seen enough of hard fighting, were suddenly seized with conscientious scruples about going out of their own territory. Comparatively few crossed over to the assistance of their comrades beyond the river, who were thus left to shift for themselves. Early in the afternoon, a demonstration was made against the American position in the most gallant manner by young Brant, at the head of some fifty Mohawks. These after a sharp skirmish were compelled to retire, owing to the steady front presented by Lieutenant-Colonel, now Lieutenant General, Scott, who had meanwhile arrived, and assumed the chief command, Wadsworth, a militia general on the field, waving his right thereto.*

But the British had no intention of surrendering Queenston so easily. Major-General Sheaffe, an American by birth, assumed the chief command on General Brock's death, and having collected all the troops at Niagara and Chippewa, moved forward in admirable order to drive the enemy from their formidable position. His force, inclusive of 100 Indians, was under 1000 men, of whom only 560 were regulars: with

* Stone's Life of Brant, vol. 2, p. 508.

two small guns. After making a long detour to the right, to gain the open ground in rear of the heights, Sheaffe began the attack by an advance of his left, which after delivering a volley charged with the bayonet, and drove in Scott's right. He then advanced his main-body, and after a sharp conflict a part of the enemy were driven back over the first ridge of heights to the road leading to the Falls, while another portion let themselves down with the aid of the roots and bushes towards the river, hotly pursued by the Indians who were with difficulty withdrawn.

Resistance was now out of the question, and the Americans surrendered to the amount of 950 regulars and militia. So completely were they scattered, that scarcely 300 men remained with Scott when he gave himself up. Their loss in killed and wounded was also severe, but has never been correctly ascertained : it could scarcely, however, be under 500 men.

Thus ended in total discomfiture, the second attempt of the Americans, to establish themselves permanently in Upper Canada. The British loss, in a numerical point of view, was comparatively small, and did not in killed and wounded amount to 100 men : but the death of the gallant Brock dimmed the lustre of victory, and cast a gloom over the country. Descended from a respectable family in Guernsey, he had embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and served with distinction in some of the principal campaigns in Europe : among the rest, at Copenhagen with Lord Nelson. As a civil governor he was firm, prudent, and just ; as a soldier, brave, skilful, and humane, and the idol of his troops : while the Indians regarded him as the *beau ideal* of a gallant warrior. He fell at the early age of forty-two, just as his harvest-time of honor and distinction had begun, and his country had learned to regard his opening career with pride. He was respected by all classes—by friend and foe alike, and minute guns from the American, as well as British batteries, bore honorable testimony to his great personal worth, as he was buried at Fort George, on the 16th of October, side-by-side with Colonel McDonnell, in a grave watered with the tears of brave soldiers, and sorrowing citizens. Brock's name has not been forgotten ; the people of Canada West still cherish his memory ; and while the current of the Niagara speeds past the scene of his death, he will occupy an honorable place in the pages of its history.

On the day after the battle of Queenston, Van Ransallaer requested an armistice of three days, to enable him to take care of his wounded and bury his dead, which was granted by Sheaffe, on condition of destroying his boats, which was immediately complied with. On the 15th Wadsworth, and all the principal officers were paroled, with the excep-

tion of General Scott, who refused to be liberated and was sent down to Montreal with the other prisoners of the regular army. The militia were all permitted to return to their homes, on condition of not serving during the war. Among the prisoners were twenty-three men who admitted themselves to have been British-born subjects, and were sent to England to be tried as traitors. The Americans subsequently retaliated, by threatening to hang an equal number of their prisoners, if any ill befell these men. They were ultimately released, so the matter terminated. Scott had angry words about them with the British General at Niagara, and refused to be paroled on that account.*

On the 16th Van Ransallaer, disgusted, as he said, with the conduct of the militia, requested permission from Dearborn to resign his command. The latter assented, and directed Brigadier-General Smyth to assume control of the army on the Niagara frontier. This officer immediately applied for an armistice of thirty days, which Sheaffe agreed to, though on what ground does not appear. Probably he anticipated the arrival of reinforcements, and considered that any course which retarded hostilities against his command would be beneficial to Canadian interests, slenderly guarded as the frontier was. But the advantage was altogether on the enemy's side, who was thus allowed breathing space to recruit after his defeat, and to make preparations undisturbed for fresh operations. Hostilities, however, still continued in other directions. A body of Americans, 400 strong, led by Major Young surprised the picquet at St. Regis, composed of Canadian voyageurs, killed their officer and seven men, and carried off twenty-three prisoners. A counter-attack by the British was soon after made in the same neighborhood, when three officers and forty-one privates of the Americans were made prisoners.

The month of November had now set in, bleak, cold, and cheerless, yet the Americans persisted in their schemes of conquest. Dearborn, at the head of an army of 10,000 men, hung upon the confines of Lower Canada; Smyth, with 5,000 men, occupied the Niagara frontier; while Harrison, the bravest and most formidable of them all, with his Kentucky forest-rangers and Ohio sharpshooters, threatened the weak British force under Proctor, in the distant west. At the same time, Commodore Chauncey had by enormous exertions equipped a fleet on Lake Ontario, which now forced the Canadian shipping to remain under the guns of the forts at Kingston, Toronto, and Niagara. Chauncey was generous as he was brave. In his first cruise he captured two

* He was subsequently paroled by Sir George Prevost, and most dishonorably broke it. Several other American officers did the same.

schooners; on board of one of these he found the plate of General Brock, which he restored to his brother, Capt. Brock of the 49th, who had it in charge, in testimony of the high respect in which he held the deceased officer.

Dearborn had established his head-quarters at Plattsburg, and despatched from thence a strong body of infantry and a troop of dragoons to make a reconnoissance towards the British advanced posts, in the neighborhood of Rouse's Point. On the morning of the 20th, before day, these troops surrounded a guard-hut in which were a few Canadians and Indians, who returned their fire, and safely escaped in the confusion. The Americans fired upon each other in the dark and killed and wounded several of themselves. On discovering their mistake they retired. Dreading an invasion in force, General Prevost now directed the whole militia of the province, to hold themselves prepared for active service. The greatest enthusiasm was manifested, and the militia of the District of Montreal moved *en masse* on the point of threatened invasion, to repel the enemies of their country. Dearborn now saw the fruitlessness of attempting a descent on Montreal, and began to withdraw his sickly and enfeebled troops from the frontier, to place them in winter quarters. All prospects of invasion being thus terminated from the direction of Lake Champlain, the British general ordered the troops and militia to return.

While these events were transpiring in Lower Canada, the armistice between Smyth and Sheaffe, as regarded their respective commands, had drawn to a close. Every preparation had meanwhile been made for another descent upon Canada, which, this time, was to be effected between Chippewa and Fort Erie. For the defence of this frontier, fully twenty-one miles in extent, there were less than 700 regulars and militia, while the American "army of the centre," as it was magniloquently styled, was at least 5000 men. After a gasconading proclamation in the Napoleonic style, which would lead one to doubt Smyth's common sense, a division of fourteen scows, with about 400 men on board, crossed the river, at the upper end of Grand Isle, before day, on the morning of the 28th. They succeeded in carrying a four-gun battery defended by 65 men of the 49th regiment and three officers. Thirty of these were made prisoners, including Lieutenants King and Lamont, the remainder under Lieutenant Bartley made a stout defence, but were ultimately compelled to retire. The bulk of the American force then returned across the river, leaving a few officers and forty men behind, who were all made prisoners, after a feeble resistance, by a detachment from Fort Erie. At 7, a. m., eighteen scows advanced across the river to effect a landing. A few rounds from a six-pounder sunk

two of these, and, with the aid of a steady fire of musketry, threw the remainder into confusion, and compelled the enemy to retire.

Smyth's failure and disgrace was complete. His inflated proclamations had raised the expectations of the American people to the highest point, and his want of success depressed their spirits in proportion. To see their "army of the centre" held effectually at bay by a force scarcely one-sixth of their number, was a source of bitter indignation to the Democracy of the United States. Smyth was appropriately nick-named General Van Bladder. His own soldiers despised him, and he had finally to flee from the camp to escape their indignation. He was universally denounced as a traitor and coward, was hooted and shot at in the streets of Buffalo, and the tavern-keepers shut their doors in his face. Government meanly sharing the feeling of the populace, cashiered him without trial, and was sustained in this arbitrary act by the Senate of the United States. Yet Smyth was an officer of the regular American army, which is cursed by the same seniority system prevailing in the British service. Men, however, are advanced continually from the ranks to the grade of commissioned officers in the latter, while in the United States army no private can rise, as a rule, above the position of a sergeant. The American military service is the most aristocratic of any in the world; all its officers must be favorites of the executive, and graduates of West-point. Money buys commissions in the English army, politics in the American! The last system is certainly the worst of the two.

The campaign of 1812 against Canada terminated, as we have seen, in most humiliating defeat and disgrace. Large armies had been repelled by a few regular troops, aided by the Canadian militia, whose patriotism and unflinching courage did them the greatest honor. These results strengthened, in no small degree, the influence of the peace party in the United States. It was now clearly seen, that the Canadians, as a people, were sincerely attached to their union with Great Britain; and, that the war, as it progressed, had assumed more and more the character of an unprincipled invasion of an unoffending people. Shortly after Smyth's defeat, the legislature of Maryland declared, by a series of resolutions, that the war was incompatible with republican principles, opposed to their interests, impolitic; and, that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, had acted constitutionally in refusing their quota of militia. In Congress, on the 2nd of 1813. January, Mr. Quincey denounced the war in a strain of indignant eloquence. "We seized the first opportunity," said he, "to carry the war among the harmless colonists. It was not owing to our government, that the bones of the Canadians were not mixed

with the ashes of their habitations. Since the invasion of the buccaneers, there was nothing in history more disgraceful than this war."

Such were the sentiments which actuated, at this period, the right-minded portion of the people of the United States. But unfortunately for the cause of freedom, justice, and humanity, the Democratic faction still retained a small majority in Congress, and resolved to inflict still further the evils of war on the hapless Canadians, whom it was their interest to have regarded as friends and neighbors.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST, CONTINUED.
THE CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

The Legislature of Lower Canada assembled on the 29th of 1812. December, and at an early period of the session took measures to provide for the increased expenditure, entailed by the war. 1813. The army bill act was renewed and extended; and in agreement with its provisions, £500,000 were authorised to be put into circulation. Fifteen thousand pounds were granted to equip the embodied militia, £1000 to provide hospitals for their use, and £25,000 for general purposes of defence. In addition to these sums, two and a-half per cent. on all merchandise imported into the province, except provisions, were also granted to the government for the support of the war, as well as the same per centage, extra, on goods brought in by persons not resident for six months in the country.

In Upper Canada, the legislature was convened by General Sheaffe on the 25th of February, and passed several necessary measures. Among these was one to facilitate the circulation in the province of the army bills issued in Lower Canada, and making them a legal tender in all public offices. Another act authorized the government to prohibit the exportation of grain, and restrain distillation therefrom, owing to an apprehended scarcity of food. Pensions were granted to widows and orphans of militia-men killed in the war; the sale of liquor to the Indians was prohibited for a specific period; and several other useful bills passed.

Meanwhile, the campaign had opened favorably for Canada in the west. There, General Harrison still hovered on the borders of Michigan, prepared to strike a blow for its recovery on the first opportunity. Colonel Proctor, who still commanded at Detroit, had established several out-posts in that neighborhood, one of which at Frenchtown, about twenty-six miles distant on the River Raisin, was composed of thirty of the Essex militia, under Major Reynolds, and 200

Indians. Winchester, who commanded a brigade of Harrison's army, detached Colonel Lewis, with a strong body of troops on the 17th of January, to drive the British and their allies from this post. This purpose was effected after a sharp action, in which the Americans had 12 killed and 50 wounded, when Reynolds fell back upon Brownstown, sixteen miles in his rear. Lewis maintained his position at Frenchtown undisturbed, and was there joined by Winchester, with the remainder of his brigade, which numbered altogether nearly one thousand regular troops.

Proctor's position was daily becoming more critical, and he now resolved to attack Winchester before Harrison, who was three or four days' march behind, came up, and thus, if possible, beat the enemy in detail. Collecting his disposable force, consisting of 500 regulars, seamen, and militia, and 600 Indians, at Brownstown on the 21st, he pushed forward to Swan Creek, a short distance from Frenchtown, where he bivouac'd for the night. Next morning, before day, he made preparations for attacking the enemy, whom he assailed at the first light of dawn, by rapidly driving in his picquets on the main body, when the action became general. Winchester's left flank was speedily turned by the Indians, his line was next broken, and he found himself so hardly pressed, that he was compelled to retreat, but was speedily captured by the Wyandot chief, Roundhead, who brought him to Proctor.* About 400 of his men had in the meantime thrown themselves into the houses of the village, where they continued to make a desperate defence till it was threatened to burn them out, when they surrendered.†

In this action the enemy lost about 250 men in killed, including several officers; one brigadier general (Winchester), three field-officers, nine captains, twenty subalterns, and over 500 privates were made prisoners. The loss of the British was also severe, there being 24 killed, and 158 wounded.‡

The prompt and spirited conduct of Proctor completely checked, for the time, any forward movement on the part of Harrison, who even considered it prudent to retire farther back till he received reinforcements. Nor did the gallant conduct of Proctor go unrewarded. The Legislature of Lower Canada, then in session, tendered him a unanimous vote of thanks for his skill and intrepidity, while General Prevost

* Proctor's Despatch to Sheaffe, January 26th, 1813.

† Winchester to the American Secretary of War, January 1813. Harrison to Governor Shelby, 24th January, 1813.

‡ Christie, vol. 2. p. 70. The greater part of the American wounded were massacred by the Indians in revenge for their own loss.

raised him to the rank of Brigadier-General, a measure afterwards confirmed by the Prince Regent.

During winter, the St. Lawrence above the rapids is usually so firmly frozen over, that the heaviest burdens may cross in safety. The officer commanding the Americans at Ogdensburgh, availed himself of this circumstance to despatch marauding parties into Canada, who treated the peaceable inhabitants with cruelty on several occasions. One of these forays, made by two companies of riflemen, commanded by Captain Forsythe, on the night of the 6th February, was directed against the village of Brockville, twelve miles up the river. After wounding a sentry, and firing into several houses, they carried off fifty-two of the inhabitants as prisoners, the greater part of whom, however, they released in a few days.

General Prevost, being on a tour through Upper Canada, arrived at Prescott on the 21st, and directed Major M'Donnell to make a demonstration against Ogdensburgh on the following morning, with the view of drawing out the garrison to ascertain its strength. If he found the opportunity favorable, however, he was allowed the discretionary power of converting the feigned into a real attack, to punish the enemy for their wanton inroads on the frontier.* In pursuance of these instructions, Major M'Donnell, after dividing his force, composed of 480 regulars and militia, into two columns, pushed across the ice on the following morning at day-break. Believing the opportunity favorable, he now determined to assail the American position at once. This he gallantly accomplished under a heavy cross fire from their batteries, which he captured with the bayonet, although the deep snow retarded his advance, and caused greater loss than would have otherwise been sustained. The enemy fled across the Oswegatchie, or retired into houses, whence they kept up a galling fire till M'Donnell brought up his field-pieces, which speedily dislodged them.

While these successes were achieved by the main column, the other, composed of 150 men, and led by Captain Jenkins, moved towards Fort La Presentation, and soon found themselves under a battery of seven guns, which they gallantly endeavored to carry. Captain Jenkins, while leading the charge, had his left arm broken to pieces by a grape-shot. Still he continued to advance with his men, till his right arm was also rendered useless by a case-shot, when exhausted by pain and loss of blood he was unable to move. At this crisis the main-body of the British advanced to the aid of their hard pressed comrades, when the battery was carried, and in a few minutes afterwards the old French

* Major M'Donnell's Despatch to General Prevost, February 23rd, 1812.

fort shared the same fate at the hands of a company of the Glengary militia and another of regulars, both led by Captain Eustace.* Thus, in less than an hour, the entire position of the enemy, defended by 500 men, was captured in the most gallant manner.

In this action the British had seven killed, and seven officers and forty-one wounded; the American loss, on the other hand, was twenty killed, a proportionate number wounded, and some prisoners. The greater part ran away, however, so nimbly, that they could not be overtaken.† Four brass field-guns, seven guns of iron, several hundred stand of arms, and a considerable quantity of stores fell into the hands of the victors; as well as two small schooners, and two gun-boats, which were burned. This important success had the effect of preventing any future forays, upon that part of the frontier, during the remainder of the winter.

As yet, no assistance of importance had been received from the mother-country, and the defence of Canada rested chiefly on the militia; who, on every occasion, had acted with all the gallantry of the best regular troops. Every exertion continued to be made, with unabated courage, to place the country in the best state of defence. The three Canadian regiments, the Glengaries, Fencibles, and Voltiguers, recruited with diligence and success, and in the month of March most acceptable assistance arrived in the 104th regiment of the line, who had made a rapid, and most extraordinary journey, from New Brunswick, through the wilderness.

On the side of the Americans, the most strenuous exertions were made to insure the conquest of Canada, in the ensuing campaign. Their plan of operations was again based on the same system of combined movement, which had succeeded so badly with them the preceding year. Harrison was to recover Michigan, and threaten Canada at its western extremity; while Commodore Chauncey, aided by a strong land force under General Pike, was to capture Toronto, and invest Fort George, at Niagara. Here Pike's force was to form a junction with another army, to cross from Buffalo and carry the British posts at Erie and Chippewa. Western Canada being thus completely subdued, the combined American armies were to descend to Kingston, in the reduction of which they would be aided by a third force, under General Dearborn in person. This important position captured, Montreal and Quebec were to be next assailed, and the old Union Jack forever driven from the glorious valley of the St. Lawrence.

* Major M'Donnell to General Prevost, 23rd February, 1813.

† Christie, vol. 2. p. 71.

Agreeable to this plan of operations, Chauncey sailed from Sackett's Harbor, on the 25th of April, with fourteen armed vessels, having 1600 troops on board, and on the evening of the following day appeared off the harbor of Toronto, then garrisoned by a force of only 600 regulars and militia. On the ensuing day the enemy commenced to disembark about three miles to the west of the town, a movement they accomplished with some difficulty, owing to the steady resistance of the Canadians and regular troops. These, however, after displaying great gallantry, and suffering severe loss, were compelled to retire on the town. General Dearborn, who remained on board one of the vessels of the fleet, had intrusted the command of his troops to Brigadier Pike. The latter now formed his men on the beach, in order to take the British position in flank, while the fleet, which worked up into the harbor, should assail it in front.

It appears, from all that can be gathered on the subject, that the defences of Toronto, at this period, were in a most wretched condition, owing to the culpable negligence of Sheaffe. Chauncey's fire from the shipping completely overpowered the batteries on shore, and enabled Pike to carry the first line of defences with little difficulty. When at the distance of two hundred yards from the principal western battery, its fire suddenly ceased, and the Americans at once halted, being under the idea that the British were about to surrender. The next moment the head of their column was literally blown into the air, owing to an artillery sergeant, of the name of Marshall, firing the powder magazine to prevent its falling into their hands. Had they advanced a little nearer, the greater part of the enemy must have been destroyed; as it was they had two hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter was General Pike, who died in a few hours. Several British soldiers were also killed by the explosion, which shook the town and surrounding waters, as though it had been an earthquake. American writers censure Sheaffe for blowing up the magazine, and denounce it as a piece of unparalleled barbarity; but acts of this kind are perfectly legitimate in warfare, and of frequent occurrence. The Americans were there solely for the purposes of conquest and aggrandizement; and, their invasion was accordingly of that odious stamp, as to make it only a subject of regret that the whole column was not blown up. In any case, Sheaffe had nothing to do with it, and with Marshall solely rested the responsibility.*

It now became evident, that the few British troops and militia would not be able to resist an enemy, so vastly their superior in numbers and

* Auchinleck's War of 1812, p. 152.

artillery. The garrison was accordingly withdrawn towards the town, the powder magazine blown up, and a ship on the stocks as well as the naval stores destroyed. These operations completed, General Sheaffe retired towards Kingston with his few regular troops, leaving Lieut. Colonel Chewett of the militia to treat with the enemy, who now gained possession of the town after an obstinate contest with a force scarcely one-third his number, not taking his navy into consideration, of seven hours' duration.* Sheaffe, however, suffered much in the public estimation, on account of his failure in defending Toronto, and was shortly afterwards superseded in the chief command of Upper Canada by Major-General de Rottenberg. On his return to the Lower Province, he was appointed to command the troops in the district of Montreal.*

The British loss in the action was severe, 130 having been killed and wounded; that of the Americans was much more serious, and swelled up to nearly 350. The militia, to the number of 293, surrendered as prisoners of war. The regular troops, as we have already seen, effected an orderly retreat, and the only surprise is that Sheaffe did not also take the militia with him, in which case the Americans would have had no prisoners to boast of. As it was, they got possession of the militia muster rolls, and endeavored to swell up the list of captives by including all the men enumerated, the greater part of whom were absent.

Having succeeded in his attack on Toronto, and destroyed such public stores as he could not carry off, the enemy re-embarked on the 2nd of May and sailed for Niagara, the capture of Fort George being the next part of his plan. Having landed his troops in a favorable position in the neighborhood, Chauncey returned to Sackett's Harbor for reinforcements. These were speedily brought up, and by the 25th his fleet, with the exception of two vessels left cruising near Kingston, were again assembled off Niagara. For the defence of Fort George, now so seriously menaced by a large fleet and army, General Vincent, commanding on the Niagara frontier, had scarcely 1400 men. But what was still worse, the works of Fort George were not by any means strong; the guns were of smaller calibre than they should be, and the supply of powder wholly insufficient, owing to the enemy having complete command of the lake, and the great difficulty of transporting stores by land.

On the 26th, Fort Niagara, on the opposite bank, opened a heavy

* Sheaffe's Despatch to General Prevost, Kingston, 5th May, 1813,

cannonade by which Fort George was considerably injured. Next morning this cannonade was resumed, and being supported by several vessels of the fleet, the heavy cross fire soon rendered the Fort untenable. Chauncey posted the remainder of his vessels, in advantageous positions, to cover the landing of the American troops, and swept the beach with a shower of shot and shell. Still, the British gallantly held their ground, and repulsed three attempts of the enemy to land. But Vincent, after a severe struggle of three hours' duration, finding it useless longer to oppose a force ten times his own in point of numbers, and supported by a powerful fleet, directed the guns to be spiked, the magazine blown up, and retreated in excellent order towards Queeuston, leaving the Americans to take possession of the ruins of Fort George, and a few damaged houses.* On the following day, having withdrawn the garrison from Fort Erie, and all the posts downwards, Vincent, whose force was thus increased to 1600 men, continued his retreat to Forty-mile Creek, on the road to Hamilton. The British loss during the recent action was 52 killed, and 300 wounded and taken prisoners. The loss of the enemy was 39 killed and 111 wounded.†

Meanwhile, Harrison, notwithstanding the annihilation of Winchester's Brigade, still persevered in his determination to drive the British across the Detroit River, and recover Michigan. With this view he established himself, in the first days of Spring, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami, where he constructed a blockhouse and other works, to form a safe depot for his stores, as well as a base for offensive operations when his reinforcements came up. Proctor's plan was to beat the enemy in detail, and he now resolved to attack Harrison while his force was yet comparatively weak. Collecting 520 regulars, 460 militia, and 1500 Indians, with a few pieces of artillery, he accordingly proceeded on the 23rd of April to assail the enemy. As usual, at this season of the year, the roads were very heavy, and presented a serious obstacle to the passage of cannon. By the 1st of May, however, Fort Meigs was invested and a heavy fire opened on the works, which sustained very little damage, owing to the small calibre of the besiegers' guns. On the morning of the 5th, two American regiments, 1200 strong, under Brigadier Clay, having come up, the besieged made a vigorous sally, carried the British batteries, and pursued the Indians who fell back steadily though rapidly. Proctor's main body being speedily under arms, he succeeded in cutting off the retreat of his

* Vincent's Despatch to General Prevost, 28th May, 1813. *Alison's Hist. Europe*, New York, vol. 4. p. 465.

† Christie, vol. 2. p. 75, 76.

assailants by a rapid and judicious movement, and after a sharp action a great part of the enemy were either killed or captured. Upwards of 500 prisoners were taken on this occasion, several of whom were afterwards massacred by the Indians, who were restrained from further excesses only with the greatest difficulty, and the personal influence of Tecumseh. Several of the British soldiers, on guard over the prisoners, were wounded in endeavoring to shield them from the fury of the savages; and one old veteran was shot through the heart.

Proctor's victory was most complete. The enemy had lost over 700 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while the casualties of the British were only 15 killed, and 45 wounded.* But, half of the militia leaving soon after the battle, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues of a siege, and a deputation of chiefs waiting upon the General to counsel him to return, as their people, (as usual after an engagement of consequence), desired to return home, to take care of their wounded, and dispose of their plunder, of which they had taken a large quantity, Proctor had no alternative save to raise the siege and retire, which he did undisturbed, carrying off his guns and stores.† Still, the offensive operations of Harrison were completely paralyzed for the time; and he had to get fresh reinforcements before he could resume the initiative in the campaign.

This victory raised in some measure the spirits of the Canadians, considerably depressed by the capture of Toronto and Fort George, the possession of the Niagara frontier by Dearborn's large army, and the complete command of Lake Ontario obtained by Chauncey's fleet. Matters, however, soon began to assume a better appearance in central Canada. Sir James Yeo, a naval officer of distinction, arrived at Quebec on the 5th of May, with several officers of the royal navy, and 450 seamen for the lakes. Captains Barclay, Pring, and Finnis, had already come up overland from Halifax, and were busily engaged at Kingston in putting the fleet into a state of preparation to meet the enemy. The Governor-General accompanied Yeo to Kingston, and the public began to look forward to important offensive operations. Nor were they disappointed. The enemy's fleet was still at the head of the lake, and it was now determined to make a dash at Sackett's Harbor, the great depot of the American naval and military stores.

On the 27th of May, the British fleet, consisting of seven armed

* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 465.

† Proctor's Despatches to Governor Prevost, 14th May, 1813. Christie, vol. 2. p. 81, 82. Auchinleck's Hist. of the War of 1812, p. 142, 143, 144.

vessels, mounting altogether 100 guns, left Kingston, with nearly 1000 troops on board led by Sir George Prevost in person, for Sackett's Harbor, where it arrived at noon next day. The troops were immediately placed in flat-bottomed boats, or scows, preparatory to advancing against the enemy, while Prevost proceeded two miles nearer in-shore to reconnoitre. Deeming the works too strong to be captured by his force, he ordered the troops to re-embark, and this being effected the ships wore round and stood for Kingston with a light wind. About 40 Indians had accompanied the fleet in their canoes; who, not understanding why the troops were prevented from landing, determined to effect something on their own responsibility. They accordingly rowed towards the land, and their appearance so terrified some seventy dismounted dragoons, that they hoisted a white flag as a signal to the British shipping for protection, and were promptly taken on board.*

Prevost now finding that the Americans were not so formidable after all, changed his mind, and determined to attack them on the following day. This indecision and delay were fatal to the objects of the expedition. Had the troops pushed boldly on shore at once, Sackett's Harbor must have been captured, and the immense stores collected there destroyed, which would have effectually crippled the enemy's operations on Lake Ontario. But, during the night the militia collected from all quarters, and a sharp action ensued as the British effected a landing. Led by Adjutant-General Baynes, the latter soon dislodged the Americans with the bayonet, pursued them to their fort and block-houses, and set fire to their barracks. Their militia now scattered in all directions, leaving about 400 regular troops, under General Brown, to make the best defence they could.† This officer believing the post untenable, ordered the naval store-houses, hospital, and marine barracks to be set on fire, and prepared to surrender. Unfortunately, at this crisis, the fleet had not yet come up, there were, therefore, no guns to batter the block-houses, and Prevost, deeming the dust raised by the runaway militia to be caused by a column advancing to aid the enemy, directed a retreat. This was immediately effected, to the great regret and mortification of the British troops, while not an American soldier dared to show himself. Still the enemy suffered severe loss; and all the plunder taken at Toronto was consumed in the buildings already alluded to. A frigate on the stocks had also been

* Auchinleck's Hist. of the War of 1812, p. 162.

† Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 465. Frost's United States, p. 364.

set fire to; but on discovering the retreat of their assailants, the Americans returned and extinguished the flames.*

In this action the British lost 1 officer and 47 men killed, and 12 officers and nearly 200 men wounded and missing; the loss of the enemy was also heavy. But, severely as they suffered, our troops had won a complete victory, and little further loss, if indeed any, would have been entailed in capturing the entire position, and destroying all the enemy's stores.† The public were severely disappointed, and Prevost's military reputation suffered a shock from which it never recovered.‡

The capture of Toronto and Fort George, and the retreat of General Vincent towards the head of Lake Ontario, had enabled Dearborn to establish himself in a solid manner on the Niagara frontier. Still, these successes effected little, after all, towards the complete subjugation of western Canada. Vincent with a small, yet highly efficient force, occupied a good position on Burlington Heights, and was a formidable foe, although almost destitute of resources, and with only ninety rounds of ammunition per man. Had Dearborn despatched a force in vigorous pursuit of Vincent on his retreat from Fort George, he might have seriously embarrassed and perhaps defeated him. But his efforts in this respect were languid in the extreme, and the month of June had already set in before he endeavored to retrieve his error. He now despatched two brigades of infantry, 3000 strong, 250 cavalry, with nine field-pieces, to dislodge the British from their position.

On the 5th of June, Vincent first received intelligence of the approach of this formidable force, by the retreat of his advanced picquets from Stoney Creek, where the Americans formed their camp for the night. The condition of the British General was now extremely critical. In his rear Toronto had fallen, the lake on his left flank presented no prospect of succor, and an enemy twice his strength, with a formidable train of artillery, threatened him in front. Unfortunately as he was situated he saw that he must hazard a battle. While still undecided what course to pursue, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey to reconnoitre the enemy's position. This officer soon ascertained that the American picquets were few and negligent, and their line of encampment long and broken. He accordingly proposed a night-attack to Vincent, who at once gave his consent, hoping to accomplish by

* Christie, vol. 2. p. 79, 80.

† Baynes's Report to General Prevost.

‡ Christie, vol. 2. p. 81.

surprise, what his small force and want of ammunition must hinder him from effecting in the open field.

Towards midnight the British force, consisting of the 49th regiment a part of the 8th, and mustering altogether only 704 bayonets, moved silently forward to attack the American camp, distant about six miles. Arrived in its neighborhood Vincent intrusted the command of the assault to Harvey, who speedily succeeded in surprising and capturing the enemy's out-lying picquets, without alarming his main-body. This duty performed, the little band pushed swiftly, yet regularly, down upon the centre of the hostile camp, where in a few minutes all was confusion and dismay. The Americans were driven from their tents and scattered in all directions by the charges of the British, who fearing to expose their small numbers to view retired ere the day dawned, with Brigadiers Chandler and Winder, 120 other prisoners, and four captured guns.

The British did not, however, achieve this brilliant success without loss. One officer and 22 men were killed, and 12 officers and 180 men wounded and missing. But the loss of the enemy was also severe, aside from the injurious effects a night attack, so spiritedly executed, had on the spirits of his men. This was soon evinced by the rapid retreat he made the same morning to Forty-mile Creek, ten miles from the scene of action, where he halted on meeting General Lewis advancing to his assistance with a strong detachment.

Meantime, Commodore Yeo had exerted himself so effectually, that the British fleet, on Lake Ontario, became stronger than the American, and Chauncey had retired to Sackett's Harbor. This gratifying event enabled a communication to be at once established with Vincent's little army. On the 3rd of June, Yeo sailed with his squadron for the head of the lake, having 280 men of the 8th regiment on board, with some much needed clothing and provisions. At day-light on the 8th the fleet was off Forty-mile Creek, when the Commodore summoned Lewis to surrender. This he refused to do, but shortly after hurriedly retreated to Fort George, leaving his tents standing, and his provisions and wounded behind; all of which were soon taken possession of by the advanced guard of Vincent's force. Twelve large boats, carrying baggage, were also captured by one of the vessels of the fleet.

The tide of fortune had now completely turned against Dearborn, who was soon cooped up in Fort George and its vicinity. Sickness, battle, and desertion, had wasted away the large force he had brought into Canada to less than 5000 men. His own health, also, became more and more feeble. Still, it was strange to see his army hemmed in and intimidated by a force scarcely one-third its number. Nor was

this owing to the physical inferiority of the men who composed it. Nearly all the defeats of the American army may be traced to its want of discipline, and the incapacity of its leaders.

But Dearborn's reverses had not yet terminated. On the 28th of June he despatched Colonel Boerstler with a detachment of nearly 600 men, including 50 cavalry and two field-guns, to dislodge a British picquet posted at a stone house at Beaver Dam, a place between Queenston and the village of Thorold on the Welland Canal. By some means, Mrs. Secord, of Chippewa, whose husband had been wounded at the battle of Queenston, and her house plundered and destroyed by the Americans, learned the object of this movement, and walked nineteen miles by a circuitous route, to avoid the American posts, to Beaver Dam, to apprise the officer commanding there of the danger which threatened him. Thus warned Lieutenant Fitzgibbon lost no time in communicating with Captain Ker, who was at the head of two hundred Indians in the neighborhood, and also with Major de Haren, commanding a body of troops to the rear. Boerstler's march was soon checked by the Indians, aided by 34 men of the 104th, who lined the woods along the road. After a smart skirmish of two hours' duration the Americans began to retreat, but were attacked in another direction by 20 militia, who were accidentally passing. At this crisis Lieutenant Fitzgibbon summoned Boerstler to surrender, and, to his great astonishment the latter consented. The Lieutenant was quite at a loss to know what to do with his prisoners, who were double the number of the British and Indians; but luckily Major de Haren came up in time to take charge of them. This affair entirely ruined Dearborn's military reputation, and he was soon after superseded in his command by Major-General Wilkinson.

The ill success on this occasion still further dispirited the American army, and enabled Vincent to establish his out-posts closer to its position. By the 1st of July, the British picquets occupied a line extending from Twelve-mile Creek to Queenston; thus restricting the enemy to the small angle formed by the river and lake, at the apex of which stood Fort George. The American army by sickness and casualties had been reduced to 4000 men of all arms, and were now so completely dispirited, as to permit themselves to be held in close blockade by a force barely half their number.

The favorable condition of the British army, on the Niagara frontier, soon enabled it to resume offensive operations. From Chippewa a descent was made at day-break, 4th of July, on Fort Schlosser, at the opposite side of the river, under the direction of Colonel Clark of the militia, which resulted in the capture of the American guard, a large

quantity of provisions, one brass six-pounder, a gun-boat, fifty stand of arms, and some stores. Seven days afterwards, Colonel Bishopp crossed over to Black Rock, three miles below Buffalo, with 240 regulars and militia, took the enemy completely by surprise, and destroyed his barracks, dockyard, a vessel lying there, and captured a considerable quantity of stores, 7 guns, and 200 stand of arms. The alarm, however, rapidly spread, and General Porter at once drew together a strong body of American regulars, militia, and Seneca Indians, from whose fire the British suffered severely in their retreat. The gallant Bishopp was mortally wounded, 13 men killed, and a considerable number severely injured.

These surprises, so rapidly and skilfully executed, alarmed the Americans, and kept them so sharply on the alert, that nothing else was accomplished against their positions, on the Niagara frontier, during the remainder of July. For the greater part of August, also, the two armies remained inactive within a short distance of each other. Towards the latter part of the month Sir George Prevost arrived from Kingston, and, on the 24th, made a demonstration against the enemy at Fort George, in order to draw him out and ascertain his strength. But the Americans kept under cover of their intrenchments, and it was not deemed advisable to attack them there, their number being yet superior, by two to one, to Vincent's army. Still, the Canadians had become so accustomed to see brilliant victories won against large odds, that they felt extremely dissatisfied something was not done by Prevost on this occasion. His popularity as a civil governor, however, remained unabated. Meanwhile, Commodore Yeo was not idle, and sweeping the lake with his fleet supplied Vincent's army with abundance of stores and provisions. All this time Chauncey remained at Sackett's Harbor waiting the equipment of his new ship, the *Pike*. During the earlier part of July, Yeo fitted out an expedition of boats to destroy this vessel, and would probably have succeeded, but for the escape of two deserters who apprized the enemy of his purpose. Towards the end of the month the American fleet, now much superior to the British, again appeared on the lake, and with a body of troops on board, stood towards Burlington Heights, the principal depot of Vincent's army, with the view of destroying the stores collected there. This design was frustrated by a rapid movement of the Glengary corps from Toronto, which was thus left defenceless. Chauncey accordingly proceeded thither, and on the 23rd July landed there a body of troops without opposition, who set fire to the barracks and public store-houses, liberated the prisoners in jail, ill-treated some of the inhabitants, and retired with the few stores they could find. Chauncey then re-

turned to Niagara, off which Yeo appeared on the 8th of August, with his six ships. The American fleet consisting of fourteen vessels, and much superior to its antagonists, also, in guns and men, stood out to attack him, but not being able to get the weather gauge, retired under cover of the shore batteries after giving a single broadside. During the night two of Chauncey's schooners were lost in a squall. Next day the fleets again manouvred to get the weather gauge. On the 10th this advantage rested with Yeo, who aided by a good breeze bore down to attack the enemy. Chauncey declined the battle, however, and retired to Niagara, leaving two fine schooners to be captured by the British Commodore, who now returned to Kingston without having sustained the loss of a man.

While these events were transpiring on Lake Ontario, Harrison was steadily prosecuting his preparations in Ohio for the recovery of Michigan, while Captain Perry exerted himself in fitting out a fleet, in order to obtain the command of Lake Erie, of which the Canadians as yet had the control. Proctor and Tecumseh endeavored to capture Fort Meigs by surprise the last days of July, but withdrew on finding the garrison on the alert. The British and their Indian allies next made a dash at Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky River, which Proctor after a brisk cannonade endeavored to carry by storm on the 2nd of August, but was repulsed with serious loss. Three officers and 52 men were killed or captured, and 41 wounded. Proctor, not finding his guns sufficiently heavy to overpower the fire of the garrison, and dreading the advance of Harrison to its succor, retreated to Amherstburg.*

Whilst the tide of ruthless invasion thus broke with chequered fortune along the frontier of Upper Canada, important successes were achieved against the enemy on the boundaries of the Lower Province. The old fortifications on the Isle-aux-Noix, where Lake Champlain narrows into the Richelieu River, had been repaired, a garrison placed there under Major Taylor, and three gun-boats sent thither from Quebec. On the 3rd of June an armed vessel was observed from this post, and her capture immediately resolved upon. No sailors were to be had, so Taylor manned the gun-boats with his soldiers, who promptly proceeded to attack the enemy, while another detachment was directed to push down on each side of the river, and open a cross fire from land. Meanwhile, another vessel hove in sight, and bore up to assist her consort. Both were compelled to strike their colors after a smart

* Major Croghan's Despatch to Harrison, 5th August, 1813. Christie, vol. 2. p. 89, 90. Prevost's General Order, Kingston, 3rd September, 1813.

action, when they proved to be the American vessels *Growler* and *Eagle* of eleven guns and fifty men each, under the command of Lieut. Smith, as commodore. In this action the British had only three men wounded; the loss of the Americans was also trifling; but the *Eagle* was so much injured as to make it necessary to run her ashore to prevent her from sinking.*

This was a most important success, and it was immediately determined to follow it up, by striking a blow against the naval and military depots of the enemy on Lake Champlain. The *Eagle* was easily got off, refitted and named the *Broke*, while the other captured vessel was named the *Shannon*, and also put in order, as well as the three gun-boats, for an expedition up the lake. But the difficulty was to man this little squadron, as no seamen could be spared from the fleet on Lake Ontario. Fortunately at this juncture, Captain Everard of the brig of war *Wasp*, lying at Quebec, volunteered his services, and manned the *Broke* and *Shannon* with his crew.

Sufficient batteaux having been procured, and every preparation completed, the little fleet, with 900 regular troops on board under Colonel Murray, sailed from Isle-aux-Noix on the 29th of July. On the 31st the expedition arrived at Plattsburgh, where a landing was effected without opposition, a considerable body of American militia, under Brigadier Moore, retiring without firing a shot. A large quantity of military stores was promptly sent on board the shipping, and Colonel Murray then leisurely proceeded to burn the arsenal, store-houses, and the barracks recently built, and capable of accommodating 4000 men.† While the troops were thus employed, Captain Everard, with his two schooners and one gun-boat, stood across the lake to Burlington, where General Hampton had drawn together a strong body of regulars and militia, and where the principal American naval force lay at anchor. But the latter declined to leave the protection of the shore-batteries, and Everard, after destroying four vessels lying off the place, returned to Plattsburgh.‡ Detachments of troops next proceeded to Swanton and Champlain villages, to destroy the stores there; when, the objects of the expedition being fully accomplished, they returned to Isle-aux-Noix on the 4th of August.§

In the St. Lawrence, on the other hand, two gun-boats of the enemy captured, on the 20th of July, a flotilla of fifteen batteaux laden with

* Taylor's Despatch to Stovin, 3rd June, 1813.

† Murray's Despatch to General Sheaffe, 3rd August, 1813.

‡ Everard's Despatch to General Prevost, 3rd August, 1813.

§ Christie, vol. 2. p. 95.

provisions, and one gun-boat conveying them, a little below Kingston. A fruitless attempt was made to recover the batteaux. The enemy took shelter in Goose Creek, interrupted its passage by felling trees, and lining the woods with his riflemen, compelled the British detachment to retire, after a smart action in which the latter sustained some loss.

But, while the campaign thus far had been on the whole eminently favorable to Canada, the enemy irritated by frequent defeat, and the negative and unproductive character of his successes, made great exertions, as Autumn approached, to turn the current of events in his favor. Taught by repeated failure and misfortune, his operations now assumed a more systematic and menacing character. In the beginning of September, Hampton, with a force of nearly 5000 men, crossed Lake Camplain and established himself at Plattsburgh, with the view of penetrating to Montreal. At Sackett's Harbor 10,000 men, under Wilkinson, were preparing to assail Kingston, while Harrison, with a formidable army, mustering nearly 6000 of all arms, was ready to attack Proctor, the moment the fleet fitting out by Perry could establish its superiority on Lake Erie. Both parties had made the most strenuous exertions to augment their naval forces on this lake; but the British labored at great disadvantage when compared to the Americans. The sparse population of Upper Canada, at this period, possessed few facilities for ship-building; and all the necessary material, with the exception of wood alone, had to be brought from England up the long portages of the St. Lawrence and Niagara Rivers, at an amount of cost and labor we can have very little idea of at the present time. Captain Barclay, who had assumed command of the British squadron on this lake in the month of May, labored with untiring zeal to fit out the *Detroit*, a larger vessel than any of the other five composing his squadron hitherto, in order to enable himself to meet the fleet Perry was equipping at Erie, on more equal terms. But he could not even obtain the necessary guns from below, and had to take some of the cumbersome fort artillery to supply the deficiency. His greatest difficulty, however, was to man his fleet, as Commodore Yeo could only spare him fifty seamen. The rest of his crews had to be made up of 215 soldiers, of Proctor's army, and 80 Canadians; while, on the other hand, an idle commercial marine, enabled the enemy to man his fleet with picked seamen, to the number of nearly 600. The Americans, too, although their guns were fewer, had greatly the advantage in weight of metal, besides having two vessels more than the British. But in sailors their great superiority rested. For these, the wretched mixture

of six landmen to one seaman on board of Barclay's fleet, even were they equal in point of numbers, would be no match whatever.*

Proctor, at this period, found himself seriously embarrassed for want of food, and other supplies; and it was evident, that if the enemy obtained command of the lake, not only Michigan, but Western Canada must be abandoned. Barclay, under these circumstances, determined to do his best to succor the army, and with his feeble force blockaded Perry in Erie harbor, which he could do with safety, as the sand-bar in front must compel the enemy to take his guns out to cross it. Towards the end of August, however, he was obliged to proceed to Long Point for supplies, and the American Commodore at once seized this opportunity to put to sea. The British commander was now blockaded in turn in Amherstburg, and endeavored to improve his leisure to advantage, by training the soldiers to work the guns, and the Canadians to handle the ropes. But his provisions soon failed; he must either fight or starve; no other alternative presented itself. He accordingly put to sea on the 10th of September, and soon met the enemy, when a most obstinate battle ensued. For a while the British had the advantage, and Perry's own ship, the *Lawrence*, was compelled to haul down its colors, amid the cheers of the British squadron. But Barclay had not even a boat to take possession of his prize, so defective was his equipment. The firing now ceased for a few minutes, but a breeze springing up behind the American fleet, Perry, who had meanwhile shifted his flag to another vessel, skilfully gained the weather-gauge of the principal British ships, while they, from the unskilfulness of their crews, were unable to extricate themselves from their dangerous condition. The result was, that after a desperate engagement of three hours, during which the carnage was fearful, the entire British fleet was taken. Still, it did not surrender till the vessels had become wholly unmanageable, nor till all the officers were killed or wounded, and a third of their crews had shared the same melancholy fate.† The American loss was 27 killed, and 96 wounded.‡

The effects of this severe reverse was speedily felt by Proctor. With an enemy on his flank and front, and lacking provisions and supplies of every kind, retreat was now his sole alternative. Amherst-

* Comparative strength of the fleets :—

	Americans.	British.
Weight of metal, lbs.	928	459
Complement of men,	580	345

† Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 467. Barclay's Despatch to Yeo, 22nd September, 1813.

‡ Perry's Despatch to the Hon. W. Jones, American Naval Secretary.

burg, Detroit, and the minor fortified posts in the west were dismantled, stores of every kind destroyed, and the British, numbering 830, commenced to retreat along the Thames towards Lake Ontario, accompanied by 500 Indians under Tecumseh, who showed an honorable fidelity in misfortune. Harrison following rapidly in pursuit, with an army of 3500 men, including several hundred cavalry, came up with Proctor's rear-guard on the 4th of October, and succeeded in capturing all his stores and ammunition, with over one hundred prisoners. The British general had now no resource but to hazard a battle, and for this purpose he took up a position, on the following day, at the Moravian Village on the Thames. Proctor's usual prudence appears to have forsaken him. The bridges in his rear had been left entire; he made no effort to strengthen his position by a breast-work; and it is even said that his field of battle was ill chosen.* But in any case, his few worn-out and harrassed soldiers, now reduced by casualities to nearly 600 men, were wholly unequal to a contest with Harrison's numerous and well-appointed army. The result was what might naturally be expected. The British were speedily beaten at all points, and Proctor fled from the field of battle, leaving the Indians to their fate. Led by their gallant chieftain, they fought manfully against enormous odds, and only retired when Tecumseh no longer lived to rally them. The few British soldiers who escaped from captivity or death, fled through the woods to reassemble, to the number of 240, at Burlington Heights.

Nor did the reverses of the British terminate with this fresh disaster. On the same day that Proctor fled before Harrison, six schooners, having on board 250 soldiers, proceeding from Toronto to Kingston without convoy, were captured on Lake Ontario. These losses, in addition to the alarming intelligence that the enemy was making great preparations for the conquest of Lower Canada, and that Harrison was descending Lake Erie to reinforce the army on the Niagara frontier, compelled Vincent, whose force was now reduced to 1200 effective men, to raise the blockade of Fort George, and retreat to his old position on Burlington Heights. This movement was effected in most excellent order, although his rear was threatened by Brigadier M'Clure, with a force fully as large as his own. At Stoney Creek, his rear-guard took up a strong position, and checked the further pursuit of the enemy. At Burlington Heights Vincent was joined by the fugitives of Proctor's division, which made up his strength to nearly 1200 bayonets.

* Proctor was subsequently tried by Court Martial, and severely censured for his conduct on this occasion.

The Americans were greatly elated with these important successes, and now openly avowed their intention of invading Lower Canada, and taking up their Winter quarters at Montreal. As the first step in this plan, Kingston, now slenderly garrisoned, was to be immediately captured by Wilkinson's army from Sackett's Harbor. Prescott was next to fall; and then the road down the St. Lawrence would be perfectly open to Montreal, where a junction was to be effected with Hampton's army. His success in the west, and the retreat of Vincent from Fort George, permitted the enemy to mass his disposable troops at Sackett's Harbor, without danger to the Niagara frontier; and Wilkinson's army, by the addition of large bodies of regular troops, rapidly assumed a more imposing character. On the 24th of October, this army, amounting to 9000 men, with a well appointed train of artillery, rendezvoused at Grenadier Island, near Kingston, a favorable point for operations against that important position. But the British had correctly divined the enemy's intention, and a force of 2000 men, under Major General de Rottenberg awaited Wilkinson's approach at the menaced fortress. The latter perceiving that his prospect of a successful assault on Kingston was now of the most slender description, determined to shift his line of attack, descend the St. Lawrence at once, form a junction with Hampton's army, and capture Montreal.

Agreeable to this fresh plan of operations, Wilkinson commenced the passage down the river on the last days of October, his flotilla, of over 300 large boats and schooners, protected by twelve heavy gun-boats. This movement having become speedily known at Kingston, De Rottenberg took measures to annoy, and, if possible to check, the advance of the enemy. Two schooners and several gun-boats were sent in pursuit, with orders to harass him as much as possible, and a "corps of observation," composed of 850 rank and file, was detached for the same purpose.

Wilkinson's progress was exceedingly slow, and spoke little for his energy of character, a quality so necessary to success in a military man. At French Creek, some twenty-five miles below Kingston, he halted his army for several days, during which his flotilla was much annoyed by the teasing fire of the British gun-boats. On the 5th of November, he again pushed down the river, and reached a point six miles above Ogdensburgh, where another halt was made, and a proclamation issued to the Canadians. On the 7th, the advance of his army was resumed, and next day the flotilla was off Matilda, where 1200 troops were landed under Colonel Macomb to clear the bank of some militia, who had assembled to annoy his progress down the river. Two days afterwards the American general found himself at Williams-

burg, where he reinforced the troops under Macomb by a second brigade, led by General Brown, and a body of dragoons. On the following day another division was landed under General Boyd.

During this time the British corps of observation continued to advance steadily on the rear of the enemy. On the 10th, a descent was made by Colonel Morrison on a post at the American side of the river, where a considerable quantity of provisions and stores, and two guns, were captured. Colonel Harvey in the meantime followed up the enemy, who towards evening endeavored to check his advance with some light troops and cavalry, which a few rounds from three field-pieces compelled to retire. During the 11th, Morrison pressed so close upon General Boyd's division, now forming the enemy's rear-guard, while the fire of his gun-boats severely harrassed the flotilla, that Wilkinson determined to check his further advance, and if possible capture his artillery. He accordingly directed Boyd to give him battle, and the latter soon drew together a body of fully 2000 regular troops for that purpose, with several guns.*

The ground was open and perfectly clear, presenting no inequalities to favor either the assailants or the assailed, and the action, known as the battle of Chrysler's Farm, which now ensued, was a "a fair stand-up-fight," with the single exception that the Americans were exactly two to one; but this advantage was counterbalanced, in some measure, by their inferiority in discipline to the British. The enemy began the action by attacking Morrison's advanced guard, which gradually fell back on the main-body in admirable order. At half-past two, the battle became general; and an extremely sharp contest ensued, which lasted fully two hours, and terminated entirely in favor of the British, who captured one of the enemy's guns, compelled him to retreat, and moved forward shortly after in pursuit. Our loss on this occasion was 1 officer and 21 men killed, 10 officers and 137 men wounded, and 12 missing.† The Americans, on the other hand, had 102 killed, and 236 wounded.‡

Meanwhile, the advance of Hampton, with a well-appointed army of 5000 men, including a body of cavalry, towards Montreal, compelled the Governor to call out the militia of the district *en masse*, an order

* At Wilkinson's Court-Martial it was sworn by Colonel Walback, that the British numbered about 1100 men, including militia and a few Indians, while Wilkinson admits in his despatches that the Americans engaged amounted to over 2000 men.

† Morrison's Despatch to De Rottenberg.

‡ Wilkinson's Despatch to the American Secretary at War.

responded to with the utmost alacrity. At the same time Colonel De Salaberry was detached with the Canadian Voltigeurs to reconnoitre the enemy. This duty was very gallantly performed, and De Salaberry, after a smart skirmish with the American advanced guard, fell back to an excellent position on the Chateaugay river. Hampton, however, not having yet learned of Wilkinson's advance hesitated to push forward to the St. Lawrence, and meanwhile, in order to distract the attention of the British, detached Colonel Clarke to the Canadian settlement on Missoquoi Bay, where the inhabitants were now plundered and ill-treated by the American troops.*

The season for action wore rapidly away, and the American general at length commenced a forward movement on the 21st of October. On the 24th he arrived in the neighborhood of the position occupied by De Salaberry, and made preparations to dislodge him. During the night of the 25th a brigade was accordingly detached by a circuitous route to take the British post in the rear, while the main-body of the army assailed it in front. But Colonel Purdy who led this brigade, got bewildered in the woods, and did not arrive in time to take part in the beginning of the battle that ensued. Hampton, ignorant of this circumstance, pushed forward a column 3500 strong, at 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 26th, under the command of Izzard, to carry the position held by De Salaberry with less than 400 Canadians. It was situated in a thick wood, the British left flank resting on the river, its right, on an extended abattis, while its front was covered by a breast-work of logs. This position was penetrated by a road, which had been broken up and rendered as difficult to traverse as possible.

The action began by the enemy driving in De Salaberry's advanced picquet, which retired on another a short distance in the rear, and both uniting opened a smart fire upon the head of Izzard's column. On hearing the firing De Salaberry placed his few troops in extended order in front of the abattis, and directed them not to fire till he gave the signal by discharging his own rifle. The engagement speedily became general, and the enemy was effectually held in check, till the retreat of a few skirmishers in the centre of the British line, encouraged him to advance. De Salaberry now dreaded his small force would be surrounded, and by a clever ruse intimidated the American troops. Placing his buglers as far apart as possible, he directed them to sound the advance, which effectually cooled the ardor of the assailants, who imagined that the Canadians were advancing in great numbers against them.

* Christie, vol. 2, p. 123.

Meanwhile, Purdy, directed by the firing, advanced to cross the river, and take De Salaberry in the rear. He was, however, completely defeated by two companies advantageously posted, and compelled to retire in disorder. Finding his efforts ineffectual to force the position in his front, disliking to resort to the bayonet, and seeing Purdy's brigade unable to co-operate with him, Hampton withdrew his forces at two o'clock in the afternoon, leaving the Canadians completely masters of the field, with very trifling loss to themselves. After a short halt, the American army commenced its retreat on Plattsburg, its rear severely harassed by the Canadian militia, who speedily collected in considerable numbers.

The intelligence, on the 12th of November, of Hampton's inglorious defeat by a mere handful of Canadians, completely disconcerted Wilkinson's plans. He at once abandoned all idea of passing the Winter at Montreal, agreeable to his first intention, and next day his army crossed the St. Lawrence, and proceeded to French Mills, on the Salmon River, where wooden huts were rapidly constructed for its use. Thus terminated this invasion of Lower Canada, formidable, however, only in the number of the invaders, who, to the extent of nearly 15,000 men, had been foiled or beaten back by 1500 regulars and militia, at Chrysler's Farm and Chateaugay. Wilkinson's drunken* descent of the St. Lawrence, was a fit occurrence to take place in connexion with Hampton's 5000 men held in check by De Salaberry's Spartans.

From Lower we have now to turn to Upper Canada, which Prevost, on receiving intelligence of Proctor's defeat, had ordered Vincent to abandon as far as Kingston. Fortunately, a council-of-war, held at Burlington Heights, decided adversely to the instructions of the Commander-in-chief, and determined to defend the western peninsula at all hazards. M'Clure had in the meantime remained undisturbed at Twenty-mile Creek, from whence marauding parties of his troops scoured the surrounding country, plundered the peaceable inhabitants of their cattle and provisions, and burned their barns. The latter represented these occurrences to Vincent, who, accordingly, in the beginning of December, detached Colonel Murray with 500 regulars and Indians as far as Forty-mile Creek, to drive in the foraging parties of the enemy. M'Clure, dreading an advance against him in force, now retreated on Fort George as rapidly as possible, and having learned the

* At Wilkinson's Court Martial it was proved by Major Birsall of the American army, and Owen Chatfield of Ogdensburg, that he was drunk in the house of Daniel Thorpe, sung obscene songs there, and otherwise behaved himself most improperly.

disastrous termination of Wilkinson's and Hampton's movements against Lower Canada, he determined to cross at once to the American side of the river. Even in this movement his terrified imagination did not see sufficient safety, if Vincent's army was permitted to find shelter in Niagara. To prevent this effectually he determined to destroy the town.

The Winter had set in unusually early : huge icicles festooned in pendant clusters the rocks rising above the river up to the Falls, where the spray, caught in its ascent by the biting north-winds of December, fell back in tiny showers of hail upon the dark seething waters below. The fierce gusts of wind that traversed unchecked over Lake Ontario, fell keen and cold upon the homes of Niagara, whose unhappy people, although surrounded by the miseries of warfare, and subjected to hostile invaders, still consoled themselves with the thought that at least they had food and shelter. And anxious mothers thanked God that it was even so : and as the fierce Canadian storm raged, and the snow beat thick and fast against door and window, a feeling of gratitude swelled their hearts, as they felt their babes had a warm home.

The Americans came to free the Canadian people from what they termed the tyranny of Great Britain ; but found them, on the whole, loyal, incorruptible, and satisfied with their condition. They talked to Canadians of the rights of humanity ; how all men were free and equal ; while thousands of trembling slaves writhed under the lash in the plantations of the South. They boasted of their respect for the rights of property ; yet they plundered the defenceless peasantry of Canada ; burned their fences, and visited their happy homes with the dreadful horrors of invasion. But all this was not enough ; they had not yet sufficiently injured the hapless Canadians. On the 10th of December—the dark stormy December of 1813, McClure, by order of his government—the Congress of the United States, as expressed through James Madison, President, and John Armstrong, Secretary at War, turned four hundred helpless women and children into the streets at half an hour's notice, and burned their homes to the ground. One house only in Niagara was left standing ; and the unfortunate inmates of 150 dwellings were driven forth, in some cases without clothing to shield them from the piercing wind, to find food and shelter where they best might. Furniture, books, household utensils, everything in short that could not be removed in the brief space of thirty minutes, were given to the flames. In one instance a sick woman whose husband, Mr. Dickson, was a prisoner in the enemy's territory, was carried out bed and all, and laid down in the snow at her own door, where shivering with cold she beheld her house, and all that was in it consumed to ashes.

No wonder that the people of Canada felt indignant at this act of wanton and unparalleled cruelty, and that the Americans were soon made to feel the full effects of the barbarous system of warfare they had thus inaugurated, in the conflagration of the towns along their own frontier, and in the well-merited destruction of their capitol at Washington. The weeping and wailing of the widows and orphans, and affrighted mothers of Niagara, as they watched the lurid flames leap from rafter to rafter of their homes, were portentous of dire disgrace to the American arms.

While M'Clure was busy in applying the torch to the houses of Niagara, he neglected duties far more important, and more necessary to the interests of his country. New barracks, recently erected on the river, were left untouched; the fort, which had been repaired and strengthened, he bequeathed to Murray, without blowing up the magazine, or springing a single mine; and tents for 1500 men were left standing.

It was not alone in the vicinity of Niagara, that the people suffered from marauding parties of the enemy. Westward, on Lake Erie, a body of Americans, led by some disaffected Canadians, committed outrages on the inhabitants. The bulk of the militia had been disarmed on Proctor's defeat, in order to prevent their being made prisoners by the enemy: a few, however, were permitted to retain their muskets to protect themselves. Forty five of these were mustered towards the latter part of October, a marauding band of the enemy pursued, overtaken near Dover, several of them killed after a smart action, and eighteen taken prisoners. Fifteen of the latter were disaffected Canadians: eight of whom were executed for high treason and robbery, and seven transported.

A few days after the re-occupation of Fort George by Murray, Lieutenant-General Drummond arrived at Toronto to assume the military command and civil control of Upper Canada, Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor, still continuing absent in England. He was accompanied by Major-General Riall to aid him in his military capacity. General Drummond lost no time in proceeding to Vincent's headquarters, now removed to the village of St. David, in the neighborhood of Queenston. Shortly after his arrival, Colonel Murray proposed to capture Fort Niagara by surprise, to which he at once gave consent.

Every preparation being completed for this important enterprise, 550 men, under Murray, silently crossed the river, three miles above Niagara, on the night of the 18th December, without being discovered by the enemy. Next morning before day this force moved forward to assault the fort, the garrison of which was completely taken by sur-

prise, and surrendered after a feeble resistance. The loss of the Americans on this occasion was severe, and amounted to 65 men and 2 officers killed, 12 wounded, and 300 prisoners. On the other hand, the British loss was only 6 killed and 5 wounded. A large quantity of stores of every description was captured : also 3000 stand of arms, a number of rifles, and 36 guns.*

General Riall, who had crossed over with a detachment of 500 men to support Murray, in case of need, on learning his complete success pushed up the river to Lewiston, where the enemy had erected batteries for the destruction of Queenston, immediately opposite. These were abandoned on his approach, and Lewiston in revenge for the burning of Niagara was given to the flames, as well as the villages of Youngstown, Manchester, and Tuscarora. At the same time the auxiliary Indians and light troops were scattered over the adjacent country, and took ample vengeance for the numerous injuries which had been inflicted on the Canadians. It was a sad sight to see the smoking ruins of a whole district : but the Americans themselves were alone to blame. They had commenced this savage description of warfare, and deserved to feel its full effects : they had invaded the happy homes of a people of the same lineage—the same language as themselves, and it was only fitting they should be taught the miseries which they had inflicted upon others.

M'Clure now called out the militia of Genesee, Niagara, and Chatauque counties to defend the frontier, and established his head-quarters at Buffalo. Dreading, however, that the British would carry every post along the Niagara river, and unwilling to face the storm he had provoked, and incur the additional odium of defeat, he resigned the command of the district to Major-General Hall. The latter soon found himself at the head of 2000 men, and proceeded to make the best dispositions he could for the defence of Buffalo and its neighborhood.

On the morning of the 28th of December, the indefatigable Drummond was at Chippewa, next day within three miles of Fort Erie, and now determined to assail the enemy's position at Black Rock. Accordingly, on the night of the 30th, Riall, at the head of 540 regulars, 50 militia volunteers, and 120 Indians, crossed the Niagara two miles below the post he was to attack, and landed without opposition. Next morning at day-break this detachment pushed briskly forward against Black Rock : at the same time, the Royal Scots crossed the river above the village to effect a diversion in its favor, take the enemy in the left flank,

* Murray's despatch to Drummond, Dec. 19th, 1813, M'Clure's despatch to Armstrong, Dec. 22nd, 1813. Christie, vol. 2, p. 138, 139.

and cut off his retreat toward Buffalo. This corps suffered severely from the guns in battery along the river, and was not able to land in time to take part in the spirited action that ensued. The troops already landed moved up to attack the enemy, who was strongly posted, with great spirit, and after an obstinate contest the Americans were driven through their batteries, and retreated towards Buffalo. The British followed closely in pursuit, and although the enemy endeavored to check their advance, by throwing a body of cavalry and infantry with a field-gun across their front, they pushed steadily forward. Buffalo, from which the affrighted inhabitants had already fled, was given to the flames, as well as three vessels of Perry's squadron. Black Rock shared the same fate, together with a vast quantity of stores : and from Lake Ontario to Erie, the American frontier was one vast scene of desolation. These important successes were not accomplished without loss : the British had 31 killed, 72 wounded, and 9 missing.* The American loss has never been correctly ascertained, but was supposed to amount to nearly 400 killed and wounded, in addition to 130 prisoners.

With these acts of retribution, the justice of which was admitted by the sufferers themselves, while they denounced the conduct of their own army in commencing such a mode of warfare, closed the campaign of 1813, which terminated to the complete disgrace of American arms. With exception of the extreme portion of western Canada, the enemy did not hold a single position on British soil, and the possession of Amherstburg was more than counterbalanced by the loss of Niagara. His large armies had been beaten back by mere petty detachments ; and dispirited and discouraged were compelled to retreat into their own territory, the laughing-stock of the military men of Europe. Not only was the conduct of the British regulars much better than that of the American, but the Canadian militia, of French, British, and American extraction, had also proved themselves infinitely superior, both for aggressive and defensive warfare, to the militia of the enemy. This circumstance goes far to establish the fact, that the climate of Canada is more favorable to the growth of a hardy and military population, than the milder and more luxurious regions farther South.

Nor were American arms more successful, on the whole, at the seaboard than in Canada. Despite the victories won at sea, by their well manned and admirably equipped frigates, they were unable to release their commerce from the close blockade established by the fleets of

* Riall's despatch to Drummond, Jan. 1st, 1814. Hall's despatch to Armstrong, Dec. 31st, 1813. Christie, vol. 2. p. 138—144.

Great Britain, and their vast merchant marine lay idle in their harbors, while their decreased import revenue had to be made good by other and more direct taxation, to meet the heavy expenses of the war. The conquest of Canada was as remote as ever, and the fact began to force itself on the attention of the American people, that they must emerge from the contest with little honor and no profit whatever.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST, CONTINUED.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

The Legislature of Lower Canada was convened on the 13th 1814. of January, and congratulated by the Governor, in his speech opening the session, on the satisfactory results of the campaign of the preceding year. One of the first measures of the House, was to pass an act increasing the issue of "Army Bills" to fifteen hundred thousand pounds. A Bill to disqualify Judges for seats in the Legislative Council was next introduced and passed in the Assembly, and sent to the Upper House, where it was thrown out on the grounds that it was unparliamentary, and interfered with the prerogative of the Crown.

After passing a vote of thanks to Colonel De Salaberry, for his gallant conduct at the Chateaugay River, and to Colonel Morrison for the defeat of Boyd at Chrystler's Farm, the Assembly proceeded to take into consideration the authority exercised by the courts of justice in the province. After some discussion they came to the conclusion, that the "Rules of Court" adopted in the Court of Appeals and King's Bench, during General Craig's administration, were contrary to parliamentary enactment, and subversive of the rights of liberty and property. For the adoption of these Rules, and other misdemeanors, Chief Justices Sewell and Monk, were now formally impeached by the Assembly, who employed Mr. James Stuart, an eminent lawyer, and member of the House, to prosecute them in England. They soon after passed a supply bill, which made provision for £2000 to defray Stuart's expenses in England. This item was struck out by the Legislative Council; and, as the Commons refused to submit to the amendment, the bill was lost. After agreeing to an address to the Prince Regent on the state of the province, showing the urgent necessity of early assistance to enable it to resist effectually the aggressive acts of the United States, and the transaction of some minor business, the last session of the seventh parliament of Canada terminated on the 17th of March.

In Upper Canada, the Legislature met at Toronto on the 15th February, and enacted several useful statutes. The principal of these were a more effectual militia bill, an act to provide for the issuing and circulation of government bills for one year, and another appropriating £6000 to repair roads and build bridges.

Meanwhile, the most strenuous exertions were made to prepare for the ensuing campaign. Stores of all descriptions were forwarded by sleighs, from Montreal and Quebec to Kingston, at enormous expense. In the month of February the second battalion of the 8th Regiment, marched upwards from New Brunswick, and 250 seamen for the lakes came by the same route.

In the month of March, deputies, as in the old days of the French governors, descended from the west to have a conference with the representative of King George at the castle of St. Lewis. They represented their poverty, owing to the Americans having deprived them of their lands, and desired that peace might not be made till they recovered their ancient hunting grounds. "Father," said one chief, "the Americans have no hearts—they have no pity on us. They take our lands from us every day, and seek to drive us beyond the setting sun. But we hope that our mighty father beyond the great salt lake will not forsake us in our distress, and will continue to remember his faithful Red Children." After some days' sojourn at Quebec, they were loaded with presents, and sent back to prepare their tribes for the approaching campaign.

The subjugation of the western extremity of Canada, had by no means been completed by the defeat of Proctor. The sturdy militia of this district were not disposed to submit themselves slavishly to American military despotism, and the appearance of a respectable British force amongst them was alone required to rally them again in defence of their country. The successes on the Niagara frontier had enabled General Drummond to turn his attention in that direction, and detachments were pushed westward to drive in the American scattered parties towards Detroit. The militia, now partially armed, were immediately on the alert to second this movement, and 28 of them, under Lieutenant Metcalf, captured 30 American regulars near Chatham. Another party, however, were not so fortunate in an attack, near Lake Erie, on a body of American rangers, made in connection with a company of regulars, and some Indians, on the 14th of January. The enemy secured themselves by an intrenchment and breastwork, and defeated their assailants with a loss of sixty-five killed and wounded and only eight casualties on their own side. Nevertheless, feeling sa-

tified that they owed their safety solely to the strength of their position, they decamped after the action as speedily as possible.

Two disastrous campaigns had not sufficed to cool the ardor of the American Democracy for war; and with the first days of opening Spring, their generals began to develop their plans for another attempt at the conquest of the Canadas. Great preparations were made to retrieve their disasters of the preceding years: their troops were better drilled, and better officered. Among their general officers Scott now appeared for the first time, having been raised to the rank of brigadier.

The first movements of the campaign commenced in the neighborhood of Lower Canada. Wilkinson had descended from Salmon River to Plattsburg, and anxious to strike an important blow as early in the season as possible, crossed the Canadian frontier, on the 22nd of March, and took possession of the village of Phillipsburg, just within the lines, on the east side of Lake Champlain. From this place he proceeded to the west side of the lake, on the 26th, with the view of attacking a small British force stationed at La Colle Mill, about 10 miles distant from Rouse's Point. His army consisted of over 5000 regular infantry, with 100 cavalry, and 11 guns.*

The mill about to be carried, as Wilkinson supposed by the large force under his command, was an ordinary quadrangle, fifty feet long by thirty-six wide, and two stories high, with a common shingle roof. The walls, eighteen inches thick, were pierced by several windows, now filled up with logs, in which loop-holes to fire through had been cut. On the opposite bank of the La Colle River, crossed at this point by a wooden bridge, was a small house at an angle with the mill, which had been surrounded with a breastwork of logs. For a distance of 100 yards or so around this position, which was far from being a strong one, the woods had been cleared. The ordinary garrison of La Colle Mill was under 200 men, commanded by Major Hancock, while the few troops hastily drawn together to support them, on the advance of the enemy becoming known, did not exceed 300 more. The latter consisted of the two flank companies of the 13th regiment, a company of Canadian Fencibles, and another of Voltigeurs. With his slender force of less than 500 men, did Hancock resolve to hold a post, which a few hours fire of well-directed artillery would have levelled to the ground, against a well-appointed army.

At one o'clock, p. m., on the 30th of March, Wilkinson, after having

* In the council of war held on the 29th of March, Wilkinson stated his force to be 3999 combatants. This force was joined next day by Brigadier Maccomb with his brigade, which made the entire force fully up to 5000 men.

made a demonstration against the outpost at Burtonville, occupied the woods close to La Colle Mill with his entire force, which he deployed into line with the view of surrounding the British position, and carrying it with the bayonet. His troops cheered loudly as they advanced; but the well-aimed and rapid fire with which they were received, soon compelled them to waver, and retreat back into the wood for shelter. Three guns, eighteen, twelve, and six-pounders, were now brought to bear upon the mill, within point-blank range. But these were badly served, and did little injury, while the artillery men suffered severely from the British musketry, and the fire of their two guns. The enemy was also held in check on the side of the Richelieu, by the fire of two sloops and two gun-boats, which had advanced towards the scene of action from Isle-aux-Noix, but these had to remain too far away to do much service. Desperate as were the odds, the flank companies of the 13th regiment and the Canadian Voltigeurs and Fencibles made two gallant charges, in turn, to capture the enemy's guns, but were repulsed by the sheer force of numbers, the fire of his artillery, as well of two brigades of infantry being directed against them.*

For full four hours did these few hundred gallant men withstand an army. As evening approached their ammunition began to fail. Still they did not quail. Not a man spoke of surrender: and the daring front they had shown during the day, deterred the enemy from assaulting their position with the bayonet. At 6 o'clock Wilkinson retreated from the Canadian grist mill, completely foiled and beaten, and retraced his steps to Plattsburg. His repulse was infinitely more disgraceful than that sustained by Abercromby, before the lines of Montcalm at Ticonderoga. There the British bravely endeavored to storm: the American army made no attempt of the kind.†

In the defence of La Colle Mill the British loss was 11 killed, 46 wounded, and four missing. The American loss has never been stated, but it must have been much greater.

The check sustained by Wilkinson led the American government to abandon the idea of subduing Lower Canada for the present, and after leaving garrisons in the principal posts on Lake Champlain, his army was moved to the neighborhood of Lake Ontario, to operate against the Upper province. Here the campaign was opened, under the most favorable auspices for Canada, by Commodore Yeo and General Drummond. On the 4th of May the British squadron, which by the construction of two new ships had obtained the ascendancy on the lake,

* Colonel M'Pherson's evidence at Wilkinson's court-martial.

† Williams's despatch to Prevost, March 13th, 1814. Hancock to Williams,

with 1080 troops on board, left Kingston for Oswego, where a landing was effected on the morning of the 6th, after a smart action with the enemy, who was completely put to flight. The troops then proceeded to destroy all stores which could not be carried off, dismantle the fort, and burn the barracks and bridges.* Seven heavy guns, two of smaller calibre, a quantity of shot and gunpowder, two schooners and several small craft, and 1900 barrels of flour, &c. were brought away.† The British loss, on this occasion, amounted to 1 officer and 18 men killed, 2 officers and 60 men wounded; the Americans admit a loss of 69 killed and wounded and 60 prisoners.

The next operation of Commodore Yeo's fleet was to blockade Chauncey in Sackett's Harbor, and intercept the supplies forwarded there from Oswego. On the morning of the 29th of May, 16 boats of the enemy, laden with military and naval stores were discovered inshore. One of these was captured, the remainder took refuge in Sandy Creek, whither Yeo despatched Captains Popham and Spilsbury, with two gun-boats and five barges, to cut them out. They entered the creek on the 31st; but were speedily attacked in flank and front by a strong body of the enemy's riflemen, militia, cavalry, and 200 Iroquois, and overpowered after a desperate defence. Their resistance so irritated the Indians, that they were with difficulty withheld from massacring the entire party on its surrender. The loss on this occasion was 18 killed, 50 wounded, and 138 prisoners.

While these events were transpiring at the lower end of Lake Ontario, the American forces were being concentrated along the Niagara frontier, for another invasion of that part of Canada. Their want of success hitherto by land had taught the Americans experience, and great exertions were made to have their troops better drilled and better officered than ever. Major-General Brown, who now commanded, was an officer of much greater resolution and ability than any of those who had preceded him, and the brigadiers under him were of the same stamp. The Americans had seen by this time, that their invasion of Canada was a hopeless task; still they persevered in endeavoring to force their yoke on an unwilling people; yet, evidently, more now from a desire to restore their tarnished military reputation, than anything else. But the close of the war in Europe by the abdication of Napoleon, and his banishment to Elba, left the British at liberty to give effectual assistance to the Canadian people; and there was much

* Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 7th May, 1814.

† Yeo's Letter to Mr. Croker.

more likelihood of the United States being invaded and assailed in all its borders, than that its armies should retain possession of one acre of these provinces.

The unsatisfactory prospect now before them, as well as the long continuance of a profitless and disastrous war, gave renewed strength to the American peace party. The heavy taxes imposed to defray the largely increased public expenditure, and the almost total stoppage of commerce of every kind, added greatly to the popular discontent.

The stern pressure of adversity had already begun to teach the 1813. American Democracy wisdom; and their murmurs compelled their government to recede, in some measure, from its position of inveterate hostility towards Great Britain and the Canadas. In the month of March, a message from the President to Congress recommended the repeal of the Non-importation act. The American House of Representatives, high as their hopes of conquest had been, now saw fit to lower their tone of defiance, and adopting the pacific suggestions of Madison, repealed the Embargo as well as the Non-importation act. Sanguine hopes were thus awakened throughout the Union that hostilities would speedily be terminated. But the American people were soon undeceived on this head. They had endeavored to grasp Canada, when almost wholly unprotected by regular troops, and as they supposed entirely at their mercy, but had been repelled, principally by its gallant militia; they had striven to drive Great Britain from her last foothold in their neighborhood, the attempt entailed defeat and disgrace; the hour of punishment had now arrived. Never did an unrighteous invasion bring its curse more surely or swiftly with it, than that which the unbridled Democracy of the United States directed against the inhabitants of these provinces. On the 25th of April, Great Britain replied to the pacific overtures of Congress by declaring the whole American sea-board in a state of blockade. This declaration added largely to the existing discontent, and it appeared for a time as if the New England States would secede from the Union. The direct taxes had advanced fifty per cent, various new imposts had been added, and so low had the credit of the country fallen, that government could not negotiate a loan, and was compelled to issue treasury bills, similar to those of some Canadian incorporated cities, and which bore interest in the same way, to supply the want of a circulating medium.

Under these circumstances it might naturally be supposed, that if the American Democracy possessed that large portion of humanity 1814. and forbearance they lay claim to, they would leave the people of Canada to carry out in peace whatever mode of govern-

ment they deemed proper; and the more especially as they now saw clearly they could gain no advantage from further hostilities.* But, although war promised only bloodshed and ruin, they determined to persevere in their projects of invasion. Accordingly, on the 3rd of July, two strong brigades under Brigadiers Scott and Ripley, crossed the Niagara river from Buffalo to Fort Erie. Here a small garrison of 170 men had been left, more with a view of giving a temporary check to the enemy, and allowing time for troops to concentrate for the protection of the frontier, at any menaced point, than for the purpose of a protracted resistance.

Unfortunately Major Buck, of the 8th regiment, who now commanded there, did not sufficiently weigh the importance of his post, and surrendered without firing a shot, thinking it would be only a useless loss of life to oppose the large army, fully 4000 strong, besides Indians, which had advanced against him. To resist this formidable invasion, made too by all regular troops, there were only 1780 regulars along the entire Niagara frontier, including the garrisons at the different forts. But Major-General Riall, now commanding at this point, determined nevertheless to check the advance of the enemy; who, led by General Brown, pushed down the river towards Chippewa, on the morning of the 4th, with the view of capturing that village which formed the extreme right of the British position extending to Niagara. During the day, however, Brown made no attempt to carry this post, and contented himself with solidly establishing his troops a short distance above it.

On the morning of the 5th, Riall having been reinforced by the 3rd Buffs, 600 strong, from Toronto, determined to become the assailant with 1500 regulars, 300 Indians, and 600 militia. Brown had taken up a good position; his right rested on some buildings and orchards close on the river, and strongly supported by artillery; his left extended to a wood, with a strong body of riflemen and Indians thrown out on his flank and in advance.

Riall began the battle shortly after 4 o'clock in the afternoon, by pushing his main-body in columns of echelon against the enemy's line, with the view of breaking through, and turning it at three different points. At the same time a body of militia, with the entire Indian

* The American troops had not yet wearied of burning the barns, and destroying the homesteads of the people they desired to free. On the 18th of May Colonel Campbell, with 500 infantry, crossed from Erie to Dover in Canada, and burned down the entire village. The inhabitants did not make the slightest hostile demonstration of any kind.

force, were thrown to the right to dislodge his light troops and savages from the wood. But the Kentucky riflemen fought stoutly, while the Iroquois effectually held the Canadian Indians in check, and neither were dislodged until assailed by the light companies of the Royal Scots and 100th regiment. Meanwhile, the heads of the attacking columns were crushed again and again, by the discharges of the long and solid American line, which stood its ground bravely, and fired with rapidity and precision. Riall at length finding himself unable to penetrate it, was reluctantly obliged to order a retreat, having sustained a loss of 157 killed, and 320 wounded. The American loss was little more than half as severe.

This battle was the most considerable fought as yet during the war, and the unusual steadiness and good conduct of the American troops, showed the advantage of better discipline and superior general-officers. Riall made a serious mistake in attacking an army strongly posted and twice his own strength, but had doubtless been induced to take this step from the supposition that the enemy would be beaten as easily as usual. His defeat clearly proved that the British had now to contend against abler commanders and better troops, and that a nearer equality of numbers must be possessed to insure success. Had Riall been content to act on the defensive, and cover himself by intrenchments at the favorable ground on the eastern side of the Chippewa Creek, his position would be very difficult to force, and the attempt could scarcely fail to result in the defeat of the enemy. His desperate bravery, however, had one good effect; it showed the Americans, that if they established themselves in Canada, it would only be by very hard fighting.

Although the British army had been defeated, the enemy took no active steps to improve the victory he had won, and seemed as if he had got plenty of fighting for one day. Riall retreated in admirable order, little disturbed by his cavalry or light troops, and not a gun, nor a prisoner did he lose, except the wounded he had been compelled to leave on the field.* A rapid and vigorous pursuit must have seriously embarrassed him, but Brown attempted nothing of the kind. Taking the smallness of the British force into consideration, and the severe loss sustained in killed and wounded, a retreat such as it now effected was almost equivalent to a victory.

Dreading that the enemy by a flank march would cut him off from Burlington Heights, and thus destroy his communication with Toronto, Riall, after a short pause at Chippewa, continued his retreat to Twenty-

* Riall's Despatch to Drummond, 6th July.

mile Creek, throwing reinforcements into Forts Mississaga, George, and Niagara, as he passed by. Meeting, however, with the 103rd regiment, and two companies of the 104th, he returned towards Niagara, and established himself near the Twelve-mile Creek.

Meanwhile, General Brown advanced leisurely down the frontier, and occupied Queenston, from whence he made demonstrations against Forts George, Niagara, and Mississaga. Here he remained till the 23rd, and during the interval his light troops and Indians scattered themselves over the neighborhood, and plundered and burned dwellings and barns in every direction. On the 19th, Colonel Stone caused the village of St. David, containing some thirty houses, to be burned down; fences were next torn up, forage carried off without payment, wherever it could be laid hands on; and, on every occasion, the American outposts acted as if they had been in a country, the inhabitants of which were their deadliest enemies. The unfortunate Canadians, maddened by their losses, were driven to desperation, and fired upon the invaders whenever an opportunity presented itself. Scarce a foraging party returned without leaving some of their number, who had been killed or badly wounded, behind.*

Brown had expected to be supported in the sieges of Forts George and Niagara, by Chauncey's fleet. The British squadron having now the command of the lake, he was disappointed in this respect, and finding the garrisons on the alert, and that nothing could be effected by surprise he retreated to Chippewa on the 24th, followed by Riall, who established himself at Lundy's Lane, in his immediate neighborhood, on the 25th.

No sooner had General Drummond heard, at Kingston, of the advance of a large American army across the Niagara frontier, and of the battle of Chippewa, than he hastened to Toronto, and from thence immediately proceeded to Niagara, where he arrived on the morning of the 25th. Here he learned of the retreat of Brown on the preceding day, and of the advance of Riall, whom he at once determined to support, on his rear. Directing Colonel Tucker to move up the American side of the river from Fort Niagara, in order to disperse or capture a body of the enemy assembled at Lewiston, he pushed forward to Queenston.†

Brown was speedily informed of these threatening movements, and dreading that Tucker intended to capture his baggage and stores at

* Letter of Major M'Farland, an American Officer of Brown's army.

† Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 27th July, 1814.

Schlosser, if he was not forced to retreat by a counter advance on his own part, determined to put his army in motion towards Queenston. He accordingly directed General Scott, with the first brigade, the cavalry, and a battery of artillery, to move in that direction, and if he met the British in force, to report to that effect, when the remainder of the army would march to assist him. In pursuance of these instructions, Scott advanced to the Falls, and finding the British in larger numbers than had been anticipated, he despatched an orderly with a request that Brown should at once push on to his assistance.*

Meanwhile, the enemy at Lewiston having decamped, Drummond directed Tucker to return to Niagara, and moved forward himself with 800 regulars to support Riall at Lundy's Lane, or Bridgewater, as it is styled by American writers. He reached the neighborhood of this position at half-past 5 o'clock in the evening, and found that Riall, instead of occupying the hill he had expected, had already commenced a retreat, his advance, composed of 800 regulars and militia, being a considerable distance away on the upper road to Queenston. Despatching an aid-de-camp to recall these troops, Drummond at once took possession of the little eminence at Lundy's Lane, on the summit of which he placed five field-guns in battery, with two brass 24-pounders a little in advance. His line of battle was formed with rapidity and skill. The 89th regiment, a detachment of the Royal Scots, and the light companies of the 41st, he posted in rear of the battery, the centre and key of his position. To the right, the Glengary Light Infantry prolonged the line; to the left, were posted a body of incorporated militia, and a detachment of the 3rd Buffs. On the road, in rear of the left, were stationed a squadron of the 19th light dragoons. Drummond's entire force, thus formed in battle array, amounted to 1600 men. Scott's brigade advancing against him was 2000 strong, exclusive of cavalry and artillery; the second brigade under Ripley, soon rapidly pushing up to support the latter, was nearly of equal strength, while the militia, under General Porter, and his cavalry, made up Brown's army to fully 5000 men.

When Drummond arrived on the ground, the enemy was already within 600 yards of the advantageous position, of which he at once so promptly and skilfully took possession. He had barely time to complete his formation, when the whole front was warmly engaged. But the decision and skill of the British general had already half won the battle. The battery, so judiciously placed, was admirably served, and swept the field with terrible rapidity, while the sharp rolling

* Brown's Despatch to Armstrong.

volleys of the infantry held Scott's superior numbers effectually in check. For three quarters of an hour did the battle rage on something like equal terms in point of strength; then Ripley's brigade came on the ground, with another battery of artillery, and Drummond's little army had now to contend against three times its number. Brown at once availed himself of his superior force to out-flank his opponent's line. The 25th American regiment swept round the British left, forced it back at an angle with the centre, gained temporary possession of the road, and the cavalry, following behind, made several prisoners, and General Riall, who had been severely wounded and was passing to the rear, among the rest. But the Canadian militia-men of the left gave way no further than the brow of the road; and there, although pressed hard by immensely superior numbers, did they gallantly hold their ground, and effectually covered the rear of the centre and right.

Meanwhile, the battle raged furiously at the centre of the British line, on which the Americans made fierce and repeated attacks, but were repulsed again and again with steady valor, to be afterwards smote down with terrible carnage by the fire of the artillery as they fell back to reform. Presently, night drew its sable pall over the battle-field; still the combat raged with desperate obstinacy. The assailants, maddened by their losses, pressed forward repeatedly to capture the British guns, and even bayoneted the gunners in the act of loading, but were as often repulsed. They next pushed up their own guns within a few yards of Drummond's battery, and thus maintained a combat of artillery. At one time, led by Colonel Miller, they forced the 89th back and captured several of the British cannon, but a vigorous bayonet charge recovered them again, and took a gun in addition from the enemy, together with several tumbrils.

About 9 o'clock there was a brief lull in the battle, while Scott's brigade, which had suffered severely, was being withdrawn by Brown and placed in reserve, and Ripley's fresher troops pushed to the front. Luckily, at this time, the remainder of Riall's division whose retreat on Fort George, as already stated, had been countermanded by Drummond, came up, with two guns, and having been joined on its way by 400 militia, the hard pressed British combatants were reinforced by 1200 fresh troops, with some of whom their line was prolonged at the right, which it was apprehended the enemy might out-flank; the rest were placed in reserve. The moon now rose dimly over the battle-field, and flung its uncertain light from behind a mass of thin feathery cloud on the hostile ranks, enabling the eye to scan the slope in front of the British position, strewed thickly with the dying and the dead

the plaintive groans of the wounded mingling strangely and chillingly, the while, with the dull, leaden, yet terribly voluminous roar of the mighty cataract close by.

The contest was again resumed. Long thin lines of fire marked the discharges of the hostile infantry, while ever and anon the artillery shot out a red volume of flame, and then its thunders reverberated across the bloody field, to waste themselves in fitful echoes amid the continuous roll of the Niagara. A momentary pause succeeds, and the cries of the wounded for water fell ominously on the ears of the still uninjured. Till midnight did this terrible combat continue, when Brown finding all his efforts fruitless to force the British position, retreated to Chippewa, leaving Drummond in full possession of the battle-field.

Such was the battle of Lundy's Lane, the most fiercely contested, and bloody in its results, of any fought in Canada during the war. The Americans, as we have already seen, had largely the advantage in point of numbers; the British the best position. Still, it is difficult to imagine how 1600 men could have resisted an army of 5000 for nearly three hours, had the latter been skilfully commanded. The field of battle was open, there was no bush fighting, no breast-work of any kind, and the eminence, held by the British was only of trifling height and quite easy of ascent. The Americans showed a desperate courage, worthy of their British descent, and had Brown wielded his large columns more skilfully, Drummond could scarcely fail to have been beaten. He committed a blunder in not knowing more of the British force in his front, and Scott committed a still greater blunder in commencing the battle before Ripley's brigade came up. Had the whole American army been at once thrown skilfully against the hostile line, it must have been out-flanked and hemmed in, and Drummond would have been compelled to retreat, or have his small force destroyed. While their troops behaved admirably, neither Brown nor Scott displayed the genius of the skilful military tactician, and literally fought the battle by detachments,* to be repulsed in detail. They sought to win a victory by the mere physical courage of their men, while their superior numbers should have decided the contest in their favor, with one-half the loss they sustained in being beaten.

The Americans claim they won a victory at Lundy's Lane, but on what grounds it is difficult to imagine. They did not drive the British army from its position. If for a brief space they had its guns in their possession, a bayonet charge compelled them to surrender them again, besides losing one of their own in addition. Nor did they remain in

* Armstrong, vol. 2 p. 93-95.

possession of the battle-field. That honor rested with the British troops, and the gallant Canadian militia. The latter fought for their country with illustrious valor, and behaved with all the coolness and courage of the best veteran soldiers. The loss of the American army, also, was the most severe, being 930 killed and wounded, and 300 prisoners; while that of the British, prisoners included, only amounted to 870 men.* Generals Brown and Scott had been severely wounded during the battle. Drummond, also, was wounded in the neck, but remained upon the ground, nevertheless, till the enemy had retreated.

The active command of the American army now devolved upon Ripley, who was directed by Brown to make a fresh demonstration, against the British position, at day-break on the following morning. But a reconnoissance soon convinced Ripley that Drummond was fully prepared to receive him on precisely the same ground, and he, therefore, declined giving battle. Fearing to be attacked in turn, Brown now determined on retreat; and having, on the 27th, set fire to Street's Mills, destroyed the bridge over the Chippewa Creek, to check pursuit, and thrown his heavy baggage, tents, and provisions into the river, retired on Fort Erie, while Drummond's light troops, cavalry, and Indians followed rapidly in pursuit.

The destruction of its heavy stores, and the retreat of the American army so soon after the battle of Lundy's Lane, are clear evidences that it felt it had sustained a defeat. But, if additional proof on this point is required, it will be found in the fact, that Brown's *victorious* troops were soon cooped up in Fort Erie, or in intrenchments beside it, by a force little more than half their number. The curious spectacle was thus presented to the world of a larger force besieged by the smaller, and rendered perfectly useless for the remainder of the campaign.†

Ripley had made great exertions, during the brief interval of repose allowed him by Drummond, to strengthen the works of Fort Erie, while two vessels of war were placed so as to cover it towards the lake by their fire. These were captured, however, by the British in two boats brought overland for the purpose, on the night of the 12th of August. On the following morning, Drummond's batteries opened on the works, which their fire damaged so much that it was determined to carry them at once by assault.‡

This daring attempt to storm a fort supported by an intrenched camp, in which lay over 3000 men, by a force less than two-thirds the number of the enemy, had very nearly succeeded. The assailants were

* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 473.

† Ibid, vol. 4. p. 474.

‡ Drummond's Despatch to Prevost, 15th August, 1814.

divided into three columns, two of which established themselves before day-light, on the morning of the 15th, in a solid manner in a part of the Americans' works, and turned their own guns upon them. Unfortunately the third column under Colonel Fischer, was unable to co-operate, owing to the vigorous defence of the enemy.* Still, the troops already inside, firmly maintained their ground till a great part of them were killed, by the accidental explosion of a magazine close by, when the remainder retreated in dismay.

In this gallant, but abortive attempt, the British loss was very severe; 157 were killed, 308 wounded, and 186 made prisoners.† The American loss was trifling in comparison, and in killed and wounded scarcely reached 100 men. Nor was this the only repulse sustained by Drummond's force at this time. A simultaneous attack made against the enemy's position at Black Rock, with 460 men, under Colonel Tucker, also failed. Still, the American army, now commanded by Brigadier Gaines, had not the heart to follow up its success; and Drummond being reinforced, on the 17th, by the 6th and 82nd regiments from Lower Canada, was enabled to retain his position.

While the tide of war thus rolled fiercely along the Niagara frontier, hostile occurrences were also transpiring in the far west. Early in the Spring, Mackinaw had been reinforced by way of Nattawasaga, and from thence a force of 650 Canadians and Indians were detached, under Colonel M'Kay, for the capture of the enemy's post at Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi. This duty M'Kay effectually accomplished without the loss of a man, and thus completely established British influence with the western Indian tribes.

Early in the season, Armstrong, the American Secretary at War, had planned the re-capture of Mackinaw, and towards the latter part of July a force of 1000 men, under Colonel Croghan, proceeded to effect that object. With a part of this force, Major Holmes made a descent upon the stores belonging to the North-West Company at St. Mary's, and, after taking out all the furs and goods, reduced the buildings to ashes. But Holmes was not content with this robbery and destruction of private property, at a post where there was not a single military man. All the horses and cattle were killed, and the provisions and garden stuff, which could not be removed, destroyed.

On the 4th of August, Croghan arrived near the Fort of Mackinaw, and Colonel M'Dowall, commanding that post, at once made dispositions with 104 men to check his advance, the remainder of his little

* Fischer's Report to Drummond, 14th August, 1814.

† Alison's Hist. Europe, New York, vol. 4. p. 474.

garrison being required to man the guns. But the enemy landed in a direction different from that anticipated by M'Dowall. His march, however, was gallantly checked by a body of Indians, and Croghan was speedily compelled to retreat to his shipping, having sustained a loss of 64 killed and wounded. Among the killed was Holmes, the destroyer of St. Mary's, who had thus met a well merited fate. No further attempt was made on Mackinaw, which remained in undisturbed possession of the British till the termination of the war. Its safety was further secured by the capture, on the 5th of December, of two of the enemy's vessels, left in the neighborhood to intercept supplies for the garrison, by a small party of seamen and soldiers.

While these events were transpiring in the west, Sir John Sherbrooke, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was engaged in subduing that portion of the State of Maine lying nearest to New Brunswick. Early in July, a small force was detached from Halifax, under Colonel Pilkington, which took possession of Moose Island in Passamaquoddy Bay; the garrison of the fort there, consisting of seven officers and eighty men, surrendering themselves prisoners of war. On the 26th of August, General Sherbrooke sailed from Halifax, with all his disposable forces, established himself at Castine, on the Penobscot River, on the 1st September, without opposition, the enemy having blown up his magazines and retreated; and detached 600 troops, with a body of sailors, to capture or destroy the frigate *Adams*, which had run up to Hampden for safety. The batteries at this place were gallantly carried, and the enemy compelled to retreat, but not, however, till he had set fire to the *Adams*. Bangor was next captured without resistance; Machias also surrendered; and the whole country from Penobscot to New Brunswick, was formally taken possession of, and remained under British rule till the end of the war.

Meanwhile, the arrival at Quebec of 16,000 men of the Duke of Wellington's army, put it in Prevost's power to assume the offensive. Major General Kempt was accordingly despatched with a portion of this force to Upper Canada, with a view to a descent on Sackett's Harbor, while a body of 11,000 troops were concentrated on the Richelieu frontier, to operate against the enemy's posts on Lake Champlain. But, unfortunately, the naval part of this expedition, on which its success mainly depended, was not by any means in the same state of efficiency as the land force. It was composed of a frigate, the *Confiance* of 37 guns, one brig, two sloops, and twelve gun-boats, wretchedly equipped, not one-fifth of the crews being British sailors; the remainder were a strange medley of English soldiers, and Canadian militia.

On the 10th August, the American General, Izzard, had moved up

Lake Ontario, with 4000 men, to reinforce the troops besieged at Fort Erie, and enable them to assume the offensive, leaving the posts on Lake Champlain very slenderly defended. Prevost's advance, accordingly, met with no opposition; and on the 6th September his army appeared before Plattsburg, then protected by two block-houses and a chain of strongly fortified field-works, garrisoned by 1500 troops and some militia, under Brigadier Macomb. The three succeeding days were chiefly employed in bringing up the heavy artillery. Prevost did not think proper to open fire on the enemy's works, covered by his fleet of 14 vessels, until supported by the British squadron. But so backward was its state of preparation, that it only hove in sight on the morning of the 11th, and the shipwrights were still busily working on the hull of the *Confiance*, bearing the Commodore's flag, (Captain Downie) as she moved through the water.

The squadron which the British vessels were now bearing down to attack, was much their superior in men, tonnage, and weight of metal,* besides being supported by powerful land-batteries. Still Downie relied upon Prevost's assurance, that the enemy's position would be assailed by land while he attacked his fleet, and bore gallantly down to action. But instead of supporting this movement Prevost directed his men to cook their breakfasts. The result was what might naturally be expected. After a desperate battle the *Confiance*, *Linnet* brig, and *Chub* sloop, were compelled to strike their colors. The *Finch* struck on a reef and was of no use during the action, and nine of the gun-boats fled. Prevost at length put his attacking columns in motion; but, on finding that he could not expect succor from the fleet, he immediately withdrew them and resolved to retreat. The works would have been easily carried; a success in this way would have been a set off to the disaster of the fleet; and nothing could have equalled the indignation of the troops when they were ordered to retreat. Many of the officers indignantly broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again; and the army sullenly retraced its way to the Canadian frontier, undisturbed by the enemy. The disgraceful course, pursued on this occasion, effectually destroyed the military reputation of the Governor-in-chief;

* Comparative strength of vessels actually engaged:—

	British.	Americans.
Vessels - - -	8	14
Broadside guns -	38	52
Weight of metal, lbs.	765	1194
Aggregate of Crews	537	950
Tons - - -	1425	2540

and as he died before he could be tried by Court Martial, the stain still rests on his memory. On board the fleet, the loss in killed and wounded was 129, while the land force lost about 200. The loss of American fleet was nearly as severe as that of the British. Among the killed of the latter was the gallant Downie.

No sooner did the American force invested at Fort Erie, learn the disaster of the British at Lake Champlain, than they made a vigorous sortie on the afternoon of the 17th of September. Owing to the rain falling in torrents, they succeeded in turning the right of the besiegers' picquets, and after a sharp contest obtained possession of two batteries. But a reinforcement speedily coming up, they were at once driven back, and pursued to the very glacis of the fort whither they retired with precipitation, having sustained a loss in killed, wounded, and missing of 509 men. The British loss amounted to 600, of whom one-half, however, had been made prisoners in the trenches at the commencement of the sortie. Finding his men becoming very sickly, and learning also the advance of General Izzard's division, Drummond raised the siege on the 21st, and retired totally unmolested on Chippewa.

During the Autumn months, Chauncey had the advantage, both in the number and size of his vessels, of the British squadron on Lake Ontario. At length, on the 10th of October, the *St. Lawrence*, a vessel of 100 guns, was launched at Kingston, and the American Commodore immediately withdrew, and was blockaded in turn at Sackett's Harbor. The lake freed from the enemy's ships, troops and stores were conveyed to the army on the Niagara frontier; and although Izzard had now a fine force of 8000 men at Fort Erie, he blew up its works, recrossed the river, and left the harassed people of Upper Canada to repose. Beyond a foray of mounted Kentucky brigands, who marked their course with plunder and destruction, at the extreme west, the retreat of Izzard was the last event of a war, which completely burst the bubble of American invasion of Canada. The Treaty of Ghent, on the 24th of December, put a final termination to hostilities, and restored peace between two nations, whose language, laws, religion, and interests were identical, and who should, therefore, never have unsheathed the sword against each other.

The ostensible grounds of the war, on the part of the United States, were the Orders in Council, and the right of search; but its real cause was the desire to acquire Canada. On each of these points the American Democracy had been completely worsted. Peace was concluded without a word being said about the flag covering the merchandise, or the right of search; while Canada remained unconquered, and

far better prepared to defend herself at the close of hostilities than at the beginning.

From first to last the course pursued by the United States presents few grounds for justification. They had commenced an unholy war by the invasion of an unoffending and harmless people. When they found they could not basely seduce them from allegiance to their constitution, their generals burned their villages and farm houses, and plundered them of their properties. But, by a righteous dispensation of Providence they were most deservedly punished. Nothing had been gained by all the lavish expenditure of American blood and treasure. Not one solitary dollar had been added to the wealth of their people, nor one inch of land to their territory. On the other hand, their export trade, from twenty-two millions sterling, had dwindled down, in 1814, to less than one-and-a-half millions; and their imports, from twenty-eight million pounds sterling, had been reduced to three. Nearly 3000 of their merchant vessels had been captured, their entire sea-board insulted; two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes of the whole nation had become insolvent, and the Union itself was threatened with dissolution by the secession of the New England States.* Then, if Canada suffered much misery—if many of her gallant sons were laid low, by the ruthless blow of the pitiless invader, and her soil steeped with the blood of her brave militia, fighting in defence of their homes, the war was, nevertheless, a real benefit to her. The lavish expenditure of money enriched, more or less, all classes of her small population; and thus gave a vast impulse to the general prosperity of the country. Nor did this expenditure add much to the burdens of the people, being chiefly borne by the mother-country, while the inhabitants of the United States were grievously oppressed by taxation, and thus directly punished for their eagerness to engage in war, and coveting their neighbors' lands, while millions of acres of their own territory lay waste.

But, the most extraordinary feature of this war, was the course pursued by the great bulk of the Americans who, aside from the U. E. Loyalists, had emigrated to Canada. To their honor, be it said, they nobly adhered to their oath of allegiance, willingly enrolled themselves in the militia, and gallantly aided to stem the tide of invasion. It is true that a few Americans joined the armies of the United States, but so also did persons of British origin. Fortunately, the aggregate number of traitors of all descriptions was very small, when compared with the patriotic portion of the population. At the present day, the Ame-

* Alison's Hist. Europe, New York vol. 4. p. 482, 483.

rican settlers in Canada form a large and important class of the inhabitants. As a rule, they are sincerely attached to the country of their adoption, and make worthy, useful, and law-abiding citizens. Nor have they cause to blush for the land in which their lot has been cast. Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and Americans, should never hesitate to fuse themselves into a Canadian people, and help to build up a young, vigorous, and gallant nation in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and along the borders of our inland seas. Whether at the Crystal Palace of London, at the Paris Exhibition, at the Stock Exchanges of the Old World, or in any other part of the globe, no man need ever blush to be called a Canadian. Gallant in war, honest in peace, enterprising in trade and commerce, we tread "free soil" as a free people. If we have not the wealth of England, neither have we its landed oligarchy, to crush down the industrial classes; if we lack the population and cotton fields of the United States, we also lack its rabble and its slaves. Not a single national stigma rests on Canada. The course of its prosperity rolls on as steadily and as smoothly, as the current of the noble river, that forms its great highway to the ocean.

Another war with the United States is a very improbable contingency. If the Northern States sought to acquire Canada to make half a dozen new free states, the South would never give its consent. If the Southern States desired to make this a slave soil, the people of Canada would scorn to submit to such a fate. An independent nationality, or, what is still more probable, a continued connexion with the mother-country, on the present easy and mutual advantageous relations, is evidently the destiny of Canada. We would lose immensely by becoming a portion of the United States. Our import revenue would go to the General Government, instead of to purposes of public improvement as at present; our Legislature would dwindle into insignificance in the shade of Congress; and our commercial system would be wholly tributary to that of New York. Taxation, at the same time, would increase, while we would be completely involved in the slavery agitation, and in many other evils, from which we are now happily exempt.

CHAPTER XVI

LOWER CANADA FROM 1815 TO 1828.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GEORGE PREVOST, CONTINUED.

The Legislature of Lower Canada assembled on the 21st of January, and Mr. Panet having been called to the Upper House, Louis 1815. J. Papineau was elected speaker of the Assembly. Among the measures of the latter was a grant of £25,000 for making the Lachine Canal; another of £1000 per annum, as a salary to their Speaker; and a third grant to Joseph Bouchette, Surveyor-General of the province, to assist him in publishing his maps and topography of Canada. The question of having an agent in England was also taken up, and an address voted to the Governor, requesting him to procure the Prince Regent's sanction to the measure. It was also determined to prosecute their impeachment of Chief Justices Sewell and Monk, and as this could only be done in England, the appointment of judges entirely resting with the Imperial Government; the necessity of having an agent there became more pressing.

While the attention of the Assembly was thus occupied, a message from the Governor, on the 1st of March, officially announced the conclusion of peace. Accordingly, the embodied militia were immediately disbanded, officers receiving a gratuity of eighty days' pay. Provision was also made for a pension of six pounds per annum to each militia-man, rendered incapable by wounds of earning a livelihood. A small gratuity was likewise given to the widows and orphans of such as had been killed during the war, and an address voted to the Crown, recommending that donations of land should be made to the embodied and other militia, who had been engaged in actual service. The returns for the year ending January 5th, showed that the public revenues of the preceding twelve-month amounted to £204,550, the expenditure to £197,250 currency. Of the latter sum £111,451 sterling had been absorbed by military expenses, £5474 went to Upper Canada as its proportion of the customs' duties; £339 defrayed the expenses of the recent general election, £3693 those of the Legislature.

The business of the session having been completed, the House was prorogued by the Governor on the 25th of March. After alluding to the liberality of the Assembly, and the fortunate establishment of peace, he stated briefly that he had received the commands of the Prince Regent to return to England, "for the purpose of repelling accusations, affecting his military character," preferred by Commodore Yeo, with regard to the loss of the fleet on Lake Champlain. He concluded by paying a well-merited compliment to the people of Canada, for the zeal and loyalty they had manifested during his administration.

Prior to his departure on the 3rd of April, Sir George Prevost received addresses from the French citizens of Montreal and Quebec, couched in the most flattering terms. With the British minority of Lower Canada he was not, however, by any means popular. His concessions to the French-Canadian majority, had caused them to regard him with the utmost dislike, and his want of success at Sackett's Harbor and Plattsburg, was eagerly seized upon by the press to lower him in the public estimation. A calm review of all the points at issue, while it leads to the conclusion that Prevost was not a great military genius, must accord him the merit of much political sagacity and wisdom. He effectually united a population of different origin and antagonistic feeling in defence of their common country, and thus preserved Canadian nationality through a period of the greatest danger. In his conduct towards the Habitants, he pursued the same line of policy followed by General Murray and Lord Dorchester, to both of whom the Lower Province was largely indebted. His bodily health, naturally delicate, was seriously injured by the hardships of his overland journey from Quebec to the sea-board, part of which was performed on foot, and the anxiety of mind consequent on his unpleasant position. He died on the 12th of January, 1816, deeply regretted by his family and friends.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR GORDON DRUMMOND.

Lieutenant-General Drummond, with whom the reader is already well acquainted, assumed charge of the government of Lower Canada on the departure of Sir George Prevost. His first measure of importance, was the redemption of the Army Bills issued during the war. These had passed equally current with gold and silver, and were now honorably paid off. In the United States matters were very different. Their paper money, of the same nature, had greatly depreciated in value, and thus caused much confusion and loss.

The Legislature of the province again met on the 26th of 1816. January. In his opening speech, the Governor, after alluding to his own birth in Montreal, the indisposition of George III., the battle of Waterloo, and the necessity of renewing the militia act about to expire, recommended the House to revive the alien act. The good feeling, manifested by the address in reply, was of brief duration. On the 2nd of February, the Assembly were completely astounded by a message from the Governor, stating that the impeachment preferred against Sewell and Monk had been dismissed by the Prince Regent. But the Assembly were not to be so easily foiled. On the 24th, they decided, by resolution, to petition the Crown for permission to be allowed to substantiate their charges against the Chief Justices. The Home Government, anticipating a course of this kind, had instructed the Governor to dissolve the Assembly, if it persisted in its hostility to the judges. He accordingly prorogued the House on the 26th, and writs were at once issued for a new election. The old members were returned with a few exceptions. Meanwhile, Sir John Sherbrooke had been appointed Governor-in-chief of Canada. General Drummond departed for England on the 1st of May; and, on the 21st of the following July, the new Governor arrived at Quebec.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE.

Sir John Sherbrooke had conducted the public business of Nova Scotia with much tact and dexterity, and his Canadian reign opened with an augury of success. Early frosts had destroyed the preceding wheat crop, and famine threatened several parishes: but the Governor took prompt and efficient measures to avert the evil, and from thenceforth became a favorite with the people.

The Home Government was still resolute in its determination to support the Chief Justices, although by this time aware that the recent election had proved adverse to their wishes. But Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, did not by any means find Sherbrooke as pliant a tool as his predecessor. While he avowed himself prepared to execute the strongest measures the ministers of the crown might deem proper, he plainly stated the hopelessness of any attempt of this nature, owing to the great unpopularity of Sewell with the majority of all classes. asked for specific instructions, in case the new Assembly should again take up the matter of the judges, and broadly hinted the sounder policy of permitting the impeachment to have been fairly tried, instead of covertly quashing it in the Privy Council.

These representations convinced the Colonial Office, that it could no

longer support the judges openly against the current of popular opinion, and the Governor was instructed to pursue a temporising course, and conciliate the Roman Catholic clergy. But he speedily undeceived Lord Bathurst by informing him that the latter were fully as hostile to Sewell as the other classes. To his influence in the Legislative Council, was ascribed the frequent opposition it gave to the measures of the Assembly. He was also regarded as an enemy to projects of public improvement, and his arbitrary conduct in refusing a writ of Habeas Corpus to Bedard, had made a most unfavorable impression against him in the public mind. The Governor advised the Colonial Office to compromise by permitting the Assembly to appoint an agent in England; or by detaching Mr. Stuart, the principal enemy of the judges in the House, from the opposition party, by giving him office. He also recommended that the Speaker of the Assembly should be *ex officio* a member of the Executive Council.

Mr. Papineau was chosen Speaker of the new Assembly, 1817. which met on the 15th of January. The Governor's speech was courteously responded to, and the House at once took measures to release him from the responsibility he had incurred, in making advances to the extent of £14,216 for the relief of the distressed districts. A sum of £15,500 was appropriated in addition for the same purpose, and £20,000 were also voted for distribution in small loans to industrious farmers, to enable them to purchase seed for the ensuing Spring sowing. As the session progressed Mr. Stuart was completely foiled by government intrigue, in his endeavor to revive the impeachment of the judges. The Assembly decided to postpone the consideration of the question by a vote of 22 to 10. They also agreed to the proposition of the Governor, to pay the Speakers of both houses the very large salary of £1000 per annum each, during the present parliament. Chief Justice Sewell was the Speaker of the Legislative Council: and his friends thus dexterously managed to reward him for the trouble his impeachment had caused him. Mr. Stuart was so disgusted by the course of the Assembly, that he retired to Montreal, and did not again appear in public life till appointed Attorney General towards the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration.

In opening the ensuing session of the Legislature, the Governor 1818. nor stated, that the measures taken to avert the threatened famine had been attended with the happiest consequences. He also informed the Assembly, that its former offer to defray the expenses of the Civil List had been accepted by the Home Government.* This

* At this period the public income of Lower Canada arose from three sources :

intelligence gave the greatest satisfaction to the members, by whom the settlement of the Provincial Civil List, and the control of the public expenditure, had long been desired.

The duties levied by the Imperial Government, on imports into Canada, had been found wholly inadequate to defray the necessary civil expenditure, and prior to 1812 the deficiency had usually to be made up from the military chest. Subsequent to that period, the unappropriated revenues of the province had been taken for this purpose, and as their expenditure was unauthorised by the Assembly, the Imperial Government was in its debt for the sum of £120,000 sterling. This condition of things was fully explained to the Colonial Office by the Governor,* and as it was desirable to release the mother country from this burden, consent was now given that the Assembly of Lower Canada, should provide, in the same way as Nova Scotia, for the civil expenditure, by an annual vote of supplies.† In conceding this privilege, however, Lord Bathurst pressed it especially on the Governor's attention, that the concurrence of the Legislative Council should be necessary to the validity of all money bills; and, that in all grants for the payment of clergymen's salaries, the Protestant church should be first considered.‡

The estimates for the civil list, sent down at a late period of the ses-

1st. The *crown duties*, levied under the British statute of the 14 Geo. III., or the imperial act of 3 Geo. IV.

2nd. Provincial duties, payable in virtue of local laws, proceeding immediately from the provincial legislature, or rendered permanent without their consent, by the last-mentioned imperial act.

3rd. The Queen's casual and territorial revenue, which arises from her Majesty's landed property; namely, the Jesuit's estates, the Queen's posts, the forges of St. Maurice, the Queen's wharf, *droit de quents*, lods and vents, land fund, and timber fund.

With respect to crown duties, levied under 14 Geo. III., until they were surrendered in 1831, they were, with the territorial revenue, controlled and dispensed by her Majesty's responsible servants, while those levied under the imperial act of Geo. IV., and all provincial acts, have always been under the disposal of the legislature. As the crown duties, levied under 14 Geo. III., had generally, if not always, been inadequate to the support of the civil government and the administration of justice, Sir John Sherbrooke was instructed, in pursuance of the general system of retrenchment adopted throughout the empire, to call upon the legislature to appropriate, out of the Provincial duties, a sum equal to the annual deficiency. *Bubbles of Canada*, p. 75, 76.

* Sherbrooke's letter to Bathurst, March 18th, 1817.

† Bathurst to Sherbrooke, August 31st, 1817.

‡ Bathurst's letter to Sherbrooke, September, 8th, 1817.

sion amounted to £76,646 currency, while the revenue derived from the imperial duties, sale of crown lands, &c., was only £33,383, leaving a balance to be provided for by the Assembly, for the current year, of £43,263. This sum was voted after a long debate: but it was resolved that next session the estimate should be given in under detailed heads, and not in total, and provided for by bill, in order to place it on a more constitutional footing.*

Governor Sherbrooke's colonial experience made him dislike remaining in Canada, where he saw that the shuffling policy of ministers must sooner or later cause difficulties. His failing health, also, had tended to make him request his recall. He left Canada on the 12th of August, after having received the most gratifying addresses from all quarters.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The rank of the Duke of Richmond, as well as the fact, that he had already administered the government of Ireland, caused his arrival in Canada, on the 29th of July, to be hailed with gratification by the public. He was accompanied out by his son-in-law, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

The Duke's popularity was destined to be of very brief duration.

The fact that the annual estimate embraced a provision 1819. of £8000 sterling, to be granted in perpetuity as a pension fund, and was besides £15,000 larger than that of the preceding year, brought him speedily into unpleasant collision with the Assembly. In a committee of the whole they fixed the salaries of all public functionaries, from the Governor downwards, with the exception of those for what were deemed useless offices, which were struck off altogether. A bill was next introduced specifying the items of public expenditure, and making provision for them in detail. This bill was duly passed, but rejected by the Upper House, on the ground that the Assembly by specifying salaries in detail, trenched on the prerogative of the Crown. In other words the monstrous and unconstitutional principle was sought to be established, that the executive had a right to appoint what officers it pleased, at such salaries as it pleased, and that it was the duty of the Assembly to pay the estimates without enquiry. If this procedure of the Legislative Council was tamely acquiesced in, it was plain that the executive must have it all their own way, and that public economy need not be looked for.

Beyond voting £3,000 to enable the government to survey lands, to be granted to the militia who had served actively during the war, little business of importance was transacted during the remainder of the session. The House was prorogued by the Governor on the 24th of April in terms of censure, in consequence of their not having made provision for the civil list, nor reformed the judicature act, which it was considered allowed too much latitude to judges, and thus gave rise to great public dissatisfaction. In addition to Sewell and Monk, two other judges, Bedard and Foucher, had been impeached for mal-practices. But, owing chiefly to the difficulty of a prosecution, nothing further was effected in either case. Shortly after the session had terminated, the Duke drew upon the Receiver General, on his own responsibility, for the sum necessary to defray the civil list.

The decrease in the value of agricultural produce, and the complete destruction of its linen trade, owing to the jealous enactments of the British Parliament, and the general introduction of spinning and weaving machinery into England, reduced the now rapidly increasing poor population of Ireland to a deplorable condition. A large emigration to Canada accordingly took place during the Summer of this year. A considerable number of persons came also from England and Scotland, swelling up the total to 12,434, many of whom were in a state of destitution, and drew largely upon the charity of the benevolent.

Owing to the death of the Duke of Richmond,* on the 27th of August, while on a tour of inspection through Upper Canada, the administration of government devolved upon Mr. Monk, who in 1820. thought proper to dissolve the Assembly, on the 9th of February, in consequence of its refusal to vote the amount necessary for the civil list. The election as usual resulted unfavorably for the Executive. Papineau was again chosen Speaker, but the Assembly refused to do business on the ground that the member for Gaspé had not yet been returned, and that their body was therefore incomplete. Matters remained in this state till the 24th of April, when official intelligence arrived of the death of George III., and Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had meanwhile been appointed to the temporary charge of the province, accordingly dissolved the House.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE.

On the 18th of June, Lord Dalhouse, promoted from the Lieutenant-

* The Duke's death was caused by the bite of a tame fox, not suspected to be in a rabid state, with which he was amusing himself. This event occurred at Richmond, on the Ottawa, where the Duke also died.

Governorship of Nova Scotia, to be Governor-in-chief of Canada, and the rest of British North America, arrived at Quebec to assume charge of the administration. The general election took place immediately afterwards, and was particularly distinguished by an able speech from Mr. Papineau, at the hustings, to the voters of the west ward of Montreal, in which he contrasted, in forcible and appropriate language, the happy condition of the inhabitants under British sovereignty with what it had been in the old days of French dominion. "Then," said he, "trade was monopolised by privileged companies, public and private property often pillaged, personal liberty daily violated, and the inhabitants dragged year after year, from their homes and families, to shed their blood from the shores of the great lakes—from the banks of the Mississippi and the Ohio, to Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay. Now religious toleration, trial by jury, the Act of Habeas Corpus, afford legal and equal security to all, and we need submit to no other laws but those of our own making. All these advantages have become our birth-right, and shall I hope be the lasting inheritance of our posterity. To secure them let us only act as British subjects and free men."

The new parliament met on the 14th of December, and was immediately disturbed by a quarrel between its two branches, owing to the manner in which the supply bill was voted by the Lower House, which now made voluntary provision for the pension list, though not embraced in the estimate. The Legislative Council contended, that this list had already been permanently provided for, and not being included by the Executive, the Assembly had no right to assume its control. In support of this position, the Upper House agreed to a series of standing orders, to the effect, that they would not entertain any supply bill which should not be applied for, and recommended, by the King's representative; nor proceed upon any bill of appropriation for the civil list specifying the expenditure by chapters or items, unless such appropriation extended during the life of the reigning sovereign.

Thus the breach widened between the two branches of the Legislature. The Upper House, chiefly composed of members of British origin, who were mostly government dependents, took a position more and more in favor of centralising all real power in the Executive, and so secure for its members, place and pension, while the popular branch, from the very nature of its formation, leaned to a greater constitutional freedom, a purer administration, and an economical use of the public monies.

Hitherto, the Crown lands of the province, had been granted 1821. to favorites of government in the most prodigal manner.

During the ensuing session of the Legislature, this circumstance

was made the subject of investigation, and enormous abuses brought to light. Enquiry was also made into the conduct of the Receiver General of the province, an officer appointed by the Crown, and who was suspected to be largely a defaulter. He was extensively concerned in the lumber-trade, and the possession of the provincial monies by a person engaged in commerce, was a source of much dissatisfaction to the mercantile community. The payment of members of the House was again discussed, and negatived in committee. An attempt was likewise made to do away with several useless offices, and to compel the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, who drew a salary from it of £1500 sterling, to reside in Canada instead of in England. Appropriations were granted for several public purposes; among the rest, one to construct the Lachine Canal at the expense of the province, the incorporated company surrendering its privilege. As the disagreement still existed between the two houses, no provision was made for the payment of the civil list. Government, finding itself in an unpleasant predicament, had in the earlier part of the session made a concession to the Lower House by calling Papineau to the Executive Council; but was, nevertheless, unable to carry out its views.

Meanwhile, the province had been steadily progressing. The introduction of steamers on the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, had given a vast impetus to trade. Emigrants had rapidly crowded in, and the Eastern Townships now contained a population as large as that of all Canada at the Conquest. The revenue had increased to £150,000; the Lachine and Rideau Canals, great public works, were in progress, and the general condition of the country on the whole prosperous. At the same time party spirit had taken firm hold of the community, owing to the difference of origin, the arbitrary conduct of the Executive, and the quarrels which originated in the Legislature. Confident in their prowess, a desire for a distinct nationality began to take firm hold of the Franco-Canadian mind, owing to the intrigues chiefly of the popular leaders, who saw in "*La Nation Canadienne*" an accession to the place and power, denied them under existing circumstances. The British minority could not divest themselves of the idea that the French Canadians were a conquered people, that they alone had the right to govern, and chafed at their want of legislative influence. This feeling, as time progressed, became more and more intense, and displayed itself in a variety of ways, nearly all equally offensive to the other party, and tending to unite them still more closely in their dislike to everything British. The bulk of the Habitants were wholly uneducated—several members even of the Assembly could not write: they thus became the mere tools of the better informed and designing, who found

it their interest to foster their national prejudices, and make the mass of the people more completely French every day. The truth of Mr. Fox's statement, "that it would be wiser to unite still more closely the two races than separate them," became more and more apparent as time progressed. As things now stood, if an Englishman, or Irishman, or Scotchman, aspired to a seat in the Assembly, he had to divest himself of his national prejudices, learn the French language, and become a Frenchman to all intents and purposes.

While matters remained in this unsatisfactory condition, a dispute arose with Upper Canada, which now claimed a larger portion of the import duties than it had hitherto received. This dispute, in connection with the quarrels of the Lower Canadian Legislature, and the tendency to independence, now manifesting itself, determined the Imperial Parliament to interfere. A bill was brought in there which provided for the union of the two provinces; conceded all that Upper Canada had asked for; and made the Executive, to a certain extent, independent of the Assembly, as regarded an annual vote of supplies. This bill prevented the Legislature of Lower Canada from imposing new duties on imported goods, unless with the consent of the Parliament of the Upper Province, or that of the Crown. It also contained the very important provision of permitting parties to commute, by transaction with the Crown, the seigniorial tenure into free and common socage. With exception of the clause providing for the union of the provinces, omitted till the sense of the inhabitants should be ascertained, it passed into law, and became known as the "Canada Trade Act."

When the project of a union was published in this country, it caused very great excitement. The inhabitants of British origin generally, were strongly in favor of the proposal, while those of French descent, were as decidedly opposed to it. Public meetings were held by both parties, at which resolutions for and against the measure were adopted, and petitions were drafted accordingly, and forwarded to the Imperial Parliament. The French Canadians dreaded the total loss of their ascendancy in the province, and deprecated the project as one of bad faith; while the Anglo-Canadians, on the other hand, denounced this very ascendancy as retarding the prosperity of the country, as productive of anti-British feeling, and tending to check the growth of international commerce. The signatures and crosses appended to the anti-union petition, taken to England by John Neilson and Louis J. Papineau, amounted to sixty thousand. James Stuart carried home the petitions of the unionists. From this agitation the Governor wisely held wholly aloof.

Thoroughly alarmed by the projected union, which was generally regarded as a coercive measure, the Assembly came together, on the 10th of January, in a much more tractable spirit. After electing Mr. Villiers as their Speaker in room of Papineau, who still remained in England, the proposed union of the provinces was taken into consideration, and resolutions passed against it by a majority of fifteen to five. On these resolutions were based petitions to the Imperial Parliament and the Crown, which were transmitted to Papineau and Neilson for presentation. Sir Francis N. Burton, the Lieutenant Governor, having arrived in the meantime, his salary was increased from £1500 to £3000 sterling. The claims of the Eastern Townships to a more equal representation, and the establishment of convenient courts of justice therein, were taken into consideration. The new district of St. Francis was accordingly erected, and a judge appointed to it with an inferior jurisdiction. A Court of Quarter Sessions was also established in these Townships. The great difficulty of the Assembly was the question of a representation in their own body. The Eastern Townships were nearly all settled by persons of British origin, and if formed into counties their representatives must necessarily be opposed in opinion and feeling to French influence. By way of compromise a bill was introduced giving six members to these Townships, but which, at the same time, increased the representation of the rest of the province so as to preserve a large anti-British majority. This bill was very properly rejected by the Upper House.

The estimates for the civil list were laid before the Assembly on the 5th of February; and after some debating agreed to, and the necessary sums voted. Agreeable to instructions from the Home Government these estimates were of two kinds; one was for the fund over which government claimed the entire and independent control; the other specified the more popular expenditure, for which the Assembly was to make appropriation. Both estimates were given in detail. Several appropriations were also made for public works; pensions were granted to judges Monk and Ogden; and sums voted to the General Hospital at Montreal, and the Hotel Dieu at Quebec. On the whole, this session, which terminated on the 22nd of March, passed off satisfactorily. "It only remains for me," said the Governor, in the closing paragraph of his speech, when proroguing the House, to offer my warmest thanks for your assiduous and laborious attendance. I esteem the result of the session to be at once honorable to yourselves and useful to your country. Shortly afterwards it was officially promulgated, that his Majesty's government had relinquished the project of a union for the present.

Owing to the total failure of the Receiver General, John Caldwell, for £96,117 sterling of the public money, the Executive found itself so embarrassed for funds that the Legislature was called together on the 25th of November, to devise some measure for its relief. Caldwell proposed to surrender his private property, which he valued at £32,000, in liquidation in part of his debt ; and, if he was continued in office, to pay £1000 per annum until that portion of it which he considered due, amounting to about £45,000, was discharged. The balance he asserted ought to be allowed him, as it amounted to only three per cent on the whole monies passing through his hands, the Receiver General of Upper Canada having that allowance. No promise of this nature, however, had ever been held out to him ; and his offer can only be regarded as a cool piece of bankrupt official impudence.

In this light it was evidently viewed by the Assembly ; who, very justly, were averse to allowing such an enormous compensation for services so dishonestly performed. Alarmed at the additional burden this failure must impose upon the country, they sought to shift its responsibility to the Imperial Government, whose immediate servant Caldwell was ; and establish the sum deficient as a debt due from it to the province. As they had no control whatever over the Receiver General, who never accounted to them directly or indirectly, the correctness of their position can scarcely be doubted. It had long been known that Caldwell was likely to prove a defaulter ; and in allowing him to retain office under those circumstances, the government had been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty, and was promptly punished by the manner in which the occurrence strengthened the hands of the Assembly.

The estimates for the civil list were not laid before the House 1824. till a late period of the session. In going through its details twenty-five per cent were deducted from the salaries of all public officials, beginning with the Governor, and other measures adopted equally unsatisfactory to the Legislative Council, who at once rejected the bill. The Governor now called upon the Assembly to refund the advances he had made, from the military chest, to the Receiver General in 1822-3. This they refused to do on the ground that it was merely a loan of accommodation to the latter, then known to be a defaulter, and whom, instead of thus sustaining, it was the duty of the Executive to have at once removed. As the session progressed, some discussion took place on the claim put forward by the United States to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence, which was steadily resisted. An offer from Upper Canada to raise the tariff on importations was also taken into consideration, and rejected on the ground, that owing to the unfavorable state of commerce it would not be advisable to levy new

taxes. An address was voted to the Crown praying the division of the Clergy Reserves of the province among all Protestant denominations ; which emanating entirely from Roman Catholics gave great offence to members of the Church of England, who regarded the step as an improper interference with their concerns. After the transaction of some other business the Legislature was prorogued on the 9th of March. No provision had been made for the civil list, and several important matters otherwise left in a very unsatisfactory state.

On the 6th of June, Lord Dalhousie, having received leave of absence, departed for England, leaving Sir Francis Burton, the Lieutenant Governor to conduct the administration. The general election took place in July and August, and increased rather than diminished the Anti-Executive party in the Assembly. Very few members of British origin were returned, and of these some were opposed to the extreme monarchical views of the Executive. In the Legislative Council, Caldwell, the defaulter, was still permitted to retain his seat, a very questionable policy, and clearly showing how lightly the government regarded the enormous peculation of which he had been convicted.

The new Assembly met on the 8th of January, and, after 1825. choosing Mr. Papineau as its Speaker, proceeded to take into consideration the expediency of having judges rendered more independent by appointing them for life, instead of during the pleasure of the Crown as was then the case, and also by preventing them from sitting in the Legislative or Executive Council, a measure which would wholly remove them from the influence of government. But no decided measures on this head were adopted. The estimates were this time laid before the Assembly without any distinction being made between the appropriated funds of the Crown, and the sum required from the House to make up the deficiency. This seemed to be a tacit surrender of the Crown revenues to the control of the Assembly, an advantage it had long desired to acquire, and which placed the Executive completely at its mercy. It subsequently appeared, however, that the Lieutenant Governor was neither authorised, nor intended, to make any concession of the kind. Postponing the use of the new power they supposed themselves to have acquired, the Assembly voted the entire sum necessary for the civil list without specifying details, and in this shape, also, the bill passed the Upper House. Here two members strongly opposed it on the ground, that the practice of the British Commons should be followed, namely, to fix the amount of the civil list at the beginning of each reign, and then to grant the same for the life of the sovereign ; new items of expenditure only to be made the subject of a yearly vote. Placing public servants annually, they also

urged, at the mercy of the Assembly, had a direct tendency to republicanism. The bill was likewise disapproved of by Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary. In Canada, however, the results of the session gave very general satisfaction.

Lord Dalhousie, having returned from England, opened the 1826. next session of parliament on the 21st of January; and pursuant to his instructions, laid the estimates before the Assembly in two classes, as had been done before his departure. This produced a good deal of indignation among the members, who persisted in their determination to vote the supply bill as they had done the preceding session, and which, in this form, was now rejected by the Upper House. The usual grants, however, were made for public works, schools, &c., and were accepted by the other House and the Governor. A census made during the preceding year, by vote of the Legislature, gave the population of the province as 423,630 souls.

The next session of the Legislature was still more stormy. 1827. The Home Government adhered to its determination to retain disposal of the Imperial revenues, while the Assembly were equally resolute in their purpose to obtain their control. Both parties had gone too far to recede; and the French-Canadian leaders, having obtained a firm hold on the minds of the simple Habitants, now plainly desired the establishment of an independent nationality for their country, and to favor that object sought to push the government to an extreme position, and render it as odious as possible. In this they were eminently successful. The uneducated and unreflecting peasantry were only too prone to regard all who did not profess their own religion, or speak the same language as themselves, with dislike, and this feeling was now sedulously directed by demagogues against everything British. The generation of the Conquest had passed away, and the existing one knew little of the evils their fathers had been rescued from. The lapse of time had furnished unmistakeable evidence, how unfitted British statesmen were to legislate for a French population whom they did not understand.

In the first place, a great error had been committed in not securing the ultimate extinction of the French laws and language by the gradual introduction of those of England. Failing in this respect, a second mistake was made in altering the administration of Lower Canada from a Governor and Council, with which the people were well satisfied, to a popular legislature. In making that change, a third, and still greater blunder was committed, in not uniting both provinces, and thus fusing the British and French populations of the Canadas into one complete whole. The fourth error consisted in the unconstitutional; and in

many instances, arbitrary conduct of the Executive, and the endeavor to make the Upper House represent the British population, and act as a check on the Lower, which was almost exclusively French. The antagonism of the two races might, therefore, be said to begin in the very Legislature itself, the last place it should have made its appearance. The Assembly regarded the Upper House as the embodiment of British intolerance, pride, and exclusiveness—as the standing evidence of their national subjugation. The Upper House looked upon the Assembly as the representatives of a conquered people, always prepared for revolution, and desirous to free themselves from a dominion they detested. Both parties, to a certain extent, were right.

The system of government, adopted by the Colonial Department, led to the almost total exclusion of the French-Canadians of talent from office; and, thus, made the very men whose support was most desirable the bitterest enemies of the Executive. The mass of the people had literally no mind whatever of their own. They knew little of ordinary politics, absolutely nothing of abstract theories of government, and were completely at the beck of the designing and better educated professional men of their several neighborhoods, who were again swayed in turn by the crafty and visionary men of talent of the Papineau school. The administration of Sir James Prevost showed clearly what could be done by admitting the Franco-Canadian leaders to the confidence of the administration, and treating them as British subjects, not as conquered Frenchmen.

In short, the government of Canada was one continued blunder from the day in which Amherst signed the capitulation of Montreal to the union of the provinces. At the present moment, we are paying the penalty of British legislative folly, in having to anglicise a French population of three-quarters of a million; whereas, at the time of the Conquest the operation had only to be performed on seventy thousand souls. How much more sensibly did the Americans act when they acquired Louisiana, where their laws and language were immediately introduced into the courts. Had the English laws and language been gradually and wisely introduced into Lower Canada after the Conquest, instead of the bungling manner in which the measure was attempted to be effected, that province would now wear a very different aspect from what it does.

Finding the Assembly thoroughly untractable, the Governor for the first time resorted, in the month of July, to a dissolution. But, in pursuing this course, he fared no better than his predecessors. The Roman Catholic clergy held wholly aloof from the existing agitation, and their influence alone could have effectually served the Executive, and

enabled them to stem the current of popular opinion, now so deservedly running counter to their views, their places, and their pockets.

When the Legislature was convened in November, the Assembly once more chose Mr. Papineau for its Speaker. But the latter had recently spoken disrespectfully of the Governor, who accordingly refused to ratify their choice. Here was a new difficulty for which there was no Canadian precedent, so the House was literally non-plussed. A remonstrance to the Governor was voted, but he would not listen to any communication from the Assembly, until the House was legally organised by the appointment of a Speaker. For three days did matters remain in this unusual condition, when the Governor released the members from their embarrassment, by sending them home for the present.

The great bulk of the British population approved of the course pursued by Lord Dalhousie on this occasion, and addresses to that effect were presented to him from Montreal, Quebec, and the Eastern Townships. On the other hand, he was violently abused by the opposition prints, which led to the commencement of several libel suits. These were not afterwards prosecuted, however, owing to the departure of the Governor. The close of the year was distinguished by the endeavors of the Presbyterian Church, to obtain a share of the Clergy Reserves of the province.

Finding there was little prospect of the Governor making 1828. any concessions to their demands, the Anti-Executive party determined to lay their grievances by petition before the Imperial Parliament and the Crown. These grievances were chiefly based on the unconstitutional course of the Legislative Council, in throwing out useful bills passed by the Lower House, on the arbitrary acts of the Governor, and his expenditure of the public monies without authority from the Assembly. They were supported by the signatures of 87,000 petitioners, of whom, however, only 9000 could write: the remainder, like the red men of old times when they descended to hold council at Montreal or Quebec, made their marks; a fact which forcibly proclaimed the want of common schools in Lower Canada twenty-seven years ago. Their complaints affected Lord Dalhousie very little. His appointment to the Government of India was not invalidated thereby, and in his imperial palace at Calcutta, surrounded by princes of Mohomedan and Hindoo dynasties, shorn of their power and splendor by the servants of a commercial company, he swayed the destinies of one hundred millions of human beings from the Deccan to the Sutlege. There, a greater sovereign than any European potentate, he possibly forgot, for the time, his Canadian difficulties.

The increasing embarrassment of the administration of Lower Canada, determined the British ministry to release itself from all responsibility in the premises, by submitting the matter to parliament. On the 2nd of May, Mr. Huskisson, now Colonial Secretary, moved in the House of Commons that a select committee of twenty-one members be appointed, to enquire into the civil condition of Canada. "The Assembly" said he, in introducing his motion, "in order to enforce their unreasonable pretensions, have refused to appropriate any part of the large revenue, of which they have the command, unless, also, the appropriation of the Crown revenue be given up to them."

But despite the smooth glozing over of the members of the ministry or their supporters, the committee, on the 22nd of July, reported in favor of the Canadian petition. They recommended the abolition of the seigniorial rights of the Crown, the establishment of new electoral districts, more in accordance with the progress of population, and the surrender of the whole of the public revenue to the Assembly; measures to be taken, at the same time, to render the Governor, Executive Council, and the judges independent of an annual vote of supply. They also reported in favor of allowing the Canadians to have an agent in England, and generally endorsed the prayer of the petitioners. The report of this Committee of the Imperial Parliament gave great satisfaction in Lower Canada, and the Assembly ordered four hundred copies to be printed and distributed among their constituents.

The success which thus met the Anti-Executive party was not known in Canada till the 15th of September, a week after the departure of Lord Dalhousie, and who was, therefore, spared the mortification of seeing his policy so unequivocally condemned in presence of the people of his government. In England he subsequently endeavored to defend the course he had pursued, but was not very successful in the attempt. A coercive policy having so far completely failed, a conciliatory one was now determined on, and Lieutenant-General Sir James Kempt, promoted from the government of Nova Scotia, deputed to carry it out.

CHAPTER XVII.

UPPER CANADA FROM 1815 TO 1828.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FRANCIS GORE, ESQ., CONTINUED.

Sir Gordon Drummond having been appointed Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas, the public affairs of the Upper Province were 1815. directed for a brief space, by Generals Murray and Robinson, till the return of the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Gore, in the latter part of 1815. Three years of warfare had taught the people the blessings of peace, and many gladly laid aside the sword, to devote themselves assiduously to their former occupations, and repair the losses they had sustained during the progress of hostilities. But the recent war had inflicted numerous injuries which the gently soothing hand of time alone could alleviate. Many a brave man had gone to his last account; and widows and orphans watered with their tears the graves of fathers, who would still have protected and supported them, but for the invasion of their country by the pitiless Democracy of the United States. Canada has now little to fear, with her increased population and resources, from a second attempt of this kind. We sincerely trust, however, it will never be made, and that the rivalry between two nations of the same lineage and language—children of the same great Anglo-Saxon family, will be for ever restricted to the peaceful walks of commerce and agriculture.

During the early part of this year, a strong effort was made by the Home Government to direct the current of British emigration to Canada. On the 22nd of February, a proclamation was issued at Edinburgh, offering a free passage to emigrants of good character, a grant of 100 acres of land to themselves, and a like grant to their sons on coming of age. They were also to receive provisions till their crops were harvested, and the necessary farming utensils at half of prime cost. To prevent any abuse of these advantages, intending emigrants were obliged to deposit £16 in the government agent's hands as security, but which was to be returned when they had settled perma-

nently on their grants of land. Several who came out on these conditions were located in the neighborhood of Perth.

But the emigration was of too partial a character to be of much benefit to the country, and it soon became a source of regret to many, that government now steadily set its face against the admission of settlers from the United States, refusing altogether to grant them lands. As an additional measure of precaution they were not permitted to take the oath of allegiance, and were thus, under authority of a seditious act of the Legislature, liable to be at any time turned out of the province by the government.

A single year of peace gave sufficient repose to the public mind 1816. of Canada West, and attention was now turned to the better development of its resources, and improvement of the facilities for education. The Legislature was convened on the 6th of February, and passed a number of necessary bills. One appropriated £800 for the purchase of a library for the use of members of both Houses; another, gave a salary of £200 per annum to their Speakers. A grant of £1000 was made to encourage the cultivation of hemp by bounties; and an act, to continue till repealed, gave £2500 per annum to help to defray the expenses of the Civil List, still a burden on the Crown, in gratitude, as the preamble stated, for the aid given by his Majesty in defending the country. But the most important act by far, passed at this session, was that founding the Common School system of the province, and granting the sum of £600 per annum to pay the teachers' salaries, in part, and purchase books. It was based on the general principles of the present School Act; but its provisions were simpler and more direct.

The recent war had produced a considerable change in the social condition of the people. During its continuance a large amount of money had been expended in the country, and many persons thus contracted habits of expense, little suited to an agricultural community. Several had acquired a fondness for the military life, and returned discontented to the drudgery of their farms. Government, too, had neglected to give the promised grants of land to the volunteers and embodied militia, which also created dissatisfaction. Thus circumstanced, numbers were disposed to quarrel more pointedly with anything which they supposed interfered with their individual prosperity, and to investigate more narrowly into causes tending to check the general progress of the country. In short, the people desired to revive, by some means, the current of money into the province, so completely checked by the termination of the war, and did not at all like the idea of returning to the same degree of comparative poverty, in which they were

before its commencement. The war, which in one way or another, drew almost the entire male population of Upper Canada into its vortex, had of itself completely unsettled the habits of the people by its novelty and excitement, and the absence of these mental stimulants, aside from the greater scarcity of money, produced a very general irritation. Insufficiently philosophical to analyse the true source of this feeling, it naturally found vent against whatever were deemed abuses, and formed the microscopic medium through which the injuries they entailed were regarded.

Such was the idiosyncrasy of Upper Canada, when its Legislature met on the 4th of February, 1817. The members of Assembly 1817. were evidently imbued with the dissatisfied spirit of the masses, and went into committee of the whole, on the 3rd of April, to take into consideration the state of the province, as embraced under four heads. These were the impolicy of checking emigration from the United States; the insufficiency of postal facilities; the injuries sustained by the Crown and Clergy Reserves interfering with a more complete settlement of the province; and the propriety of the King granting lands to the embodied militia who had served during the war.

It was diametrically opposed to the policy of the Executive, however, to permit an investigation of this description. Scarcely had the Assembly adopted three resolutions, preliminary to the discussion of the questions at issue, than it was suddenly prorogued, by the Governor, without any previous notice, in a short speech of three paragraphs in length. In the first of these he informed them the session had been sufficiently protracted, and that no important business demanded their further attention; in the second, he told them he came to close the session; in the third, he declared his acceptance of the supplies voted to meet the deficiency in the fund which had hitherto served to pay the civil list.

This contemptuous treatment of the Assembly, astonished its members fully as much as it did the public generally, and caused a good deal of dissatisfaction and discussion. The three resolutions adopted by the House, merely affirmed the fact that two acts had been passed by the Imperial Parliament, for encouraging emigration to the province, and for the naturalisation of foreign Protestants. Part of the resolutions to be proposed were based on these admissions, and went to show that emigrants from the United States might still lawfully settle in the country, and that any prohibition to the contrary ought to be rescinded. A ninth resolution averred that the large tracts of Crown and Clergy Reserve lands, throughout the province, prevented the formation of connected settlements, so necessary for opening and keeping

the roads in repair, and offered a temptation to future wars with the United States, by presenting the means of indemnifying themselves, and rewarding their soldiers, in the event of conquest. The tenth resolution recommended the sale of the Crown reserves, instead of leasing them as was then the practice; while the eleventh condemned the appropriating one-seventh of all the lands in the province, for the support of a Protestant clergy, as altogether too lavish, proposed that the Imperial Parliament should be petitioned to sell a part of the lands already reserved, and that a less quantity should be retained in future.

These resolutions embodied the opinions of the bulk of the people at this period, who accordingly denounced the conduct of the Governor, in preventing their discussion, as arbitrary and unconstitutional. While in this disposition the question of Responsible Government began gradually to present itself, though as yet very dimly, to the public mind. As time progressed its achievement was regarded as the only mode of getting rid of an arbitrary oligarchy, which seriously retarded the prosperity of the country.

While the incipient seeds of discontent and agitation were thus being firmly planted in the community, Robert Gourlay, destined to figure somewhat prominently in the affairs of this country for a short time, came out in the month of July. Attracted hither by the government proclamation, inviting respectable emigrants to settle in Canada West, he had formed, however, no definite plan as to his future course, and was desirous, in the first place, merely to examine the capabilities of the country, with a view to a general system of emigration.

Mr. Gourlay was descended from an old and respectable Scottish family. His father, at one time an Edinburgh lawyer of some repute, had purchased a considerable quantity of landed property, and for several years was regarded as a person of wealth. The close of the war with Bonaparte reduced the value of land in Great Britain very materially, and from this circumstance, and some other unexplained causes, the elder Mr. Gourlay became bankrupt. His son, Robert, was fated to be equally, if not still more, unfortunate. In 1809 he leased the Deptford farm in Wiltshire, England, for twenty-one years, and expended a large sum of money in making improvements. But he speedily quarrelled with his landlord, got involved in law-suits, became distinguished for a litigious and dissatisfied, though benevolent, disposition, and finally, to escape the troubles his imprudence had gathered round himself, came out to Canada, leaving his friends to arrange his embarrassed affairs with his creditors, which office, to judge from his own account of the matter, they performed very little to his satisfaction.

Robert Gourlay possessed very respectable natural abilities; was

energetic, restless, ambitious, desirous to distinguish himself and advance his fortunes, but lacked that prudence necessary to command success. His genius was of a flighty and erratic, rather than a sober stamp; he belonged to a class, existing more or less in every age, fated to injure themselves, while they benefitted humanity at large. His father's estimate of him was singularly correct. "Robert," said he, "will hurt himself, but do good to others."

While in a moral point of view Mr. Gourlay did not occupy by any means a high position, he was very far from being a bad man. As one wades through the three ponderous octavos, of all manner of odds and ends, which he bequeathed to Canada, his coarse abuse of individuals, intemperate language, thirst for personal revenge, and self-conceit, must lower him seriously in the estimation of the impartial reader. Still, he was evidently more sinned against than sinning; and honest criticism must make due allowance for his difficulties and misfortunes. Indefatigably industrious, enterprising, shrewd, fearless and honest in dealing with public questions and abuses, he struck boldly out for the welfare of Canada after his own odd fashion, and had its leading men sufficient patriotism to turn his abilities to account, he must have effected some good. But, it is evident they were all more desirous to benefit themselves individually, than the province generally. Upper Canada was too young a country as yet to have its patriots; and the public welfare was lightly considered, when balanced against personal profit.

While in England, Mr. Gourlay engaged in an agitation for the revisal of the poor-laws; had written letters to the newspapers and pamphlets supporting his views, (which were in some cases of an enthusiastic and visionary character), and leaned undoubtedly to the extreme opinions advocated by the celebrated William Cobbett, the great stickler for royalty and aristocracy in republican America, for the people and democracy, in monarchical England. Like him, Gourlay was indefatigable in hunting up abuses. Circumstances had tended to produce a plentiful harvest of these in Canada; and, without stopping to consider the wisest mode of procedure he ran full tilt against them, offended the prejudices of men in power by the unceremonious manner in which he spoke of their conduct, and by other imprudence, likewise, speedily made himself a host of bitter enemies, who destroyed whatever prospects of usefulness he might have had. A little more tact would have enabled him to steer clear of the difficulties he met with in this country. But the morbid passion for hasty notoriety which had distinguished him in England, and a disposition to treat the authorities with contempt, as his inferiors in intelligence, made speedy shipwreck of his hopes.

After a residence of a few months in this country, during which he sedulously applied himself to acquire a knowledge of its natural resources, and the social and political condition of its people, Mr. Gourlay conceived the idea of becoming a land agent, and by the compilation of a statistical account of Canada West to acquire the requisite information. This information, in the first place, he proposed to procure by addressing thirty-one queries to the principal inhabitants of each township, the answers to which must supply precisely what he sought. Thirty of these queries related merely to agricultural matters, or that description of information usually embodied in census returns, and were perfectly innocent of themselves. Owing to the agitation already commenced in the province, the 31st query, however, possessed a pointed political meaning, and created an immediate alarm among the Family Compact people. "What," it asked, "in your opinion, retards the improvement of your township in particular, or of the province in general; and what would most contribute to the same." This question at once aroused a serious opposition to Mr. Gourlay's plans. Government favorites, who had got grants of valuable land, and held it in reserve, (wild lands being then untaxed), till the labors of the surrounding settlers made it doubly valuable, as well as all those interested in the preservation of land monopolies of every kind, disliked that any light whatever should be thrown on a system, so largely advantageous to themselves. By these parties a feeling hostile to Mr. Gourlay was immediately excited. He was accused of sinister motives, stigmatized as a democrat and disloyal person, and, in several instances, the people were dissuaded from furnishing the information he sought. In the Home District, where large blocks of land were held by government favorites, no return whatever was made to his queries, owing to the interference of members of the Executive. In other quarters all his queries were answered but the 31st. In a majority of cases, however, this was broadly replied to, and the Crown, Clergy Reserves, and wild lands held by speculators, very generally stigmatised as interfering with local prosperity.

Mr. Gourlay was not by any means disposed to allow his plans to be thwarted in silence, and his letters to the newspapers, of which seven were now published in the province, adding to the growing discontent of the people. When the Legislature next met a vote of inquiry into the condition of affairs was carried in the Assembly. Before any action could be taken on this resolution, government seized upon the pretext of a difference with the Legislative Council, and suddenly prorogued parliament, leaving a large amount of public business unfinished.

Finding there was little prospect of any thing being done by the Legislature to remove the evils they complained of, the people readily caught at a scheme, proposed by Mr. Gourlay, of petitioning the Imperial Parliament to investigate the affairs of the province, and of employing an agent in England to support their views. He further proposed that deputies should be selected by the different townships, to meet at Toronto, and there decide on the draft of a petition, and the other necessary measures. This convention met during the Summer, and wholly unconscious of doing anything wrong or disloyal, had concluded its deliberations before the Legislature assembled. Owing to the opposition of government, however, no decisive action was taken upon its resolutions. The agitation, nevertheless, had one good effect. The Colonial Office determined that the promised grants of land should be made to the militia embodied during the war.

The Executive now became seriously alarmed, and as it was found exceedingly inconvenient to have a person of such a curious and prying disposition as Gourlay in the country, it was determined to get rid of him on the first opportunity. He had already published a draft of a petition to the Crown, to be adopted by the people as far as they thought proper, and a passage in this was now fastened on as affording grounds for a criminal prosecution for libel. This passage, couched in the strongest language, alluded to the ignorance of the Colonial Minister of the wants of the country, the system of patronage and favoritism, and the universal corruption of the Canadian authorities. "Corruption, indeed, has reached such a height in this province," said the obnoxious passage of the proposed petition, "that it is thought no other part of the British empire witnesses the like. It matters not what characters fill situations of public trust at present, all sink beneath the dignity of men, and have become vitiated and weak."

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gore had been recalled, and Sir Peregrine Maitland appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In the interim of his arrival the government was administered by Samuel Smith. Sir Peregrine had possibly never heard in his life of Mr. Gourlay till he arrived in his government, in August, but that gentleman lost very little time in attracting his notice. He wrote a letter to him stating, "that he was under a charge of libelling the government, that he was a year in the country, and would have no objection to wait upon him at any

time, and give him the benefit of his experience."* The Governor, however, had no disposition to avail himself of the one year's experience of the egotistical Mr. Gourlay, who four days after making, what he no doubt supposed to be a very liberal offer, was shut up a close prisoner in Kingston jail. Here he remained for six days until brought to trial, on the 20th of August, when he succeeded in beating the government, and was acquitted. The sympathy of the community ran high in his favor. Ten days afterwards he was tried a second time at Brookville for another libel in the same petition, but was again honorably acquitted; and having now twice defeated the government, was apparently in a fair way of becoming quite a popular personage. But his elevation had been too rapid to be lasting.

On the 12th of October, the Legislature was opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, with a short speech, one paragraph of which was levelled at Mr. Gourlay. "In the course of your investigation," said Sir Peregrine, "You will, I doubt not, feel a just indignation at the attempts which have been made to excite discontent, and to organise sedition. Should it appear to you that a convention of delegates cannot exist without danger to the constitution, in framing a law of prevention, your dispassionate wisdom will be careful that it shall not unwarily trespass on the sacred right of the subject to seek a redress of his grievances by petition."

The Assembly were as thoroughly alarmed by the convention as the Government, and regarded the movement as an infringement on the rights of parliamentary representation, and a censure on their body. The term convention, too, was an American phrase, which smacked of republicanism, and of itself alarmed the members. "We remember," said they, in an address to the Governor, on the 19th of October, "that this favored land was assigned to our fathers as a retreat for suffering loyalty, and not as a sanctuary for sedition. We lament that the designs of one factious individual (Gourlay), should have succeeded in drawing into the support of his vile machinations, so many honest men and loyal subjects of his Majesty." Not a word was breathed about grievances, or the condition of the province; the convention had all that business to itself. The Assembly were now prepared to pass any measure the Executive might recommend, and to put their ban, if necessary, upon the unlucky Gourlay. On the 28th of October, Jonas Jones, of Brockville, introduced a bill to prevent the future assemblage of conventions, under the head of "An act for preventing

* Gourlay, vol. 3. p. 502.

certain meetings within this province," which was duly passed into law, twelve out of a House of thirteen voting for it.*

The extreme position taken by the Legislature, and the efforts of the Family Compact, produced a re-action against Mr. Gourlay in several parts of the country, and many persons were led to believe that he was really a seditious and disloyal person. Still, considering himself perfectly safe, and not a little elated at the sudden importance he had acquired as the Canadian Cobbett, he resolved to settle permanently in the province as a land-agent. But the Executive determined they should not be so easily foiled. An Assembly man of the name of Isaac Swaize was found base enough to swear, that Mr. Gourlay had not been a resident of the province for six months, and was a seditious person. He thus came under the ban of a statute, passed in 1804, levelled against foreigners, and was served with an order, on the 21st of December, to quit the country before the new year. He disobeyed this order, was arrested, and incarcerated in Niagara jail, to the great indignation of his friends, still very numerous. By a writ of Habeas Corpus he was brought before Chief Justice Powell at Toronto, in February; but the latter refused to permit his enlargement by bail, and remanded him to prison.

In June the Legislature again assembled. In his opening speech the Governor stated he had received instructions from the Crown to grant lands to the militia; but that he would take the responsibility on himself of refusing them to the members of the recent convention. It was anxiously expected that the Assembly would evince its disapprobation of this part of the address. After a long debate it was endorsed by the casting vote of the Speaker, and the Upper House concurred in language the most direct and submissive.

This conduct afforded a fresh grievance-text to Mr. Gourlay, and he hurled anathemas from his cell against the Executive, through the columns of the *Niagara Spectator*. This led to his being refused every indulgence for some time till his health had completely failed. His long confinement, there being then only one goal delivery in the year, had almost rendered him insane; and when brought to trial at the Niagara Court of Queen's Bench, he was nearly unconscious of the entire proceedings. He was indicted for merely refusing to obey the order to quit the province, which the act already alluded to made a misdemeanor, and not for sedition; was found guilty, as a matter of

* This law was repealed two years afterwards. Chief Justice Robinson alone voted against its repeal.

course, and compelled to retire immediately into the United States, whence he shortly afterwards proceeded to England.*

Such was the termination of Mr. Gourlay's connection with Canada. Whatever may have been his faults or his follies he meant well at all events; and, at the present day, there can be only one opinion of the treatment he met with, to wit, that it was most unjust, unconstitutional, and despotic, and reflects indelible disgrace on the public men who gave it the sanction of their authority. The people of Canada have reason to thank Providence such an occurrence cannot again disgrace their country; and, that the sway of the oligarchy, who permitted it, has long since passed away, never to return.

The arbitrary conduct of the Government, with respect to Mr. 1820. Gourlay, excited a very general feeling of indignation throughout the province, and a determination to send a different class of members to the Assembly next time, who would be more disposed to advocate the measures of Reform desired by the people. The Governor was already becoming unpopular. He surrendered himself completely into the hands of the Family Compact, the more dexterous and politic members of which, while they pandered to his desire for flattery, and apparently yielded to his love of power,† took good care to hold the reins of government firmly in their own hands. Of cold, haughty, and overbearing manners, with much more of the military man about him than the civil governor, he was not adapted by nature for a popular ruler, and leaned, from habit and constitutional temperament, to a system of arbitrary government. The fact, too, of his having eloped with the Duke of Richmond's daughter at Paris, while the allied armies lay there after Waterloo, and, that he was merely sent out by the Home Ministry, by way of making provision for him in deference to his father-in-law, and not in consequence of his fitness for the office, gradually leaked out, and tended to make him still more unpopular.‡

* Mr. Gourlay published his work on Canada in 1822. It contains a large amount of very useful matter touching this Province; but the bad arrangement renders it much less valuable than it should be. In 1824 he became temporarily insane. Mr. Gourlay was in Canada a few years since, but returned again to Scotland. While in prison in Canada he proposed a tax on wild land as a check to speculators—a plan soon after carried into effect—and advocated the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Vide *Niagara Spectator*, 24th June, 1819.

In England he was subsequently imprisoned for striking Lord Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons, and on the ground of insanity.

† Wells's *Sketches of Canada*, p. 157,

‡ Gourlay, vol. 3, p. 493.

The population of the province had now increased to nearly 120,000 souls. New settlements had been formed in various districts; and as the country was on the eve of a general election, it was deemed advisable to increase the representation. The Legislature was accordingly convened on the 21st of February, when an act was passed which nearly doubled the number of members. Another act regulated the commercial intercourse with the United States; and a third embodied a new School Bill. As the act prohibiting meetings by deputy in conventions had caused a good deal of bitter feeling among the people, it was thought prudent by members to repeal it, before they again asked support from their respective constituencies. One voice alone was raised against the measure, that of the present Chief Justice Robinson, who, at a subsequent period, protested still more forcibly against the union of the Canadas, a course which showed how little he understood the true interests of the country of his birth, and how personal feeling and party prejudice can influence the wisest and the best. Agitation had also effected another benefit. Gourlay's suggestion had already been adopted, and a tax laid upon wild lands, to the infinite chagrin of speculators. On the 7th of March the House was dissolved, and writs were soon after issued for a new election.

Beyond the establishment of the Bank of Montreal, with branches or agencies in the principal towns of the sister provinces, and the labors of the Commission for settling the boundary line between the United States and Canada, little of note occurred during the Summer.

In December the new Parliament was summoned to meet, for the 1821. despatch of business, on the 31st of January following. Before it assembled a notice in the *Upper Canada Gazette* informed the public, that five new members had been called by His Majesty, King George, to the Honorable Legislative Council of the province. Four of these were ordinary and every-day men; the other, first on the list, was a man of mark, the present Bishop Strachan of Toronto, who was thus promoted from being Chaplain to the Honorable Councillors, to be an Honorable Councillor himself. His rise had been equally rapid and extraordinary, and presents an apt illustration of what shrewdness, tact, and political sagacity, in connection with even mediocre abilities, can do for a man in a new country, such as Canada then was, and where society was as yet rough and unformed.

The story of Bishop Strachan's fortunes reminds one of the lucky heroes of romance. Descended from a poor peasant family of Scotland, he was thrown at an early period of life upon his own resources for subsistence. After picking up a little classical learning at Aberdeen, he became, in 1796, teacher to the children of a farmer in Angushire.

He subsequently taught the parish schools of Duninno and Kettle, in Fifeshire, at a salary of some £30 per annum. On this small stipend he eked out an existence for some time, while attending St. Andrew's College, as an irregular student, with the view of being admitted, if possible, into the Presbyterian ministry, of the Anti-Burgher branch of which Church he was, or had been, a member. His ancestors, also, had all belonged to the Kirk; and possibly some of them, too, in the old persecuting times of Laud and Claverhouse, had struck boldly for the Covenant at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge.

Richard Cartwright, of Kingston, being desirous to have the benefit of a good education for his children, solicited his friend, Dr. Hamilton, of Gladsmuir, in East Lothian, to send him out a young man qualified for a family tutor, to whom he would give £50 currency per annum by way of salary. Dr. Hamilton offered the situation to Mr. Strachan, who gladly closed with the proposal, and accordingly came out to Canada during Mr. Hunter's administration. After teaching in Mr. Cartwright's family for a time, he became master of the District School at Cornwall, then a small and very poor village of about four hundred inhabitants. While filling this situation he married a widow with some property, and as he was a person of saving and economical habits, his condition, in point of money matters, was now materially improved. He still continued a member of the Presbyterian Church; and at this period we find him in treaty, at his own instance, with a congregation* in Montreal to become their minister, he proposing if they paid him a sufficient salary (£300 a year) to return to Scotland for ordination. The congregation, however, being either too poor or unwilling to meet Mr. Strachan's views in point of remuneration, the matter terminated.

Travel usually serves to make one more a man of the world, and brushes away many antiquated notions. Such appears to have been the case with Mr. Strachan. His experience in the backwoods of Canada had materially diminished his veneration for John Knox, and he had now by no means the dread of "black prelacy" and the "Book of Common Prayer," as in the days of "Auld lang syne," when, on the hills of Fifeshire, he inhaled the grateful fragrance of the Calvinistic heather of his native land. But occasionally the sunshine of prosperity makes sad havoc with early associations. The prospects of the Presbyterian Church in Canada were poorer then than they are now—it had no

* This, we believe, was the Gabriel St. Presbyterian congregation. Before they erected their own church, they were permitted to meet for worship in a French Roman Catholic Church, belonging to one of the lay orders, which, in return, they presented with a pipe of wine.

portion of the Clergy Reserves; the post of a schoolmaster in a little village presented scarcely a hope of preferment. On the other hand, one-seventh of the broad acres of Canada belonged, as it was then supposed, to the Church of England forever, and as time rolled on it must become the wealthiest religious corporation the world ever saw. Then it was also the state church of the land—its ministry gave a ready passport into the best society; and to a man, like Mr. Strachan, poor, friendless, and buried in an obscure little village, three hundred miles away from the seat of government, it presented the only secure road to fortune. The shrewd Scotch schoolmaster marked out his course, struck into it vigorously, and consigning antiquated Presbyterian nostrums to Lethe, we find him soon after appointed to be Rector of Toronto. The *regular* graduates of Oxford, and Cambridge, and Trinity, who had read themselves half blind “grinding for honors,” or to obtain a good place at a collegiate examination, were speedily eclipsed by the *irregular* student of St. Andrews. His course was steadily onward, until we find him, as already stated, a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada.

And yet, this very remarkable success was achieved without any exhibition of brilliant talent or learning. Dr. Strachan’s opportunities could not have sufficed to make him a profound scholar, nor has he attained to celebrity in any of the other walks of literature. He is neither a Tillotson, a Jeremy Taylor, nor a Whately. The “Sketches of Canada,” which he is said to have written, had such slender success, that, we believe, he has never since attempted any thing in the way of authorship. He has been equally unfortunate in acquiring the English language. His sermons, whatever may be their intrinsic merits, are delivered with such a broad Scotch burr as to make them particularly unpleasant to the natives of other countries beside his own. His success, therefore, must be sought in the facts, that he is a clever man of the world, a shrewd judge of human nature, and possesses sufficient tact to turn these qualities to the best account.

With Bishop Strachan’s career, subsequent to 1821, most people in Canada are acquainted. Further biographical detail is consequently unnecessary. At once a minister of religion, and an active politician, he filled a prominent position in the public affairs of this Province, as a Legislative and Executive Councillor, till the final overthrow of the Family Compact, of which he continued to be one of the most active members.

Now that the effervescence of Canadian politics has settled down, and that past occurrences can be calmly and impartially investigated, and events quietly traced to their true causes, it is evident that whatever

temporal benefit the Church of England in Canada West acquired for a time, in having its most distinguished member an active politician, this very circumstance, of itself, has inflicted a deep and lasting injury on its weal. The original agitation against the Clergy Reserves did not commence on religious grounds; there was at first no dislike, on the part of other Protestant churches, against the Church of England. The people simply complained that the Clergy Reserves, as well as the Crown Reserves and the wild lands of speculators, interfered with local and individual prosperity; but there was nothing said about a State Church, nor the impolicy of endowing it so richly to the detriment of other churches, till Dr. Strachan engaged in politics in 1817. But, as the dignitaries of the English Church allied themselves more and more closely with the members of the Family Compact, and were thus drawn deeper into the vortex of political squabbles, from which as ministers of the gospel they should have kept wholly aloof, an unreasonable feeling arose against the Church itself, as being aristocratic in its tendencies, and opposed to popular rights. Thus, to the course pursued by Dr. Strachan, as a politician, may, undoubtedly, in a great measure be traced the fact, that in no part of the British Empire, nor in any other country, is the Church of England regarded with such hostile feelings by other Protestant denominations as in Canada West, and nowhere, certainly, has she lost the hearts of so many of her own members, who have gone to swell the ranks of cotemporary creeds. The Church of England in Canada, as well as elsewhere, has secured to itself the advantages of a refined and well-educated ministry. Hitherto, unfortunately, its Canadian antecedents and political position have seriously militated against its usefulness. Now that the settlement of the Clergy Reserve question gives that ministry perfect fair play, it is to be hoped it will assume that position in the affections of the masses, which had it been truly wise, it would never have forfeited. The very education of Bishop Strachan precluded him from understanding the true temporal policy of the Church of England. He knew nothing originally of its literature. Since he attached himself to its ministry, his life has been that of the bustling politician, rather than of the scholastic divine or the distinguished savant. He is felt in his own generation, to be forgotten by posterity. In an old and settled form of society, he would never have emerged from the average mass of humanity. Sharp, practical, and clever, Canada was his true element. Everybody was beginning life, there was nothing to keep him down: where learning was a scarce article a little went a long way. From the poor family tutor, he rose to be the District School Master, another step and he was enveloped in the surplice of the Episcopal Minister. By being a

clergyman he became a politician, by being a politician he became a Bishop. His elevation was not because he was a distinguished author, an illustrious divine, or an established *littérateur*. Yet even as a politician he was neither original nor profound. He did not create a system, nor originate a new era. He attached himself to a body already formed; and can only be regarded as an active partisan. As a partisan his influence was secret and secure, rather than open and exposed—of a depressing, rather than of an elevating character. Half a century must at least elapse before the Episcopal Church can have recovered from the evils of his impolitic sway. Whatever advantages it may have derived by his worldly shrewdness, or business sagacity, have been more than counterbalanced by the fact of its Bishop having been a politician, and lacking that distinguished position in scholarship and literature, which its divines have almost invariably arrived at.*

The 8th Parliament of Upper Canada, met, pursuant to proclamation on the 31st of January, for the first time, and the Assembly chose Levius P. Sherwood, of Brockville, for its Speaker. The Governor opened the session with a precise and formal speech. He spoke of the accession of George IV., of the happy constitution of the province, advised the Legislature to take measures to promote the interests of true religion, and alluded to the current of emigration now setting steadily into the Canadas. Within the preceding two years, he stated that forty new townships had been surveyed, and in a great measure bestowed on condition of actual settlement. But, it appeared, that the public finances of the province were in a depressed condition, the militia pensions had been allowed to fall into arrear, and money was not forthcoming for various necessary purposes.

The debate on the address, in reply, showed clearly the complexion of the House. It was evident that the majority sided with the Executive. The people, whatever might have been their hopes, had chosen the wrong men, as a rule, to carry out their views. It was plain that during the ensuing four years, no enquiry of much moment would be made into the condition of the province; and that the Executive might be as arbitrary as it thought proper. Still there were many good business-men in the House, and several useful acts were passed during the session. Among the principal of these was an act to establish a uniform currency throughout the province; another, granting a sum of

* A short time since a movement was on foot in England to abolish the Deaneries. The Deans were found to be all men of great learning and talent, and an honor to the nation; and the nation, wisely sensible of the honor, left them undisturbed.

money to aid the construction of the Rideau Canal ; and a third, specifying that no tithes or ecclesiastical rate of any kind should ever be levied in Upper Canada.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 14th of April, and beyond a tour of the Governor through several districts of the province, the Summer produced little of importance. Money continued scarce, despite the establishment of the Bank of Upper Canada ; business was dull ; and the prices of agricultural produce very low. Flour only rated from sixteen to twenty shillings per barrel, and wheat was almost unsaleable.* The Legislature again assembled on the 21st of November. The opening speech of the Governor referred to the difference with the lower province, as to the amount of duties it should refund to Upper Canada, and regretted that the principal source of revenue should thus be interrupted, to the detriment of the public works then in progress.

A vacancy having occurred in the representation of Lennox and Addington during the recess, Barnabas Bidwell was returned. He had originally resided in Massachusetts, where he had been born, remained there after the termination of the War of Independence, took the oath of allegiance to the American Government, became Attorney General of the State, Treasurer of the County of Buckshire, and was returned to Congress. Bidwell, however, was poor, and possibly temptation proved too strong for him. We find him accused in 1810 of mis-application of the public monies, making false entries to conceal the deed, and flying to Canada to escape a trial, a fact of itself which goes a long way to prove the truth of the charges preferred against him. He settled in the Midland District, where he taught school for some time in the village of Bath, took the oath of allegiance in 1812, and prepared the clever "Sketches of Canada" which appear in Gourlay's work, and form its most valuable portion. He was the fast friend of the latter, became popular as a Reformer, a name by which the Anti-Executive party now began to be characterised, and believing that his Massachusetts antecedents were not generally known, or partially forgotten, offered himself to the Electors of Lennox and Addington, and was returned.

But Bidwell was mistaken in supposing that his past conduct was not remembered. Canada was not a Texas. His election was immediately petitioned against on the grounds of his being a person of immoral character—a fugitive from justice, and having taken the oath of allegiance to the Government of the United States. An agent was now despatched to Massachusetts, who easily obtained copies of his indict-

* *Brockville Recorder*, July 10th, 1821.

ment, and positive proofs of his flight on a warrant having been issued for his apprehension. Bidwell defended himself with great tact and skill. He contended that the charges against him in Massachusetts originated solely with his political enemies; at all events, as there had been no conviction, the House should not assume the fact of his guilt without a trial. With regard to the oath of allegiance, he maintained that it only embraced the period of his residence in the United States, and did not disqualify him from taking a like oath in this country. He was expelled the House, very properly, however, after a long debate, but by a majority of only one, 17 voting for the motion of expulsion, and 16 against it.* A new writ was accordingly issued for Lennox and Addington, and a Mr. Clark elected this time by a majority of 118. Mr. Bidwell's son, who offered himself as a candidate, was objected to on the ground of his being an alien. He was subsequently returned, however, and became a prominent personage in the arena of Canadian politics.

The case of Bidwell was a novel one, and to prevent a recurrence of anything of the kind, an act was passed, on the 17th of January, making persons in his position ineligible to a seat in the Assembly. This act, however, being too oppressive on American emigrants, it was subsequently repealed in 1824, and a residence of seven years made the condition of eligibility to membership in the Assembly on the part of foreigners, who had taken the oath of allegiance to their former governments. At the same time, it continued the disqualification of persons who had held any of the principal public offices of the United States. It has since been repealed by the 12 Vic. chap. 27.

Owing to the statement in the Governor's speech, with regard to the differences with Lower Canada on the matter of revenue, the Legislature determined to send the Attorney General, Peter Robinson, as their agent to England, to press their claims on the attention of the Crown and Imperial Parliament; and voted £2000 to defray his expenses and remunerate him for the service. After the transaction of some general business, the House was prorogued on the 17th of January.

Despite the continued scarcity of money, the country was steadily progressing in population, and agricultural and commercial prosperity. Steamboats were now in general use on the rivers and principal lakes, and gave a vast impetus to commerce. But down the current of the

* See debates in Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada, and Journals of the House for 1821.

St. Lawrence, below Prescott, the old Durham Boat alone continued to descend, to be frequently abandoned at Montreal or sold for whatever it would bring, as the expense of dragging it back against the current would exceed its value.

A high tariff, and a lax revenue department, led to a vast amount of smuggling, which had a most baneful effect on the morals of many of the trading part of the community.

The benefit resulting from the establishment of Banks in the province, was partially neutralised by the number of bad bills put into circulation by counterfeiters from the United States. Another evil was the smuggling of American lumber into the Quebec and Montreal markets, for shipment to England, to the detriment of the lumberers of Upper Canada, who were loud in their denunciations. How changed is matters now in this respect. The United States are at present the great market for Canadian lumber.

Owing to the unremunerative prices of produce, the growth of hemp continued to be a matter of attention; and the advantages of the culture of tobacco, in the western part of the province, began to be considered. Agricultural societies had been established in some districts, and aided in improving the modes of tillage.

Towards the close of this year, the proposed union with Lower Canada created a good deal of agitation,^{*} and public meetings were held at which resolutions were passed for and against it. The general feeling, however, was decidedly in favor of the measure, as a whole; but some of its provisions were strongly objected to, particularly that making the property qualification for members £500, and which was then only £80. This clause it was said would disqualify one-fourth of the sitting members.*

The Legislature assembled on the 15th of January. The Governor's speech on the occasion, beyond congratulating the House of Assembly on the success of their agent in England, in procuring the passage of the "Canada Trade Act," presents no features of importance. The addresses from both Houses, in reply, were mere echoes of the speech itself.

The expediency of having a reporter paid a regular salary was taken into consideration by the Assembly, and decided in the negative.

A petition was presented from a large body of the freeholders of Lennox and Addington, praying that the recent election might be set aside, in consequence of Mr. Bidwell, Junr., having been illegally prevented from contesting it. The petition assumed the ground that Mr.

* See resolutions passed at a meeting in Brockville in October, 1822.

Marshall Spring Bidwell was a British subject by birth, having been born in Massachusetts while still a colony of Great Britain, and never having taken the oath of allegiance to any other Government. Mr. Bidwell was heard at the bar of the House as counsel for the petitioners. The matter was brought up for final consideration on the 17th of February, when it was decided by a considerable majority that the election was void and a new writ should be issued. Mr. Bidwell was subsequently defeated, after a sharply contested election, in which the whole weight of the Family Compact was brought to bear in favor of his opponent, a Mr. G. Ham, whose election, however, was said to be illegal on the ground that the poll was closed too soon. With exception that provision was made for an assizes twice a year in the more populous districts, there is little remarkable to distinguish the legislation of this session, which terminated on the 19th of March.

During Summer the project of the Welland Canal was brought before the public in a tangible shape, principally through the exertions of William Hamilton Merritt, who, from first to last, occupied a prominent and most honorable position in connection with this great national work, which has done so much for the prosperity of Canada. The son of a U. E. Loyalist, Mr. Merritt, served in the militia during the war of 1812-3-4, and thus aided to preserve his country from the grasp of covetous American Democracy. Canada had originally no distinguished seminaries of learning, and, we believe, a good common school education was the extent of Mr. Merritt's literary acquirements. He ardently desired to serve his country in peaceful as well as warlike pursuits, and all its great projects of internal improvement found in him a firm supporter. The Welland Canal forms the lasting monument of his wisdom and patriotism; and if he never had accomplished anything else, would suffice to give him an honorable place in the annals of his country.

Beyond the agitation of this project, the journals of Upper Canada, at this period, record little domestic news of importance. Among their items we find that the Governor amused himself by excursions through the province, and drew for his travelling expenses on the Receiver General; and that the presence of distress in Ireland sent many settlers hither, who were mostly located on free lands in the new townships on the Ottawa.

The country began already to be agitated with the prospect of an approaching election, in which it was evident that the Reform Party would make a strong effort to obtain a majority in the House of Assembly. A decided feeling was setting in against the Family Compact. As time progressed, it became more and more plain that the Governor

was the mere tool of this party, who now monopolized every post of honor and profit in the country. The opposition press, however, was remarkably quiet, having evidently the fear of government prosecutions before their eyes, and there being no editor of sufficient talent and courage to take the lead.

The Legislature assembled on the 11th of November. From the usual speech of the Governor it would appear that a spirit of contentment and obedience to the laws, was then the characteristic of Upper Canadian society, and that the country was slowly recovering from the reaction caused by the termination of the war. The revenue, he stated, was still very far from being in a flourishing condition. He concluded by alluding to the cordial intercourse subsisting between the two Houses. The addresses in reply were couched in the usual complimentary strain. That from the Legislative Council was signed by its Speaker, William Dummer Powell, then a prominent member of the Oligarchy.

This session of the Legislature was distinguished by the effort, now made for the first time, to allow ministers of the Methodist persuasion to solemnize marriage. A bill to that effect was passed in the Assembly, but rejected in the Upper House. A most effective step was also taken towards securing a portion of the Clergy Reserves for the Presbyterian body, on the ground that they having been set apart for Protestants, and the Church of Scotland being acknowledged as such by the Statute Book of England, it had therefore a legal claim to its just proportion. An address based upon this principle was voted to the Imperial Parliament, which alone was competent to decide the issue thus raised, the Reserves' provision being a part of the Constitutional Charter itself, which the local Legislature had no power to alter.

In the course of the session, the election for Lennox and Addington was again declared void, and Mr. Ham unseated. The Welland Canal Company was incorporated, and provision made for taking the first census of Upper Canada. The House was prorogued on the 1824. 19th of January, and the country began to prepare for a general election.

About this period a strong feeling against Orange processions, now becoming common in many parts of the province, began to spring into existence, and a fruitless endeavor was made to procure their suppression by legal enactment. As yet, however, these processions had been conducted with order and decorum, gave little room for complaint, and even Dr. Strachan did not hesitate to act as their Chaplain. A good deal of loss and inconvenience, at this time, was experienced by the failure of the Kingston Bank, which had been most fraudulently managed.

Parliament was dissolved on the 24th of June, and the writs for a new election made returnable on the 19th of August following. To the usual proclamation on this occasion the signature of John Beverley Robinson was appended, he being now Attorney General.

The Summer was distinguished by the formation of the Canada Company, a corporation at first productive of benefit, but subsequently of injury to the Province. It commenced its operations by buying up vast tracts of the Clergy Reserve and Crown lands at a trifling figure, which it sold again in small lots at a large advance. It was in short a huge land monopoly; and, like all monopolies, has proved an injury to this country precisely in proportion to its extent. Thus, without once asking the consent of the Canadian Parliament, a vast quantity of our soil was withdrawn from public purposes, and passed into the hands of private speculators of the London Stock Exchange.

The new year opened with public disaster. On one of the 1825. first days of January the Parliament House at Toronto was burned down, but fortunately the library and furniture were saved. The loss to the province was estimated at £2000. At present a Common School House is being erected in Brockville, a town of 4000 inhabitants, which will cost £3000. Verily, our legislators looked for modest accommodation in these days.

Parliament was convened on the 11th of January, and a good deal of interest was excited as to the composition of the Assembly. The election of Speaker tested the strength of the respective parties. John Wilson, of Wentworth, was chosen by a Reform majority of three. A plain farmer, but a man of sound common sense, calm, temperate, and dispassionate, his election was a popular one with his party. On his side voted, among others, sly and subtle John Rolph, burly Peter Perry, and the secret republican, Marshall Spring Bidwell. The Family Compact were at length in a minority. The Reformers, however, proceeded warily. The address in reply to the Governor's speech was agreed to unanimously, and couched in as complimentary language as he could desire. Still, it was evident Sir Peregrine felt an apprehension of approaching trouble. He forgot to make his usual gracious reply, an honor vouchsafed to the Upper House. The long shadows of Canadian Radicalism were already settling down on his administration, and the *Canadian Advocate*, controlled by William Lyon Mackenzie, sadly disturbed his prospects of dignified repose with pungent diatribes on packed juries and government abuses, though as yet warily and cautiously expressed. Even then the clouds were gathering for the storm of 1838. Mackenzie had only been a short time in this country, where he first began his career as a shopman, and next became a newspaper

publisher: but he had already adopted the trade of grievance-monger, and was a keen hunter up of abuses. The Assembly were only a few weeks in session when his petition on the subject of abuses in the Post Office Department was brought up by Matthews and McCall. His allegations were supported by the investigations of a committee. It was proved that the mail bags were often filled with goods, letters opened and mis-sent, and that it would be advisable the Provincial instead of the Imperial Government, should have control of this Department.

This session of Parliament was decidedly a talking one. After sitting till the 13th of April only seven bills were passed, and to make matters yet more uncomfortable, the annual Supply Bill not coming up to the estimate, shared the fate of similar bills in Lower Canada, being thrown out by the Upper House. Although the finances of the province were still in a depressed condition, their "Honors" saw no necessity for retrenchment.

The first Reform Assembly did not bid fair by any means for popularity. The peoples' bill for legislation was even heavier than usual, and less value had been given in return. So said they of the Family Compact. This accusation aroused discussion, and it was shown that the estimates were cut down most properly. The Attorney General, for instance, was not content with his regular stipend, and swelled up his income by charging the public with the rent of his private office, travelling expenses, legal advice to the Lieutenant-Governor, and so forth. All of which, and many more like them, had been included in the estimate, although having no lawful business whatever to be there.

Summer passed rapidly away without producing disaster to dim its pleasant sunshine, or matter for the pen of the historian. The Legislative was again convened on the 7th of November. The opening speech and the addresses in reply were longer than usual, more carefully prepared, and appeared to give satisfaction to all parties. The Lieutenant Governor now made a courteous response to the address of the Assembly, and soon after sent them a message, "pursuant to instructions from the Colonial Office, recommending, that a more liberal provision be made for the naturalization of foreigners of every description. A bill was accordingly passed for this purpose, but rejected in the Legislative Council. Resolutions were also agreed to on the expediency of excluding judges from the Executive Council, and rendering them independent of the Crown, by appointment during good conduct as in England. An address founded on these resolutions was voted to the King.

During this Session thirty-one acts were passed; one of which made

provision for a bounty of £125 to every person establishing a paper mill. But, eighteen other bills were thrown out by the Legislative Council, among which was one repealing the Sedition Act under which Gourlay had been turned out of the country. This 1826. caused a very unpleasant feeling to spread abroad. The Family Compact still held firm hold of the Legislative Council: it also continued to grasp the entire executive control, although defeated on every important division in the Assembly.

The estimates laid before the House showed that the expenses for the current year would amount to £30,353, the revenue to £33,560 currency. Upper Canada was now in a condition to support its own civil list, and to release the Crown from all burdens on its account, presuming that due economy was exercised.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 30th of January, the usual appropriations having been first granted for the public service. In a few weeks afterwards the Governor made a tour through a portion of the province, and was met in every direction with very flattering addresses, chiefly concocted, however, by friends of the Executive. In several instances these addresses were reprobated by the opposition prints, as not correctly conveying the sentiments of the different communities, and for dishonestly censuring the House of Assembly.

Steamers had now become numerous on the lakes and rivers of Upper Canada: the construction of the Welland Canal was being rapidly pushed forward: and the building of the St. Lawrence Canals had begun to be seriously agitated. Despite the very general depression in financial matters the province was steadily progressing. The population had increased to nearly 170,000 souls; while the continued stream of emigration was fast filling up the new townships.

Beyond the discussion caused by the rejection of the Alien Bill in the Legislative Council, which refused to pass it without amendments destroying its most important features, there seems to have been very little political agitation of any description at this period. Although disliked for his reserved manners, and for surrendering himself completely to the influence of the Family Compact, the Governor was generally respected. The public mind, as a rule, was contented, and the desire was to obtain redress of any existing evils solely by constitutional methods. As yet the idea of Responsible Government had not resolved itself into a precise form, as a public question, although, doubtless, it was already entertained by many individuals.

In those days comparatively few of the people read newspapers, which did not, therefore, by any means exercise the influence on the

public mind they do at the present day. The pungent editorials of Mackenzie, whose paper was now nearly two years in existence, owing to these causes, and to their being regarded as too caustic and violent, were very little felt in the community. His affairs, consequently, were far from being in a flourishing condition, and he was seriously meditating a removal to Montreal or the United States,* when, during a temporary absence from home, his printing office was broken into by parties of respectable standing, who had taken offence at his writings, and completely wrecked, two magistrates looking coolly on. This event at once gave him a most opportune notoriety, and had the Governor countenanced the act in any way, his popularity would have been still greater. But the latter, who chanced to be absent from Toronto at the time, did nothing of the kind. On his return he promptly expressed his strong disapproval of the outrage, and at once dismissed one of the clerks of his office who had acted as a sort of leader on the occasion : with the remainder of the rioters the law was quietly allowed to take its course. The Governor's conduct, in this matter, gave general satisfaction to the public. For the moment he became decidedly popular ; and Mackenzie had not as yet got the opportunity of becoming a political martyr. He sued the aggressors for damages, and on the 30th of October, despite all the eloquence of Hagerman, obtained a verdict in his favor for £625 damages and costs.† The suit, however, was brought for £2000, on the ground that the stoppage of his printing business occasioned him additional loss. A subscription was set on foot to pay the verdict against the rioters, and the greater part of the necessary sum was raised by this means. The parties thus escaped all punishment for the offence, a circumstance which produced a good deal of public indignation, and increased the hostile feeling against the Family Compact. Towards the close of the year the publication of the *Advocate* was resumed.

The Legislature again assembled on the 5th of December. In his speech, the Governor alluded to the satisfactory progress of the province, the advanced state of its great public works, and the prosperous and contented condition of the people, all which he had personally witnessed during his recent tour. The address from the Commons, for the first time directly censured his conduct, in receiving and replying to addresses during that very tour, which reflected on their body. The Governor retorted by declaring, that in this procedure they had

* Canada as it Was &c., vol. 1. p. 121.

† Mackenzie subsequently admitted that the actual damage to his office was very trifling.

departed from the courtesy usual on such occasions, and stoutly maintained he had acted correctly in the premises. Trouble was evidently brewing. A Commons with sufficient courage to censure a Governor, was a new thing in Upper Canada. While the Family Compact retained a majority in the House, such an occurrence had never been known.

Apart from this squabble the session passed tolerably smoothly 1827. off. Several bills were enacted. Among the rest the Naturalization Act; which was reserved, however, by the Governor for the pleasure of the King, by whom it was rejected, much to the gratification of the bulk of the people of Canada, who thoroughly disliked it, owing to its illiberal provisions. Among others who denounced this bill was Robert Gourlay, still confined in a house of correction in London, for having assaulted Mr. Brougham in the lobby of the House of Commons and being also insane, and who continued at lucid intervals to correspond with the Upper Canadian press.

As the year progressed, owing to the exclusive claims to the Clergy Reserves, put forward on behalf of the Church of England, considerable discussion was excited, and the right of the Presbyterians to a share therein very strongly urged by the friends of the Kirk, led by William Morris, member of Assembly for Lanark. The naturalization question, also, was very actively discussed at public meetings and by the press; and it was evident that the agitation on this matter, must speedily compel its settlement.

In May, an occurrence took place at Niagara Falls which created a good deal of public feeling. A reserve of one chain in breadth, along the bank of the river, had been retained by government for military purposes. This reservation was expressly stated in the deeds to parties holding the adjoining lands.* A person of the name of Forsyth, however, who then owned the principal inn at the Falls, and considerable landed property in the neighborhood, enclosed the Crown reservation. This act was immediately protested against by many of the neighboring residents, who petitioned the Governor against the encroachment on the public domain, and particularly as it left no passage open to see a part of the Falls, but one through Forsyth's own house. Captain Phillpots, the engineer officer who had the district in charge, was accordingly ordered to see that this space was kept open; and, as Forsyth refused several times to remove the fence, he directed it to be pulled down.

This conduct was loudly protested against by the Reform press, eager

* Chief Justice Robinson to Colonel Rowan, Dec. 31st, 1832.

to seize upon anything to the prejudice of a Governor they disliked. If Forsyth, it was urged, had taken improper possession of the ground, he should be ejected by due course of law and not by military violence. This would most undoubtedly have been the wisest course, as Forsyth was subsequently beaten in two suits, brought to recover damages from Phillpotts and another person, for trespass. His pretensions to the ground in dispute were likewise set aside by an action against him for intrusion, which resulted in favor of the Crown, and chiefly on the evidence of a Mr. Jones, who had made the original survey. The course pursued by the Governor on this occasion was censured by the Home Government.*

The Legislature assembled on the 15th of January ; and the 1828. Governor made his speech to an unusually thin House. In the

Assembly some difficulty was experienced in collecting a quorum for the despatch of business, and which was not accomplished till the 18th. It was the last session of the eighth parliament of the province, and members appeared to be very indifferent whether they attended or not. To judge from the newspapers of the day, many of them were too busy in canvassing for the next general election, to pay much attention to legislative matters.

As the session progressed, the ill-feeling towards the Governor evidently increased. His appointment of a clerk to the Assembly, was regarded by that body as an interference with their privileges. Forsyth had petitioned the House for redress, and the committee selected to investigate his case, thought proper to summon the Adjutant-General, Coffin, and Colonel Givens, superintendent of Indian affairs, to give evidence. The Governor directed them not to obey the mandate, on the ground, that the application for their attendance should have been made in the first place to him as their superior military officer. A warrant was accordingly issued by the Assembly for their apprehension for contempt. Coffin denied admission to the Sergeant-at-arms, but the latter finally broke open the door with an axe, made him a prisoner, as well as Givens, and both, persisting in their refusal to give evidence, were committed to the common gaol, where they remained till the House was prorogued. The committee reported in favor of Forsyth's petition, recommended that he should be remunerated for the loss of his crops, caused by the destruction of his fences, and denounced the conduct of the Governor as arbitrary.

A good deal of bitter discussion took place with regard to the Clergy Reserves, and a more decided opposition was shown to the admission

* Sir G. Murray's despatch to Sir John Colborne, 20th of Oct. 1828.

of the Church of England's claims to their sole possession. A Naturalization Bill was at length passed of a more liberal and satisfactory character, which was reserved, nevertheless, for the consideration of the Home Government, and subsequently, on the 8th of May, assented to by the King in council. The annual supply bill having been voted, the Legislature was prorogued on the 25th of March.

Party spirit was now becoming more and more intense. A libel suit was commenced by the Governor at the Spring term, against Mr. Collins, editor of a Toronto paper termed the *Canadian Freeman*, which was not prosecuted, however, owing to the former quitting the province on his appointment to the government of Nova Scotia. Mackenzie was also indicted for a like offence, growing out of the Forsyth petition, but his trial, as well as that of Collins, was put off to the Fall term, the Attorney General not being willing, or prepared, to prosecute.

Collins was a man of a warm and imprudent temper, and shortly after attacked the Attorney General, on grounds connected with this pending libel suit. The latter prosecuted him for defamation at the Fall term, and obtained a verdict in his favor. Collins was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, a fine of £50, and to find security for future good behaviour.

The feeling of animosity against the Executive, was increased by the course pursued with regard to Mr. Willis, an English lawyer of eminence, recently appointed one of the judges of the Upper Canadian Court of King's Bench by the Home Government. Like Thorp, he was unwilling to identify himself with the Family Compact, and a strong feeling was soon excited against him among its members. It was consequently determined to sacrifice him on the first opportunity. His refusal to sit in term at Toronto in June, the court not being legally constituted without the Chief Justice (Campbell,) then absent in England, being present, offering the desired occasion, he was suspended from his office by the Governor. Mr. Hagerman was temporarily appointed to the vacant post, an arrangement, however, which did not meet the approval of the Home Authorities, and Mr. Macauley received the vacant judgeship. The Colonial Office subsequently sustained Mr. Willis, in part, in the course he had pursued, but admitted the Governor had not acted beyond his authority. He was not sent back to Canada, however, and a situation was provided for him in another colony.

This occurrence had a considerable influence on the elections, which again resulted in the return of a Reform majority, among whom was William Lyon Mackenzie. Sir Peregrine Maitland had now become decidedly unpopular with this party, who gladly hailed his departure for

the government of Nova Scotia, to which he had been appointed, and welcomed the accession of Sir John Colborne as a boon. The latter assumed direction of the administration in November, and as he was said to have received instructions to govern agreeably to a liberal policy, much was expected from him.

CHAPTER XVIII

UPPER CANADA FROM 1829 TO 1835.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

The new parliament was convened on the 9th of January, and 1829. Marshall Spring Bidwell chosen Speaker of the Assembly. The speech of Sir John Colborne, on the occasion, was guarded in the extreme, and presents few features of importance. The division on the address showed that the House was almost entirely a Reform one. Its language was a direct censure on the Executive, apart from the Governor. "We his Majesty's faithful Commons," it urged, "confiding in the candor of your Excellency, and in your readiness to recognise us as constitutional advisers of the Crown, do humbly pray your Excellency against the injurious policy hitherto pursued by the Provincial Administration; and although we at present see your Excellency unhappily surrounded by the same advisers, as have so deeply wounded the feelings and injured the best interests of the country, yet in the interval of any necessary change, we entertain an anxious belief, that under the auspices of your Excellency the administration of justice will rise above suspicion; the wishes and interests of the people be properly respected; and the revenues of the colony be hereafter devoted to objects of public improvement, after making provision for the public service on a basis of economy suited to the exigencies of the country." "It is less difficult," said the Governor in reply, "to discover the traces of political dissensions, and local jealousies in this colony, than to efface them. I anticipate that the principles of the constitution being kept steadily in view, and the good sense of the people, will neutralise the efforts of any interested faction.

The Governor's answer like the Delphian Oracle could be interpreted either way. The Reformers fancied it favored themselves: they were soon undeceived. He refused the petition of the Assembly to extend the royal clemency to Collins, who was still incarcerated. "I regret

exceedingly," said he, "that the House of Assembly should have made an application to me, which the obligation I am under to support the laws, and my duty to society, forbid me, I think, to comply with." The House retorted by a resolution, to the effect, "that they had not merited the imputation conveyed in his Excellency's message, and that their request was not inconsistent with the due support of the laws, and their duty to society."

Its beginning seemed to augur a stormy reign for Sir John. Mackenzie was already busy making motions for all sorts of information, as if he had even then conceived the plan of his "Grievance Report." The Family Compact chuckled over the refusal to release Collins, who had a young and helpless family to provide for; but a general feeling of indignation spread through the country, and in the town of Hamilton the Governor was hung in effigy. The exercise of clemency on this occasion would have done much to satisfy the people, and made Sir John Colborne popular; but the stern old veteran preferred what he deemed to be the path of duty to the acclamations of the crowd.

In Upper as well as in Lower Canada, Government still retained the casual and territorial revenues; and these in addition to a permanent grant of £2500, made several years previously, had now increased sufficiently to make the Executive completely independent of the Assembly, as regarded an annual vote for the civil list. Strong resolutions were passed against this condition of things in the House, and a firm determination evinced to acquire control of all the provincial revenues.

An address was voted to the Crown, setting forth the impure administration of justice in the province, and praying that judges should be made independent of the Executive, and Mr. Willis restored. With very trifling difference the Reformers of Upper Canada and the anti-Executive party of the lower province now sought the attainment of the same objects, but for very different ulterior ends. One desired social progress and greater constitutional liberty in the movement, the other embarked in it with a view to acquire power in order to make their province more exclusively a French colony.

During this session of parliament, which terminated on the 20th of March, twenty one of the bills passed in the Assembly, were thrown out in the Upper House, which showed the little cordiality subsisting between the two bodies. Among these, was an act repealing that granting the £2500 in aid of the civil list. The province now presented the unconstitutional spectacle of a government requiring no monies from the Assembly; and a Legislative Council of a totally different complexion from the popular branch of the Legislature. No

restraint could be imposed on the Executive by an annual vote of supplies. It was completely independent of the people.

The British House of Commons had scarcely recovered from the excitement consequent on passing the Emancipation Bill, when we find Mr. Stanley (now the Earl of Derby) presenting a petition there, from 3,110 inhabitants of Toronto, praying that judges in Upper Canada might be placed on the same permanent footing as in the mother country. "The petitioners went on to hope," said he, "that they might have a *local* and *responsible* administration." And thus, for the first time, the question of "Responsible Government" in Upper Canada loomed distinctly on the public view, as the great panacea for its many evils. In Lower Canada, the popular party sought to carry out their purposes by having an elective Legislative Council, which they knew very well they could construct as they pleased. In Upper Canada, the same party felt, that if they had the Executive power in their hands, they could very readily coerce the Upper House into their measures. Unlike the French they sought the triumph of constitutional principles and not of a race.

Towards the latter end of July, the elevation of the Attorney General, John Beverley Robinson, to be Chief Justice, created a vacancy in the representation of Toronto, and for the first time Robert Baldwin appeared prominently before the public, as a candidate for the suffrages of its electors. Of respectable abilities, like his father, Dr. Baldwin, an old and consistent Reformer, who had for several sessions filled a seat in the Assembly, he was attached to popular liberty, while he eschewed the license of extreme democracy, and was destined to occupy a prominent place in the public councils of his country, during a long and stormy period.

The only additional event of any importance which characterised the summer of this year, was a tour of the Governor through the province. Numerous addresses were presented to him; but the honest old soldier was no courtier; he did not evidently understand these kind of things; and his invariable reply was, "I receive your address with much satisfaction, and I thank you for your congratulations." A censorious Assembly would find it a difficult matter to quarrel with a speech of this stamp.

In Autumn we find Egerton Ryerson issuing the prospectus of *The Christian Guardian*, a religious newspaper in the interests of the Wesleyan Methodists, which still progresses in an honorable and useful existence. It made the fourteenth paper then published in Upper Canada.

Their petition having been rejected by the Governor, the Assembly had memorialised George IV. in behalf of Collins. His Majesty at

once directed his release, and also remitted the fine and bail imposed by the Court. This was a gracious and Kingly act, and the press and people of Upper Canada felt not a little gratified.

On the 30th of November the Welland Canal was formally opened for navigation, and sloops could now descend from the waters of Erie to those of Ontario. It was a gigantic work, undertaken when the province was thinly populated, and spoke much for the future progress of the country. It benefitted northern New York equally with Canada, and gave a new impulse to the commercial prosperity of Oswego. The Rideau Canal was also being pushed rapidly forward towards completion, and steamers would soon be able to ascend from Montreal to Kingston.

When the Legislature assembled on the 8th of January, the 1830. Governor informed the House, that not only had the revenue at the disposal of the Crown been sufficient to pay the civil list, but a considerable balance was now at their disposal. The Assembly, in its reply, asserted its right to the control of the imperial duties levied under the 14th Geo. III, and to the disposal, also, of the other resources of the province. They likewise expressed a solicitude for the pure administration of justice. "Gentlemen of the House of Assembly," said the General in answer, "I thank you for your address."

The Legislation during this session was of a common-place description, and if the fact is excepted that forty bills passed in the Assembly were thrown out in the Upper House, there was little to distinguish it. Still some useful bills were placed on the Statute Book. Among these was one for the long expected remuneration of war losses; another for the repair of roads; and a third granting a loan for the completion of the Welland Canal, not yet entirely finished, some of the locks having given away.

During the earlier part of the Summer there were few subjects broached to agitate the public mind, and the bulk of the people, in the rural districts, turned their attention to the formation of agricultural societies, and the furtherance of their welfare, aside from politics. The death of George IV., and the consequent dissolution of the Assembly, again produced political excitement, and the country prepared for a general election, which took place in the month of October. Its result showed that a new epoch had arisen in Upper Canada.

Prior to the war of 1812, what might properly be called political parties did not exist in the province. The existence of a Reform Party proper, cannot be traced farther back than 1820, when it had its origin in the endeavor to remove existing abuses, the desire to procure the promised grants of lands for the militia, and the agitation aroused by the advent

of the eccentric Gourlay. During the next ten years, the line of demarcation between the Family Compact and the Reform Party was distinctly and broadly drawn. From the close of Simcoe's administration to 1820, the former body held a firm and almost unquestioned grasp of the administrative power of the province. Receiving at times fresh accessions to its numbers, it established itself in nearly all the highest public offices, maintained a decided influence in the Executive Council, and by wielding the whole powers of government, and thus having the patronage of all the petty posts throughout the province, it long preserved its influence in both branches of the Legislature, but particularly in the Upper House, and where until the Union it continued to hold supreme sway. From Hunter to Colborne, successive Governors, in their turn, either at once submitted to its influence, or were compelled to do so after a short and unavailing struggle. The Bench, the Magistracy, the high offices of the Church of England, were filled by its adherents, who were also numerous among the members of the Bar. By grants or purchase this party had likewise acquired the bulk of the best located wild lands; and were all powerful in the chartered banks, in which they shared among themselves nearly all the offices of trust and profit.*

For a period of over thirty years, the prominent characteristics of the Family Compact had varied very little, if at all. Originally formed by the majority of the leading men of the U. E. Loyalist emigration, by the Tory half-pay British officers, and by other settlers of the same aristocratic pretension, it continued to admit fresh accessions to its number of this description of persons only, and thus preserved its exclusive character. While it desired to acquire adherents among, what it deemed, the common people, it did so merely for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating its own position, and carefully excluded them from its inner circle, and from participation in all real power. Devotedly loyal to the Crown, attached to monarchical institutions as the source from whence sprung its own obligarchical position, originally better educated, and possessed of more talent and more wealth than the rest of the community, it presented a Tory aspect of a school long scouted in Great Britain for its illiberality, and consigned to merited political oblivion.

On the other hand, the Reform Party was at first composed of a part of the U. E. Loyalists, and the bulk of the emigrants from the United States, who had settled in the province before the war of 1812 to escape high taxation and improve their fortunes. Many of the latter were shrewd practical men, familiar with the disputes which led to the

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 56,

American war of Independence, and soon desired a larger measure of constitutional liberty, than existed in the land of their adoption. Few, if indeed any of these, had quit the United States because they disliked their constitution; and not finding political matters suited to their wishes in this country, they naturally considered that a monarchical form of government must be necessarily arbitrary, regarded republican institutions as the only liberal ones, and desired to see them established in Canada. Up to 1826, this class of persons formed fully one-third of the Reform Party, and consequently in many of its movements a covert though very guarded leaning to republicanism can distinctly be traced. Like the Family Compact, it also betrayed in its political conduct a jealousy of the emigrants, and a wish to maintain the powers of office, and the emoluments of the professions, in the hands of persons born or long resident in the colony.*

Subsequent to 1826, the large British emigration which poured continuously into Upper Canada, and which, in 1831, had swelled its population to over a quarter of a million, produced a complete change in political parties. While the recent emigrants took different sides in politics—while one class, among whom was a large proportion of the Irish Roman Catholics, arranged themselves on the side of Reform; and another class, which embraced the great bulk of Irish Protestants, stood up in partial opposition—all, as a rule, were decidedly British in their feelings, and predilections, and had little sympathy with the republican institutions of the United States.

This emigration did not strengthen the Reform Party so speedily as it did their opponents. They had a more decided dislike to strangers, and as they considered they had still a majority of votes in the different electoral districts, they were unwilling to unite themselves closely to, or avail themselves of the aid of, Irish Reformers. On the other hand, the sturdy and independent conduct of Sir John Colborne made the members of the Family Compact tremble for their influence; and they saw that unless they obtained a majority in the Assembly, and thus showed they were popular with the people, they could not long hope to preserve their influence in the Legislative and Executive Councils. They accordingly disguised their dislike of emigrants, and courted their support. But, Irish and English Protestants, as a rule, were a well-informed body of persons; few who could not read and write; they loved constitutional liberty as a general principle, while they eschewed republicanism in the abstract; were not opposed by any means to rational reform; and had not forgotten the revolution of 1688, which

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 59.

freed them from Toryism of the extreme school. Hence, they did not now feel very much disposed, to support the undue pretensions of the Family Compact. They had leaders of their own, too, who wanted to be no mens' tools, and sought place and power for themselves, by the suffrages of emigrants like themselves, and who, if they served the old Tory Party of Canada, expected that the old Tory Party should serve them in turn. From these causes gradually arose the Conservative Party of Canada West, and which soon absorbed the entire Family Compact in its ranks, or pushed it out of the way.

Thus, we see that from 1826 to 1831 the two great political parties of this country were completely reconstructed, and the republican element in the Reform party reduced to a mere fractional proportion. From that day to this, the causes which produced this change have been constantly at work. Emigration has steadily continued to flow into Canada from the mother country, and the great mass of its people are now sincerely attached to constitutional monarchy. Settlers from the United States find every liberty they can desire, soon learn to pray for the Queen and constituted authorities, are fused into the great mass of the people, and as a rule, become excellent citizens. Subsequent to 1826, Reformers and Conservatives of talent and education poured into the province from all directions. The press grew able and enlightened, both parties became more national, more patriotic, and more conducive to the developement of rational liberty. The full force of progress and intelligence swept away monopolies and abuses one after another, and made Canada what she is to day, the happiest and most contented country in the world. The only evils now to be dreaded are those of prosperity—national extravagance, and a desire to grow suddenly rich by unwholesome speculation.

From the circumstances just noticed, as well as from the fact, that several of the constituencies were desirous to try what a Tory Assembly (the Conservative party not yet taking the lead) would accomplish for the country, the Reform Party, on the close of the general election of 1830, found itself in a decided minority. When the Legislature assembled on the 8th of January, their opponents were able to appoint a Speaker, Mr. McClean, of Stormont, from their own body by a vote of 27 to 15.

There is little upon the Statute Book to distinguish this session, beyond an act granting £6500 sterling in perpetuity to the government, to pay the salaries of the Lieutenant Governor, the three judges, the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, and the five Executive Councillors, in return for the Crown ceding to the Legislature the control of the Imperial duties, now amounting annually to about £11,000 sterling. Thus

one cause of public dissatisfaction was removed. The opposition press grumbled a good deal about not making the grant an annual one. But parliament acted wisely in meeting the liberal action of the Crown in a corresponding spirit.

The legislation of the ensuing session, which was convened on the 17th of November, was also of an ordinary stamp, and presents few features of importance for historical comment. In this session Mackenzie at length had the satisfaction of becoming a political martyr. A caustic article in his newspaper on the composition of the Assembly was voted libellous and a breach of its privileges by that body. He was accordingly expelled by a vote of 24 to 15, and a new writ for the county of York directed to be issued.

But, as if to make amends for its illiberal expulsion of Mackenzie, the Assembly voted an address to the Crown, praying that the Clergy Reserves might be sold, and the proceeds applied to the purposes of education. This was a strong bid for popularity. Mackenzie was 1832. again elected on the 2nd of January, again expelled, and this time declared ineligible to sit in the existing Assembly. The excitement increased, and the Legislative Council also declared itself libelled by the *Advocate*, and prayed the protection of the Lower House.

Public meetings were now held in every direction, at which resolutions were passed favorable to the liberty of the press, and condemning the course of the majority in the Assembly. The Reform Party were thoroughly aroused, became willing to acquire all the support they could, and exhibited a decided inclination to incorporate as many of the recent emigrants into their ranks as possible.

Towards the close of the session, a message from the Governor stated, that the Home Ministry admitted the Church of Scotland in Canada had a right to share in the Clergy Reserve lands.

The Legislature was prorogued on the 28th of January. Seven days afterwards Mackenzie was again elected for the County of York, by an immense majority over two other candidates. He was now decidedly the most popular man in the province, and was chosen to act as agent by a large meeting held at Toronto, for a petition, signed by 24,500 persons, to William IV. This petition prayed that a new provincial parliament might be called, as the present members did not represent the people, that the Legislative Council might be made elective, the Lieutenant Governor removed, the Bank of Upper Canada prevented from becoming a monied monopoly dangerous to popular liberty, and, that a favorable answer might be returned to previous petitions asking for a more equal representation, many of the borough towns being

very small. The promotion of education, was also requested, and the abolition of the law of primogeniture, the proper expenditure of the public revenue, and the regulation of the land granting department. If the Clergy Reserve question, and the fact of the Family Compact still retaining a firm grasp on the principal offices of the country, were added to this catalogue, the grievance list of the province at this period would be fully filled up. All these differences were capable of constitutional settlement, and afforded slender pretext for revolution. Unlike the Papineau faction, the Reform Party of Upper Canada had no disposition to hunt up new grievances as old ones were removed; and had no desire, as a general rule, to push matters to an extreme point, with an ulterior aim to a total independence of the mother country.

The Summer of this year was not distinguished by much political agitation. A numerous emigration crowded up the St. Lawrence to establish itself in the new townships, and swell the population of the province. It was a sad season for the poor fugitive from Fatherland. The Asiatic Cholera was sweeping with its deadly plague-breath over affrighted Europe, and decimating the terror-stricken passengers of the crowded and ill-ventilated emigrant ships. With the first sunny days of Spring it established itself in Quebec and Montreal, the great outlets of Canadian commerce, and from thence passed up the St. Lawrence, and round the shores of Ontario and Erie, carrying death and dismay into all the frontier towns and hamlets of the country. Until the scourge passed almost entirely away with the cool days of October, the terrible word "Cholera" stared at one continually from all the public prints, mingled with the matin, prime, and vesper orisons of the prayerful, and was ever the ghastly nightmare of the dreamer.

The Legislature assembled on the 31st of October. In his opening address, the Governor alluded to the rapid increase of population by emigration,* the completion of the Rideau Canal, and the almost complete disappearance of Cholera. Mr. Mackenzie still continued absent in England, and was busily engaged in attracting the attention of the Colonial Office, now controlled by Lord Goderich, to the affairs of the province. One of the first measures was his third expulsion from the Assembly. But he was again re-elected by acclamation, no other candidate presenting himself, and the same day the first political union of Upper Canada was organised, on a basis proposed by Dr. Morrison.

Five times, altogether, was Mackenzie expelled by the Tory majority

* As a proof of the respectability of this emigration 300,000 sovereigns were deposited during the summer in the Bank of Upper Canada. *New York Albion*, October 1832.

of the Assembly to be as often re-elected. The Home Government disapproved of their conduct in this respect. It was decidedly opposed to its Whig policy, to the principles of Reform professed by the Imperial Parliament, and although averse to complying with all the prayers of the petitions, for which Mackenzie acted as agent, the latter had the satisfaction of seeing Attorney General Boulton and Solicitor General Hagerman deprived of their situations, for aiding prominently in his frequent expulsion. Mr. Hagerman, however, proceeding promptly to England soon procured his own restoration to office, while Mr. Boulton got a judgeship in Newfoundland.*

These occurrences added largely to the intensity of party spirit, and the agitation which they aroused reacted to some extent on the Legislature, which this year passed the long and much desired act making the judges independent of the Crown, and enabling them to hold their office for life, provided they behaved themselves properly. This act also declared both branches of the Legislature a competent court to try impeachments against judges, giving, however, a right of appeal to the King in council. Thus one serious and long-standing abuse was removed, and the flagrant case of a Thorpe or a Willis could never again occur in Upper Canada.

The approaching election was productive of a larger amount of political excitement, than any similar event had hitherto produced in the Province. The almost unlooked for majority which the Tories had acquired in the late Assembly, led them to make great exertions to secure the same preponderance in the ensuing one. But their arbitrary course with regard to Mackenzie had lost them many friends. Nor did their conduct otherwise satisfy many of the new emigrant electors, and it was evident as the struggle drew near, that their prospects of success were extremely slight. Taught by experience the Reform Party sedulously courted the support of the Irish Roman Catholics, as well as of all those whom they imagined were most likely to assist them, and exerted themselves so effectually that they secured a majority of 10 in a House of 58 members. Mackenzie was again returned triumphantly for the County of York, and Marshall S. Bidwell, when the Legislature assembled on the 14th of January, was a second time elected Speaker of the Assembly. The result of this election may be regarded as the last knell of the Family Compact. A new party who disclaimed its extreme political doctrines, denied its exclusive right to office, maintained that preferment should be open to all

* Seventh Grievance Report, p. 31.

men of talent, and was not opposed to measures of necessary Reform, while, at the same time, it was sincerely attached to British connection, was now rapidly springing into political importance. This party disclaimed alike the name of Family Compact or Tory, and called itself Conservative. Its principles differed as widely from those of the Family Compact, as the principles of the Reform Party of the present day, and whose existence commenced in 1831, differ from the extreme Radical and revolutionary theories of the Rolph and Bidwell school of 1837-8.

The first session of the 12th parliament of Upper Canada, is particularly distinguished for its famous "Seventh Grievance Report" concocted chiefly by Mackenzie and Dr. Morrison. This Report is a temperate and truthful document, in which the impartial reader can find very little to quarrel with. After making due allowance for the natural desire to reduce political foes in public estimation, all lovers of rational liberty will admit that many grievances are therein exposed to view, which required constitutional remedy; and a feeling of regret must arise, that any other than constitutional means were ever resorted to by way of obtaining redress. Twenty-one out of its forty-eight pages* were devoted to the question of Responsible Government, to procure which the members of the Reform Party were concentrating all their exertions, sensible, that if they once could control the Executive Council, the Legislative Council must speedily adapt itself to their views.

The great change in the political opinions of Great Britain, and the moderate and more rational tone which now began to pervade parties there, led to the supposition in Upper Canada, that the High Church party could not much longer maintain its exclusive claims to the Clergy Reserve lands; and, that agreeable to the original statute setting them apart, they must be soon divided among other Protestant denominations, or diverted to the purposes of education. The Executive accordingly determined while they had yet the power, to make provision for the maintenance of the Church of England. Fifty-seven Rectories were set apart from the Clergy Reserves, and put in possession of ministers, with the view of giving them a personal interest in the lands, and thus, it was supposed, preventing them from being ousted by legal enactment.†

* This is the extent of the Report proper. It is accompanied, however, by a large mass of other and very useful information of some 450 pages.

† The Trinity Episcopal Corporation of New York, acquired their property

This procedure produced a large amount of ill-feeling towards the Executive among the opposition, and a very violent spirit manifested itself on different occasions. In Toronto, which had now expanded into a city, of which Mackenzie moreover was Mayor, quarrels took place between the military and the refuse of the Reform Party, which created a good deal of unpleasantness. The soldiers, too, were tampered with,* but evidently more with the view of annoying the Governor, than with any ulterior design to rebellion.

Such was the unpleasant condition of Upper Canada, when the Colonial Office, now pledged to a policy of conciliation, and satisfied that Sir John Colborne would not compromise himself by carrying it out, determined to recall him, agreeable to his own request, and appoint Sir Francis Bond Head as his successor.

also from the Crown before the American Revolution, and] still retain possession of it owing to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

* Canada as it Was, &c. vol. 1. p. 188-190.

CHAPTER XIX.

LOWER CANADA FROM 1828 TO 1837.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JAMES KEMPT.

Lieutenant General Sir James Kempt, selected by Mr. Huskisson to succeed Lord Dalhousie in the government of Lower Canada, was already well acquainted with that province. During Sir James H. Craig's administration he had been Quarter-Master General of the army in this country, and came out hither again in 1814 as a general of brigade. His recent direction of the government of Nova Scotia had given him, in addition, considerable experience in colonial affairs. Great reliance was accordingly placed on his tact and prudence by the Colonial Office, which confidently anticipated his administration would relieve it from the embarrassing position, in which it was now placed by the unsatisfactory condition of things in Lower Canada.

In pursuance of the conciliatory policy now proposed to be adopted, Papineau, on the Legislature assembling in November, was confirmed in the Speakership of the Assembly. Nothing was effected, however, towards arranging the financial disputes between the Crown and the Lower House, who again voted a Supply Bill in a manner which asserted their claim to the entire control of all provincial moneys. 1829. The Supply Bill for 1829 was also voted in the same way, and both narrowly escaped being lost in the Legislative Council. Complaints continued to be made against judges, and Wolfred Nelson, returned for William Henry, protested against the conduct of Attorney General James Stuart, his opponent at the recent election, as wholly unbecoming an officer of the Crown. Robert Christie, the member for Gaspe, and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for the District of Quebec, was expelled the House, principally on the ground of his having procured the dismissal from the magistracy of members of the Assembly, who had voted contrary to the wishes of the Executive. He was also accused of abusing his position as a member of the House, by making Government aware of the votes, and conduct generally, of the leading

men of the opposition, a system of espionage which was voted to be a gross breach of privilege. He was subsequently re-elected and expelled several times for the same causes.

During the session grievance petitions poured in from various quarters, which were referred to a committee appointed for their investigation. The report of this committee, adopted by the Assembly, recommended the settlement of the financial question on a permanent and economical basis, the independence of judges, and their removal from political business, the proper accountability of public officers, a re-construction of the Legislative Council to make it act more harmoniously with the popular House, the application of the Jesuits' Estates to educational purposes, and the removal of all obstructions to the settlement of the country, particularly the Crown and Clergy Reserve lands remaining unoccupied in the neighborhood of roads and settlements, and exempt from the common burthens. This session was also distinguished by an act increasing the representation of the province to 84 members.

During the ensuing session of the Legislature, financial matters remained in the same condition. The Governor informed the Assembly, that an act of the Imperial Parliament was necessary to give it the control of the casual and territorial revenues of the Crown, and until that right was conceded, no permanent arrangements for the Civil List could be made with constitutional propriety. He thus ignored the position, on this point, assumed by his predecessors. The Supply Bill voted for the year amounted to £62,250 sterling, but was nevertheless £7,500 short of the estimate, the Assembly cutting off several items, and among others the salaries of the Chairmen of the Quarter Sessions for the Districts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec. The bill had a narrow escape in the Upper House, 7 voting for it and 7 against it, among whom was the Speaker, Chief Justice Sewell. He insisted he had a right to a vote as Speaker, and to another vote as Councillor, and thus managed to carry the measure. The legality of his procedure was very properly questioned. Several liberal appropriations were made for public purposes.

Although dissatisfied with the conduct of the Assembly, in not voting the entire amount of the estimate, Sir James Kempt steadily pursued his policy of conciliation. The magistrates dismissed by his predecessor were restored to office, as well as the cashiered officers of militia. He added new and more popular members to the Executive Council, and requested the judges to retire from the Legislative Council.* This the latter refused to do, although they promised to take no

* Martin's British North America, p. 25.

part in its deliberations. With the carrying out of these measures terminated Sir James Kempt's administration, to the great regret of a large majority of the people, Lord Aylmer having been appointed as his successor by the Whigs.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD AYLMER.

The new Governor-in-chief arrived out in October, and immediately assumed charge of the administration of affairs. The general election, consequent on the death of George IV., had made no change in 1831. the condition of parties in the Assembly, and Papineau was again elected Speaker, and confirmed in that office by the Governor.

Shortly after the commencement of the session, Lord Aylmer announced in a message to the Assembly, that a bill would be introduced into the Imperial Parliament by the British ministry, securing to the Colonial Legislature the control of the Crown duties and other revenue, amounting to £38,000 sterling per annum, provided it guaranteed a Civil List during the King's life, as had been done in England, of £19,000 a year. The timber duties, and other casual and territorial revenue, creating an annual fund of £11,231 a year, were to remain, however, at the disposal of the Crown. This offer was rejected by the Assembly, who on every fresh concession being made, appeared only more determined to obtain control over every branch of the public revenue, and now passed a strong resolution to that effect. They next agreed to a series of resolutions detailing the several public grievances complained of. On these, petitions to the Crown and Imperial Parliament for redress were based, which the Governor was requested, by a deputation of the House, to transmit to England. This he promised to do, expressing a hope, at the same time, that they contained all the grievances to be redressed, and that nothing of the kind would be afterwards brought forward. During this session, provision was made, for the first time, to pay members of Assembly the expenses incurred in attending the Legislature.

As the year progressed, the newspaper *La Canadien*, which had given so much trouble to Sir James H. Craig, was again established; the Chambly Canal was commenced; and a vast emigration, chiefly from Ireland, of over 50,000 souls, passed up the St. Lawrence like a disorganised army, leaving the inhabitants to provide for the sick and wounded, and to bury their dead.* During the season of navigation

* Quebec Gazette, 11th November, 1831.

1016 vessels arrived at Quebec, trade and commerce continued to increase, the province had now a large surplus revenue, and the population of Champlain's little colony of 50 souls, had in Lower Canada alone swelled up to over 500,000 human beings.

Despite the unfavorable action of the Assembly on the question of a permanent Civil List, a bill was introduced by Lord Howick, Under Secretary for the Colonies, into the British Parliament, handing over to the control of the Lower Canadian Legislature the Imperial duties, levied agreeable to 14th Geo. III., chap. 88, under the belief that this course would still be met by the latter in a corresponding spirit of liberality. This act passed both Houses of Parliament, and was assented to by the King. In its passage through the Lords it was protested against by the Duke of Wellington. In addition to this important concession the grievance petitions were replied to in the most conciliatory spirit, the control of the Jesuits' Estates handed over to the Assembly, who might now devote them to purposes of education, and the assent of the Crown given to the appointment of judges for life, and to removing them altogether from the political arena. It was, therefore, confidently hoped, that the long pending disputes would now be fully and satisfactorily settled.

The House of Assembly, in its first moments of surprise at these important and beneficial concessions, evinced a feeling of gratitude, which they embodied in several resolutions. This feeling, however, speedily disappeared, and in the act making judges independent of the Government, it was declared their salaries should be drawn from the timber duties and territorial revenue, amounting as already stated to £11,231, retained chiefly for the payment of the pension list, the support of the Church of England, and the control of which had not yet been surrendered by the Crown. The permanent Civil List had been fixed in the estimate at the very low sum of £5,900, which included £4,500 for the Governor's salary, £500 for that of his Secretary, £400 for Provincial Secretary, £300 for the Attorney General, and £200 for the salary of the Solicitor General. Still, small as this sum was the Assembly refused to grant it, a most illiberal and unwise course. It brought them directly into contact with the Home Ministry, who now began to discover that fresh concessions only led to fresh demands.

Party spirit was rapidly on the increase. The British portion of the population, satisfied that every reasonable concession had been made, very generally sided with the Executive; the French-Canadians with the Assembly. An election riot at Montreal, in which three were killed and two wounded, by the fire of the military in self defence, added

to this antagonistic feeling, scarcely checked by the Cholera, soon decimating the principal towns and villages. On the 30th of July a meeting was held in the parish of St. Charles, in which England was denounced for permitting emigration at such a sickly time, and thus desolating the province. It was likewise declared at this meeting the Legislative Council ought to be elective, and, that the conduct of Lord Aylmer, in censuring the Assembly for not voting a Supply Bill as he desired, was an insult to that body. A very hostile feeling was also evinced towards British emigrants of every description. They were stigmatised as foreigners, and the conduct of the government in selling them lands denounced as an injury to the French population, to whom the soil of the country of right belonged, and for whose sole use it should be reserved.

The Whigs, still resolving to carry out their policy of conciliation, conceded to the Legislature the right to vote the Supply Bill by items, which at once terminated the long dispute on this point. At the same time the Colonial Secretary pressed upon the Assembly the propriety of permitting Mr. Christie, whom they had so frequently expelled, and who was as frequently returned by the electors of Gaspé, to take his seat. This they refused, however, to do. The session 1833. of 1832-3 was particularly distinguished by a petition to the Crown, praying that the Legislative Council should be made elective; and for an increasing ill-feeling towards the Executive. The Supply Bill also was £7000 short of the amount required, leaving the difference to be made up, at the pleasure of the government, from the small Crown revenue still retained. The Bill was lost in the Upper House, now deeply incensed by the conduct of the Assembly in endeavoring to alter their constitution. They had already memorialised the Crown in strong language against the prayer of the grievance petitions on that head.

Lord Stanley, now Secretary of State for the Colonies, was decidedly opposed to making the Legislative Council elective, and stated that he deemed such a measure opposed to monarchical institutions, and, therefore, could never advise his Majesty to assent thereto. He also hinted that the existing dissensions in Lower Canada might lead to a modification of its charter.

When the Legislature again met, it was evident that little cordiality might be looked for between its two branches. The Assembly, incensed at the threat held out by Lord Stanley, principally occupied itself in preparing the celebrated "Ninety-two Resolutions," chiefly drawn up by Papineau, embodying their real or supposed grievances, on which petitions to the King, Lords, and

Commons of the United Kingdom were founded. The address to the King was presented to the Governor for transmission : Mr. Morin, one of their body, was deputed to convey the addresses for the Lords and Commons to England, and hand them to Mr. Viger, still there as their agent. No Supply Bill whatever was voted, and the Governor, there not being a quorum to transact business, unwillingly prorogued the House on the 18th of March.

The appeal to the Imperial Parliament by the Assembly of Lower Canada, caused Mr. Roebuck, on the 15th of April, to move in the House of Commons for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the means of remedying the evils which existed in the form of government of these provinces. This motion, however, he withdrew on another being made in amendment by Lord Stanley for "a select committee to enquire into, and report to the House, how far the grievances, complained of in the year 1828, on the part of certain inhabitants of Lower Canada, had been redressed, and whether the recommendation of the committee which sat thereupon had been complied with." To this committee the subsequent grievances, as embodied in the ninety-two resolutions, were also to be referred. In order that everything might be done that was reasonable, the committee was so formed as to include all the members then in the House of the Canada committee of 1828, and which had reported so favorably for the petitioners. Among the members of the new committee was Bulwer, the celebrated novelist ; and, the still more celebrated liberal, Daniel O'Connell. Mr. Hume, who shrewdly saw that its report would hardly go to sustain the ultra position he had assumed on Canadian affairs, and not wishing to be under the necessity of censuring his own conduct, managed to have his name withdrawn.

The committee sat until the 3rd of the following July, examined the various petitions and documents connected with Canadian grievances, as well as several witnesses, and spared no pains to acquire a just knowledge of the questions at issue. The result of the investigation was a report, which declared in most unequivocal language, "that the Governors of Lower Canada had been unremitting in their endeavors to carry out the suggestions of the select committee of 1828, and that any want of success, on their part, was entirely owing to the quarrels between the two branches of the Canadian Legislature, and other local causes." The report further stated, "that it would be inexpedient to make the documents public, which had been submitted to the committee ; and, that the interests of the empire would be best subserved by leaving practical measures for the future administration of Lower Canada entirely in the hands of the Imperial Government." In

other words, the committee had come to the conclusion, that every reasonable concession had been made to the French majority of Lower Canada, and that no further measures of conciliation could be adopted with regard to them, without serious injury to the British portion of the inhabitants, now more than a fourth of the entire population, and representing all its great commercial and monetary interests. They could not fail to see from their minute enquiry, and the tenor of the ninety-two resolutions, the extreme views of the Assembly, and the latent desire for a total independence which pervaded all their movements, as well as perceive their thinly concealed hostility to Great Britain.

While these events were transpiring in England, a very general feeling began to prevail in Lower Canada, that a struggle, which would probably terminate in bloodshed, was near at hand. The differences between the French and British inhabitants became every day more marked and distinct. Societies were formed by the latter in Quebec and Montreal to support the constitution; while, on the other hand, the French-Canadians organised associations for purposes evidently hostile to the government. The menacing and revolutionary tone adopted by the French press, added greatly to the alarm of the British population, while the general feeling of despondency was increased by the second appearance of Cholera, which this time afflicted Quebec and Montreal with even greater severity than in 1832.

The first session of the last parliament of Lower Canada, 1835. was convened on the 21st of February, and Mr. Papineau again elected Speaker, by a vote of 70 in his favor against 6 for Mr. Lafontaine. In his speech the Governor stated, that the late period at which he had called the House together, was owing to his waiting for instructions from the Imperial Ministry. The latter, he added, had directed the advance of £31,000 from the military chest, for the payment of the salaries of the judges and other officers of the Crown, who had been suffering extreme distress owing to no Supply Bill having been passed for two sessions, and he trusted this amount would be cheerfully refunded by the Legislature.

The first act of the Assembly showed an uncompromising spirit of hostility to the Executive. It directed that the Governor's speech censuring their proceedings when proroguing the last session, be expunged from their journals. The usual address asserted their right to control all the revenues of the province, censured the advance made from the military chest as interfering with their privileges, declared that the great body of the people desired an elective Legislative Council, and requested the Governor to inform his Majesty, that they continued to seek the redress of all grievances and abuses. As several new

grievances had arisen in the province, since the passage of the ninety-two resolutions, a petition to the King was prepared, specifying them and praying for their removal.

The refusal of the Governor to advance money for the contingent expenses of the House, both in this and the former session, a responsibility he declined in consequence of their not voting a Supply Bill, produced a very angry feeling among the members. This was increased by an official communication from Mr. Spring Rice, stating the adverse decision of the Canada committee to their petitions, and the intention of the Imperial Parliament to adopt coercive measures, if the existing unsatisfactory condition of affairs should much longer continue. No Supply Bill, however, was voted, and only one act passed during the session, which was prorogued for the want of a quorum on the 18th of March.

These occurrences increased the general alarm ; and, while the unthinking mass of the French-Canadians blindly and rashly followed their ambitious leaders towards revolution, the "Constitutional Associations" of Quebec and Montreal were actively preparing for the crisis, now evidently near at hand. Branch associations were formed in every direction, where the inhabitants of English, Irish, and Scotch origin were sufficiently numerous to warrant such a course, and circulars, explanatory of their views and of the condition of the province, scattered in all quarters.

Such was the condition of matters in Lower Canada on Sir Robert Peel's accession to office in 1835. He at once determined on sending out a special commission for the examination of existing grievances, and felt disposed to yield up the casual and territorial revenue, if the Assembly would vote a civil list for at least seven years. Before this arrangement could be matured, Peel's administration was succeeded by that of Lord Melbourne. His plan was nevertheless carried out, and the Earl of Gosford, Sir Charles Grey, and Sir George Gipps, were appointed commissioners to proceed to Lower Canada. Besides being a commissioner, the Earl of Gosford was to succeed Lord Aylmer as Governor-in-chief.

Lord Glenelg, now Colonial Secretary, determined to continue a policy of conciliation, and stated his readiness to concede the control of the entire revenue to the Lower Canadian Legislature, if an independent provision was made for the judges, and the salaries of the civil officers fixed for ten years. He likewise professed his readiness to yield up the proceeds of the sale of wild lands, conceded the principle that the Imperial Parliament, unless in very extreme cases, had no constitutional right to interfere with the internal affairs of the province ; but

declared, at the same time, in general terms, that the King was opposed to an elective Legislative Council, yet willing nevertheless to have its expediency inquired into. Lord Aylmer received numerous addresses on his departure from the British inhabitants, who deemed him unfairly dealt by in being recalled.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF GOSFORD.

The new Governor, accompanied by the other commissioners, arrived at Quebec on the 23rd of August, at once assumed direction of the administration, and summoned the Legislature to meet, for despatch of business, on the 27th of October. In the interval he sedulously courted the good opinion of the leading members of the Assembly, invited them to his table, and declared "that he considered to be acceptable to the great body of the people, was one of the most essential elements of fitness for public station."

Lord Gosford, on the day appointed, opened the Legislature with the most important speech ever made to that body by a Governor. Its tone was eminently conciliatory, and showed every disposition to meet the wishes of the French majority, even to the detriment of the British population. He declared himself the head of a commission to enquire, upon the spot, into all grievances, and to offer to his Majesty and his Ministers advice thereupon. "Some of their grievances," he said, "could be redressed by the Executive alone, others by the aid of one or both branches of the Legislature; but some of their demands could only be complied with by the act of the Imperial Parliament." He declared himself prepared to act impartially in every respect, plurality of offices should no longer exist, and French-Canadians of talent and standing would have the path of official preferment opened to them equally with their British fellow-citizens. In future, every information with regard to public accounts, and all other public matters, should be rendered to the Assembly, and copies of the Blue Book, or general annual financial and statistical return, which he invited the aid of both Houses to make in future as complete as possible, would be presented to each branch of the Legislature. Bills should not, unless on the gravest grounds, be reserved for the decision of the Crown, nor would any undue partiality be given to the English language over the French. Whatever abuses might exist in the Law Courts, the members of the Legislature were themselves invited to remedy, as well as to regulate by enactment the matter of the Clergy Reserves. In addition, the Governor offered his warrant to both Houses, without any condition attached, for the payment of their contingent expenses. "The Home Government was

prepared," he said, "to surrender the control of all public revenue arising from any Canadian source, on condition of a moderate provision being made for the Civil List. He trusted, therefore, that a proper Supply Bill would be voted, and the £31,000, advanced from the military chest, repaid." He informed them that the suit instituted against Caldwell, the former Receiver General, had been brought to a favorable termination for the province, and the large property of the defendant, who was about to relinquish his seat in the Upper House, thus made liable for the debt. In conclusion, he recommended the passage of several useful bills; and endeavored to sooth the asperities of the two races. As regarded the inhabitants of British descent, he urged "they had nothing to fear on the score of commerce, the main support of the empire;" while to those of French origin he repeated, "that there was no design to disturb the form of society, under which they had so long been contented and prosperous."

In this liberal manner all real grievances were offered to be redressed, and every point in dispute, consistent with the retention of Lower Canada as a British province, conceded. This was the view of the matter taken by the more moderate portion of the educated French Canadians themselves, and could the intentions of the British Government have been placed before the several constituencies, so as they could fully understand them, the influence of their leaders must have been seriously affected. But the mass of the people were as illiterate, as unreflecting, and as little capable of judging for themselves in 1835, as they were when Amherst descended the St. Lawrence for the final subjugation of Canada. The clerical order alone could have counteracted effectually the extraordinary influence wielded by the ambitious, talented, yet visionary and imprudent Papineau: but they shared in the anti-British prejudices of the masses, and either held aloof altogether from the existing agitation, or covertly aided in establishing the ascendancy of their race. Not till rebellion had raised its head, and matters assumed a threatening aspect with regard to themselves, did they discover how little they could be profited by revolution, or by a closer connection with the United States. Then their great moral power was decidedly and effectually exercised against Papineau and his friends, whose real influence from that moment rapidly dwindled away. The same cause precisely which made Smith O'Brien's rebellion in Ireland, in 1848, alike impotent and ridiculous, paralysed the Lower Canadian rebellion of 1837-8, to wit, the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy.*

* A few only of the French-Canadian Clergy sided openly with the insurgents during the rebellion, one of whom was executed at Montreal.

However satisfactory to all moderate men and true patriots, might have been the conciliatory tone of Lord Gosford's speech, it was soon evident that Papineau and his immediate friends had ulterior views, which no concession could possibly affect. Their hatred of British ascendancy had already reached the culminating point, and they now aimed at total independence. Papineau intoxicated with long continuance of arbitrary moral power, allowed himself to indulge in visions of his prospective presidency of *La Nation Canadienne*, while his needy followers, the briefless French lawyers and patientless young physicians, exulted in the hope they would soon grasp every place of emolument and honor in the country, to the exclusion of the much disliked English, Irish, and Scotch. Accordingly, one of the first measures of the House was to pass a bill appointing Mr. Roebuck their agent in England, with instructions to press their grievances on the attention of the Imperial Parliament. In this way they utterly ignored the mission of the commissioners; and whom, in fact, on the score of their not having been appointed by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they had already determined not to acknowledge, although fully sensible that the report of the special committee had left Canadian matters completely in the hands of the British ministry. In their usual address all mention of the commission was consequently avoided.

Mr. Roebuck had declared the Legislative Council a nuisance. His appointment, as Canadian agent, was in consequence particularly unpalatable to them, and the bill for that purpose was accordingly thrown out. This event increased the hostility of the Assembly towards the Upper House; and Papineau, in the heat of debate, forgot his ordinary prudence, and avowed himself a republican in principle. "The time has gone by," said he, "when Europe could give monarchies to America, on the contrary an epoch is now approaching when America will give republics to Europe." Other members used equally violent language, the loyal population became alarmed, deemed the government criminally supine, and determined to organise for their own defence. At Montreal a volunteer Rifle Corps was formed, but which was suppressed by the Governor's proclamation, although it was now notorious that bodies of the French-Canadians were being drilled by their leaders.

The unsatisfactory condition of matters in the Assembly, 1836. was presently increased by the course pursued by Mr. Bidwell, Speaker of the Lower House of Upper Canada. Lord Glenelg had given instructions to Sir Francis B. Head which were decidedly opposed to the project of an elective Legislative Council. These instructions the latter had communicated to the Legislature of his

province, and seeing how unfavorable the policy of the Colonial Office was to the wishes of the Lower Canadians, Bidwell forwarded extracts from them to Papineau. An elective Legislative Council would have enabled the latter to fill both Houses with his adherents, and thus remove the antagonism from between them to the Legislature and the Crown, a course which must have practically resulted in French-Canadian independence. The firm position assumed by the British ministry on this point, left him no hopes of accomplishing his purpose unless by revolution, and thus forcibly wresting the country from Great Britain. Fancying that the United States would fly to his assistance, he determined on this course. It soon became evident, therefore, that Lord Gosford's mission was a complete failure.

On the 22nd of February, the Assembly resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the public accounts and state of the province, and speedily determined to vote a Supply Bill for six months only, without refunding the moneys to the military chest, or granting supplies for the preceding years. They next proceeded to vote addresses to the Crown and Imperial Parliament, in which they reiterated their old grievances, and urged several new ones in addition. The concession of a Legislative Council was particularly insisted on, as well as the abolition of the North American Land Company, established by Imperial charter, and which was already buying up the Crown lands. The appointment of Mr. Gale to a judgeship by Lord Aylmer, was next strongly condemned, chiefly on the ground of his having in 1822 advocated a union of the two provinces, a measure still particularly unpalatable, and his dismissal required, as well as that also of Judge Fletcher and several other officials, who had likewise become obnoxious to the Assembly. The administration of Lord Aylmer they censured in the strongest language.

The Supply Bill, as a matter of course, was rejected by the Upper House, and the Government thus again left without funds to pay its civil servants, while matters were now in point of fact in a more unsettled condition than ever. The Governor was completely at fault, and when he prorogued the House on the 21st of March, his speech evinced how deeply his failure had mortified him. "It is to me," said he, "a matter of sincere regret, that the offers of peace and conciliation of which I was the bearer to this country, have not led to the result which I had hoped for. The consequences of their rejection, and of the demands which have been made to his Majesty, I will not venture to predict." Lord Gosford in his subsequent despatches to the Colonial Office ascribed his failure to the disclosures made by Sir Francis Head. He was completely in error. Anything he could have done would

merely stave off the crisis to a later period, without removing the chief causes which had produced it.

The British portion of the population were now thoroughly aroused, and defensive associations formed by them in various parts of the province. The tone of the Governor's speech on opening the Legislature had alarmed them for their liberties, and they feared that French influence would speedily be paramount in the province, to the detriment of its other inhabitants. The close of the session, in a measure, relieved them from apprehensions on this score, and this feeling speedily gave way to one of anxiety for the safety of person and property. An intelligent and influential public press fearlessly discussed the questions at issue, and completely showed the anti-British spirit which actuated the leaders of the French majority, and that it was not in reality the amelioration of their condition as British subjects they desired, but total independence, and a distinct nationality.

The Legislature was again convened on the 22nd of September. The Governor's speech on this occasion was brief, and he did not by any means show the same disposition to court the good opinion of the Assembly, as when opening the preceding session. He stated, that his Majesty desired to give them another opportunity to re-consider the course they had pursued, and trusted that this time a proper Supply Bill would be voted, and the money borrowed from the military chest repaid. "The course I have hitherto pursued," he said, "has been approved by my sovereign, and I have never ceased to remember that the two first objects of my government, were the removal of abuses, and the reconciliation of opposing parties. By caution, by forbearance, and by the exercise of what I believe to be a liberal policy, I have sought to promote the welfare of the country, and to gain your confidence. If I succeed in this latter object I shall rejoice at it principally because it will afford me the means of doing the greater good, and if I fail of success, I shall always be consoled by the consciousness of having labored earnestly to deserve it." The address of the Assembly in reply to this speech, urged the necessity of an Elective Legislative Council, as all measures of reform must be abortive under the existing constitution. But it neither alluded to the commission of enquiry, nor to a Supply Bill.

Despatches from the Colonial Secretary were laid before the House at an early period of the session. These, while they expressed a strong desire to redress all reasonable abuses, repudiated the principle of an elective Legislative Council, and the right of interference with the British North American Land Company, unless their claims of a corporate character and to their lands, should be declared invalid by due

course of law. As its charter had been granted by the Imperial Parliament, a procedure of this nature would involve the question, whether it or the Canadian Legislature had the right to incorporate such a company? "No single complaint had been alleged," added the despatch, "which has not been either promptly removed, or made the subject of impartial enquiry. Yet the House declined a compliance with the proposition to provide for the arrears and supplies, pending such enquiry." The despatch drew from the Assembly a long address to the Governor, in which they endeavored to sustain the extreme position they had assumed on all the points at issue. The Legislative Council was again denounced in the strongest language, and the executive and judicial authorities stigmatised as "a faction combined against the liberties of the country, and its public property." At the same time, they avowed their determination not to transact any business till the Legislative Council had been made elective. A dissolution was out of the question, altogether, under existing circumstances, as it would only end in the return of the same members; so Lower Canada was now virtually without a House of Assembly. The Legislature was prorogued on the 5th of October, the Governor expressing his regret at the embarrassing position in which the country must remain, "until a remedy was applied by the supreme authority of the Empire."

The Commissioners, having fully investigated the matters referred to them, returned to England, with the exception of Lord Gosford, who remained in his capacity of Governor-in-chief. Their report, at once elaborate and comprehensive, convinced the Home ministry of the necessity of immediate action, if Lower Canada was to be retained as a British province. Resolutions, on which were to be based the future Imperial policy, were introduced in the House of Commons on the 6th of March, and adopted by a large majority. These resolutions declared that since 1832 no provision had been made by the Legislature of Lower Canada for the Civil List; and, after adverting to the policy of the Assembly, stated "that it was inadvisable to make the Legislative Council of the province elective; but, that it was expedient that measures be adopted for securing to that branch of the Legislature a greater degree of public confidence." Authority was given soon after to the Executive to use the public monies of the province, for the necessary expenditure, by the Imperial Parliament.

This unqualified rejection of their demands, aroused a storm of indignation on the part of Papineau and his party. The French-Canadians, with few exceptions, were loud in their execrations of the British government, and the *Vindicator*, a paper published in the English language at Montreal, was still more hostile in its denunciations. Indignation

meetings were speedily held in various parts of the province, at which violent resolutions were passed, and Papineau, the chief orator and actor on these occasions, was escorted by crowds of his countrymen from one district to another. The Governor endeavored to stop these meetings by a proclamation pointing out their seditious character, and directing their suppression. But they were still continued, and the cry of *Vive Papineau ! vive la liberte ! point de despotisme !* was shouted by the simple peasantry, with as much eager enthusiasm as though they had been Blouses of the Parisian Boulevards.

While the popularity of Papineau was thus at its zenith in the country, the better informed of the Habitants in the towns did not share altogether the feeling of the peasantry. Their closer intercourse with the British, had given them juster views of the questions at issue, and of the fierce struggle which must ensue before French-Canadian nationality was established, if that event indeed was ever to take place. Many, therefore, held wholly aloof from the quarrel in progress, and some, startled by the near and tangible approach of civil war, and sensible, possibly, of the privileges they enjoyed, attached themselves openly to the government. Nor were the British supporters of the constitution inactive. Loyal meetings of an imposing character took place at Quebec and Montreal, at which resolutions were passed avowing devoted attachment to the Crown, and a determination to support the constitution at all hazards.

In the midst of this excitement died William IV., the amiable citizen King of England ; and, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, a female sovereign again sat on the British throne. But the accession of Victoria I. awoke no feelings of gallantry or forbearance in the bosoms of the Papineau faction, and they plotted against her crown as earnestly as they had done against that of her predecessor. More violent language than ever was uttered at public meetings, and in various parts of the District of Montreal, the focus of sedition, magistrates were compelled to resign their commissions, and the laws otherwise violated with impunity. In consequence of these proceedings, Papineau and several other militia officers were dismissed.

The Home Government, very unwilling at the commencement of a new reign to adopt coercive measures, instructed Lord Gosford to convoke the Legislature once more, and give it an opportunity to rescind its resolves, and pursue a wiser and more constitutional course. On the 18th of August it accordingly assembled for the last time at Quebec, many members of the Assembly, pursuant to a

determination, recently agreed upon, to discountenance the use of British manufactures, appearing in homespun clothing. The Governor's speech was most conciliatory in its tone, but the Assembly doggedly persisting in its determination to vote no Supply Bill, nor transact any other business till their demands were complied with, the Legislature was prorogued by proclamation on the 26th.

These occurrences increased the prevailing excitement. Military associations were organised by the *Patriots*, as the disaffected thought proper to term themselves, and the determination to establish a "North-West Republic of Lower Canada" openly avowed. Under existing circumstances legal prosecutions would be of no avail. The bench, the bar, the people, were alike tainted with the spirit of hostility to Great Britain, and no jury would dare, if they even desired it, to convict a political criminal. The military power alone could effectually grapple with the existing order of things. But positive rebellion only would excuse its intervention. That had not as yet raised its head, so matters in the meantime were permitted to take their course.

The project of a republic, at length effectually aroused the French Roman Catholic Clergy to a sense of their true position, and they now vigorously applied themselves to check the progress of the storm, which they had so long quietly allowed to gather strength, or covertly fomented. Bishop Lartigue addressed a circular letter to his clergy, directing them to oppose the revolutionary spirit, and to inculcate obedience to the laws of their country. At the same time, he painted in forcible language the horrors and misery of civil war. In the excitement of the moment his address had little apparent effect: still, from the hour of its publication, a moral influence was steadily at work at the altars and confessionals of the many churches of the province, which gradually, but surely, effected a powerful re-action. Papineau was soon made to feel, that the "Church" exercised a mastery over the unlettered *Habitants* which he had not yet attained to.

CHAPTER XX.

CAUSES LEADING TO THE LOWER CANADIAN REBELLION.

Uneventful indeed must the pages of that history be, which conveys no profound lesson of instruction to the politician, the philanthropist, nor the philosopher. Brief as the existence of Canada has been, her annals are pregnant with import, and their careful and philosophical analysis eminently necessary to wise legislation. The system, now so prevalent, of taking up public questions, and discussing them in the light in which they affect society at the moment, is an error of the gravest kind. By tracing effect to cause, by a disposition on our part to profit by past experience, much ill-digested and unwise legislation may be avoided.

The history of Canada solves, in a great measure, if not altogether, two important problems in political economy. On one hand it tends to establish the fact, that the colonial policy of England is revolutionary in its effects, and founds communities on a basis which invariably leads to political independence of the parent state: on the other, it proves, that the natural temperament of a French community, is not favorable to the sober and rational exercise of constitutional liberty.

1. Generations ago the sages of England discovered that the unity of the Empire could only be preserved, and its power consolidated, by fusing the legislatures of the three kingdoms into one. The Act of Union effected this object with regard to Scotland, the rebellion of "98" accomplished the same purpose in Ireland. From 1798 the British parliament has assumed an imperial aspect, and steadily pursued its mission of a united metropolitan power. While the astute O'Connell desired a national existence for Ireland, he saw clearly that his project was utterly hopeless so long as his country continued to send members to a British Legislature. Hence, he agitated the "Repeal of the Union" as the first grand step towards Irish nationality: but, opposed alike by Whig, and Tory, and Conservative, he sank to rest with his fathers, leaving his purpose unaccomplished, and every prospect of its attainment blotted out forever by the political insanity of Smith

O'Brien and John Mitchell, the latter the pseudo advocate of liberty in Ireland, the apologist for slavery in the United States.

When the eloquence of Grattan was transplanted from the College Green of Dublin, to the Westminster of London—from an Irish to a British Parliament, there were over a million of persons in Ireland who could scarcely speak a word of English. Numbers beside, while they spoke a little English, could only think in Irish, and all regarded the Anglo-Saxons as a race of odious foreigners, who neither understood the language, nor appreciated the religion of the Celt.

Here, then, was a clear and tangible basis for an Irish nationality ; and O'Connell long struggled to preserve it as a distinct social element. But the imperial policy triumphed. The English language broke roughly and continually over that of the Celt, invaded the bogs of Connaught, and the rude cabins of Connemara, pervaded the bench the bar, the national school room, and effectually performed its mission of breaking down the "wall of partition" between the two races. A generation or two more, and the tongue in which Carolan sang, Curran apostrophised, and the learned "Four Masters" indited their Annals, will have passed into oblivion, to be only acquired by the studious.

It must create a feeling of surprise in the mind of the philosophical enquirer, that the policy of a united power, so successful in fusing the Celtic elements of Ireland and Scotland into the great Anglo-Saxon family, was not followed out in the colonial system of Great Britain. Had an imperial representation been interwoven in the constitutions of the American colonies, they would still, in all probability, have remained an integral portion of the British Empire, The indignant feelings, consequent on the secondary positions their legislatures occupied, could not have been excited, and secure in every privilege of the citizen of the parent state, their inhabitants would never have felt themselves oppressed by colonial inferiority, and the circumstance of their being no longer entitled to the rights of British freemen, when they ceased to inhabit British soil.

Had the principles of an imperial federal union been established from the first, as the prominent characteristic of the colonial policy of Great Britain, her power would be alike splendid and enduring, instead of now being broken into several fragments, in some cases, held together by the most slender ties. But, unfortunately for the unity of the race, a narrow commercial prejudice influenced the colonial legislation of the mother country, meanly looking to mercantile monopoly and present profit, rather than to the future founding of what must be almost a universal empire.

The American revolution produced no change in the fundamental

principles of British colonial policy. The surrender of the right of internal taxation by the Imperial Parliament, was merely an abstract measure, and involved only a slight modification of the general system. The erroneous position was assumed by British statesmen that taxation without representation was the chief cause of American independence, and, that by relinquishing such a right, no event of the kind could ever happen again. The result has proved how fallacious was the supposition. It never occurred to British legislators of the last century that their whole colonial system was utterly at fault, and required to be entirely remodelled, in order to secure a lasting union with the vigorous young nations, Anglo-Saxon emigration was planting amid the gentle tides of the Pacific, along the pleasant valley of the St. Lawrence, and in the gorgeous regions towards the rising sun. The political events in all the principal British dependencies for the last fifty years, present unmistakeable evidence how imperfect is our colonial system, and how slightly has it been modified for the better by the lapse of time. Seventy-two years ago it led to the independence of the United States, and in our own day it has all but severed the Cape of Good Hope, Canada, and Australia from British dominion. To all intents and purposes, these provinces are now practically as independent of the Mother Country, as the American Union. Every British colony as it arrives at a certain position of population and wealth must occupy the same position. This result is the necessity of a system, which, while it concedes the principle of local colonial legislation, would check the full developement of constitutional liberty, (which the very concession itself involves) and arrogates to itself an imperial dictation. Hence, so long as this system prevails, Great Britain must be content to see her colonies become practically independent, one by one, as they arrive at an age to care of themselves; whereas, an enlightened course would have enabled her to found an empire, such as the world never saw. It would seem that the time for establishing such an empire has gone by, and that the union of opinion and natural affection is the only one now can subsist between Great Britain and her principal colonies.

2. While a correct knowledge of this subject, is necessary to the Canadian student of history to enable him to understand a great many points which otherwise might appear enigmatical, it must not be forgotten, that the future colonial policy of Great Britain can exercise only a negative, and very partial influence, on the condition of this country. Its destinies rest principally with its own citizens. Hence, the enquiry, how far the French element in our social and political system is favorable to the progress of rational constitutional liberty? becomes eminently important. Its reply necessarily involves an investigation

into the causes which produced the Lower Canadian rebellion, and of which that in Upper Canada may be regarded as a consequence.

Before the Conquest Canada was purely a military colony, and subjected, like France, to a despotism of the most exacting and imperious character. While the customs of the Parisian tribunals, and the edicts of the French monarch, were the statute law of the country, its administration was confided to the Governor and an Intendant, who unchecked by a public press, and having the patronage of the whole colony completely at their disposal, usually acted on the caprice of the moment, and were generally able to set public opinion completely at defiance. Having thus the means to provide for the more educated, they either silenced, or enlisted on their side, every person of influence. The common people, steeped in the grossest ignorance, and oppressed by feudal exactions, submitted without a murmur, from long habit, to the arrogant claims and pretensions of their seigniors, and the public officials. The meanest officer of the government was regarded with the most slavish fear, and his mandates promptly obeyed; while their superiors were looked upon as almost beings of a higher order in creation than themselves. By these they were treated with the greatest severity. In the law courts the torture was frequently applied; while by the military authorities, they were compelled to serve as soldiers without pay, and in every condition of life taught that the one cardinal virtue was a blind and implicit obedience to those in power. This doctrine was continually rung in their ears, from generation to generation, by the ministers of religion, by the judicial authorities, and by officials of every grade. On the other hand, there was no one to expose its fallacies or abuses—no newspaper to criticise the actions of the superior class. The writings of Montesquieu could not reach the inert mass, and awaken them to a juster appreciation of human liberty, nor the impassioned eloquence of Mirabeau penetrate to the fireside of the Habitant. The people ignorant, and, what was worse, contented in their ignorance, looked upon their own laws and customs as equally admirable and excellent; and, like the Chinese regarded the rest of the world, France alone excepted, as outside barbarians.

A despotism of this nature was eminently calculated to debase the human mind, render a people frivolous and dissipated in their habits, and careless of the future. "In Winter," said the French writer Abbe Raynal, speaking of the Habitants, "with the exception of a few moments given to their flocks, their time was chiefly passed at public houses, or in driving about to see their friends. In Spring, they ploughed their ground superficially, without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then returned to their former indolent manner of life

till the harvest time. The numerous festivals prescribed by their religion interfered with the progress of industry, and a passion for war, purposely encouraged amongst them, rendered them adverse to the labors of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely captivated with military glory, that they thought only of war although they engaged in it without pay. In the capital, especially, the inhabitants spent Summer as well as Winter in a constant scene of dissipation. They had no taste for arts or science, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement."

Such was the social condition of the Canadian Habitant immediately before the Conquest, more than forty years afterwards it had undergone no change, if we may believe the testimony of a most intelligent French traveller, the Duke de Rochefoucault. "No Canadian," said he, "has just grounds of complaint against the British government. They acknowledge they are better treated now than ever; but they love the French—forget them not, long after them, hope for their arrival, and will always love them. In their estimation a Frenchman is a being much superior to a native of Great Britain. The farmers are a frugal set of people, but ignorant and lazy. In order to succeed in enlarging and improving agriculture in this province, the English government must proceed with great prudence and perseverance, for, in addition to the unhappy prejudices which the farmers of Canada entertain in common with those of all other countries, they also foster a strong mistrust against everything they receive from the British. This mistrust is grounded on the idea, that the latter are their conquerors and the French their brethren." "It is questionable," declares Mr. Silliman, a distinguished American scholar, "whether any conquered country was ever better treated by its conquerors than Canada: the people were left in complete possession of their religion, and the revenues for its support, as well as of their property, laws, customs, and manners, and even the defence of their country is no expense to them."

No people in the world were more decidedly Tory, or ever clung more tenaciously to old customs and abuses, than the Lower Canadians. They desired no innovation—no improvement of any kind, and all they asked from their conquerors was to leave them their properties, their religion, their laws and customs. Never have they been more oppressed under British rule than immediately after the Conquest. Yet, whatever little feeling was evinced on this score, was easily soothed by the introduction of the French language and civil law into the courts, and permitting the Canadian attorneys, the party who gave most trouble, to practice in them. The Quebec Act of 1774, which separated them completely from the other British colonies, and consigned the province to

the authority of a governor and council, as when under French dominion, was hailed as the greatest possible boon. It continued in force for seventeen years, and although during that time the British minority monopolised all the principal posts in the country, as well as its commerce, the mass of the people remained as quiet as ever. However much they disliked the dominant race we hear nothing at this period of grievance petitions. The Canadians still remained thoroughly French. Nothing had been done to educate the peasantry, or fit them for a greater degree of constitutional liberty, and the English language had made no progress whatever among them. They were as fond of pleasure, as unreflecting, as indolent, and as superstitious as at any previous period.

Such was the condition of things in Lower Canada, when the British inhabitants agitated the question of reform in the government, and the establishment of a Legislature, in accordance with the constitutional institutions of the parent state. The French population, as a rule, deprecated any change of this kind. But obedience was a part of their national characteristics, and they submitted : satisfied, however, that neither their language nor their usages would be affected by the alteration.

Never before was the elective franchise intrusted to any people less fitted to use it. Nine-tenths of the male inhabitants could neither read nor write, were wholly incapable of political discrimination, and thus completely at the mercy of any designing demagogue, who had sufficient talents to excite their passions or arouse their prejudices. They knew nothing of that sober steady love of constitutional liberty that animates every true Briton, and which upheld the spirits of the American people during their long and desperate struggle for independence. They neither understood the privileges with which they were invested, nor desired to understand them ; and followed their leaders, under the new system, with the same blind and clannish devotion, as they had exhibited towards their officers in the days of Frontenac and Montcalm.

Never was a greater mistake made, than in supposing that the constitution of 1791 would remove all tendency to revolution in Lower Canada. It brought the two races more closely together in legislative matters alone, and more widely separated them on all others. It revived, in the squabbles it produced, the national animosities and antagonism, which, unhappily for mankind, had so long existed between the French and British nations. Then, the sunny France of their fathers was still the cherished country of the Canadians' memory. Thither their young men who sought distinction made summer pilgrimages, and there they drew inspiration or instruction from the pages of its

literature. The dull inert mass of the Habitants, took their mental impress from their priests or their leaders: but all the intellect of Lower Canada was French exclusively.

Had the introduction of the English language into the courts of law, and a system of common school education prepared the people for the measure, the British ministry would have been fully justified in its adoption. But no common education, as in Ireland and Scotland, removed or softened the differences of origin and language. These differences sundered the races from the cradle to the grave; in childhood, riper youth, and sober manhood. Their language was not more different than their literature. While one sought wisdom or amusement in the pages of a Bacon, a Newton, or a Scott; the other studied the productions of the French school, so generally unfavorable to British interests. Thus, the distinction between the two races continued to be almost as strongly drawn, as though the channel of the sea that washes the shores of Dover and Calais, had still rolled between them.

When the Reformers of Lower Canada agitated the question of a constitutional government, they had no idea whatever of the division of the province, and expected that the increase of a British population would give them a fair amount of influence in the Legislature. The impolitic desire of the Home Government to preserve the French element distinct from the British, as a safeguard against revolution, completely destroyed this prospect, and precipitated the very consequence it was desired to avoid, aside from preventing the gradual amalgamation of the two races,

For a brief space, however, the British inhabitants were lulled into security by the unexpected moderation of the French. The latter knew very little of the power with which they had been so suddenly invested, and it required a more intimate acquaintance with its tendency to enable them to exercise it with effect. That knowledge they dexterously managed to acquire through the medium of the British themselves, a larger proportion of whom was returned to the first House of Assembly, than at any subsequent period. But no sooner had the French-Canadian leaders become fully aware of the nature of the power with which they had been invested, than they gradually excluded persons of British origin from the House, until only some three or four remained. The French instead of the English now became the dominant language, and assumed the aggressive in the most decided manner. If a person of British origin aspired to political influence, he had to cast aside every predilection of birth and education, connect himself wholly with the French-Canadian party, and also learn their language.* Very few

* The Nelsons, and most of the other persons of British origin who joined the

would submit to this, and as time progressed nearly all those of British descent who had originally acted with the Anti-Executive party attached themselves to the government.

Prior to the formation of the Papineau party, no systematic attempt had been made to excite the prejudices of the masses against the natives of British origin. The latter were too few in the rural parishes to awaken the jealousy of the peasantry, and whose leaders in the towns, were effectually held in check by the arbitrary administration of Sir James H. Craig. Prevost's policy was decidedly French. He soothed the wounded vanity of their leaders, flattered their national prejudices, and thus, while he saved the country from the Americans, excited hopes of a future nationality. Nor is there any ground whatever for the supposition, that the conduct of the Habitants during the war arose from a feeling of loyalty to Great Britain. No such feeling had ever any very general existence among them, nor has it now. They had not forgotten Arnold and Montgomery's invasion of Canada, nor the manner in which the Americans then plundered them, and had no desire to submit a second time to their dominion. They disliked the Americans infinitely more than they did the British, and the clergy then, even more than they are now, the great lever of popular opinion, were in favor of a monarchy, and detested republicanism. To understand the Habitant correctly we must always descend to the under current: the surface is no criterion whatever.

Shortly after the war Lower Canada presented a very extraordinary and unusual political spectacle. On one hand was a conquered people, rapidly regaining their original nationality, with the constitutional means placed in their hands by the very race which had subdued them: on the other, the latter vainly striving to preserve their ascendancy by what must unquestionably be regarded as unconstitutional methods. The experiment of giving an English constitution to a French population, to prevent it from being Anglicised, was a novel feature in Imperial legislation, and failed completely in all its leading objects. The lapse of thirty years from the passage of the constitutional act of 1791 fully established this fact, and the Colonial Office vainly strove to preserve British ascendancy, by making the Executive and Legislative Councils almost wholly English, and by excluding the French majority from all posts of real influence. The proceeding was perfectly natural. No one could possibly be so unreasonable as to suppose, that the British nation would surrender the vantage ground it had acquired, at the cost of

Papineau party in the rebellion, spoke French fluently, and from long residence among the Habitants had no doubt acquired much of their feeling and prejudice.

so much blood and treasure, in the valley of the St. Lawrence, and consent that a French colony should monopolise this great outlet of North-Western commerce, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of their own origin in Upper Canada, as well as to the injury of the whole empire. Nevertheless this was precisely what was desired by Papineau's party.

The very necessities of their condition placed the British minority in a false and anomalous position. In seeking a constitutional mode of government, they had literally in vulgar phrase, "plucked a rod to whip themselves," and were now smarting under its application. They had placed a power in the hands of the majority, at first unwilling to receive it, which they had no constitutional means of resisting, and in resorting to unconstitutional means they only added to the existing evils of their position, and placed the French-Canadian party completely on the vantage ground. Had the latter been more rational in their views, pursued a more moderate course, and abstained from rebellion, their ascendancy must have rather increased than diminished.

And yet, although the French-Canadians were apparently the liberal party of Lower Canada, owing to the manner in which they advocated reforms in questions of purely a British character, while at the same time they clung tenaciously to almost every abuse of French origin, the citizens of the other race were the real Reformers. The very constitution itself, the first great measure of reform, was the result of their solicitations, and the fact of the two provinces being divided was not owing to them, as the able protest of Mr. Lymburner clearly shows, but to the blind infatuation of the Imperial Government. They were foremost in all great public measures of utility, in the building of steamboats, in commerce, in agricultural improvement, in liberal educational measures, in the social elevation of the industrial classes, and thus kept full pace with the progressive spirit of the age. The French population, on the other hand, clung to ancient prejudices, ancient customs, and ancient laws, with the unreasoning tenacity of an uneducated and unprogressive people. They remained an old and stationary society, in the midst of a new and progressive world, the French of the old regime, and very different from the enlightened people of France at the present day.

In these facts lie the solution of the enigmatical and paradoxical question, arising from the political and social condition of Lower Canada before the rebellion; while they prove, at the same time, how little real similarity of feeling there was between French agitation in one province and British in the other. The Lower Canadians desired to acquire the legislative and administrative power to enable them to

preserve their French nationality—their old laws and old customs more effectually, by shutting out British emigration, enterprise, and competition, and by retaining the soil completely in their own hands. Hence, had they succeeded in their views, the result must have been the establishment of a system fraught with ten-fold more abuses, than any which could possibly exist under British dominion.

In Upper Canada, on the other hand, five-sixths of the Reform Party desired to acquire administrative influence, with the view of placing the constitution on a more secure and permanent basis, and not to overturn it altogether. With the exception of occasional individual feelings of jealousy, they desired to see their new townships settled by emigration, local improvements of every description pushed forward, international policy placed on a more liberal basis, and to keep fully up to the progress of the age. The French-Canadians, on the contrary, made emigration a standing grievance, maintained they alone had the sole right to the soil, continued their wretched mode of agriculture, disliked all nations but France, and desired to surround themselves with the most rigid circle of exclusiveness. They detested the Americans even more than they did the British, and courted the former merely to escape from the dominion of the latter, and not from any feeling of fraternity. Once independent, Jonathan, if possible, would be held fully as carefully at arm's-length as John Bull. Thus, in fact, the only real Democrats in Lower Canada, if any class of persons there merited the term, were the recent settlers of British origin.*

* Nor did I find the spirit which animated each party at all more coincident with the representations current in this country, than their objects appeared, when tried by English, or, rather, European ideas of reforming legislation. An utterly uneducated and singularly inert population, implicitly obeying leaders who ruled them by the influence of a blind confidence and narrow national prejudices, accorded very little with the resemblance which had been discovered to that high spirited democracy which effected the American revolution. Still less could I discover in the English population those slavish tools of a narrow official clique, or a few purse-proud merchants, which their opponents had described them as being. I have found the main body of the English population, consisting of hardy farmers and humble mechanics, composing a very independent, not very manageable, and, sometimes, a rather turbulent democracy. Though constantly professing a somewhat extravagant loyalty and high prerogative doctrines I found them very determined in maintaining, in their own persons, a great respect for popular rights, and singularly ready to enforce their wishes by the strongest means of constitutional pressure on the government. Between them and the Canadians I found the strongest hostility; and that hostility was as might be expected, most strongly developed among the humblest and rudest of the body. Between them and the small knot of officials, whose influence has been represented as formidable, I found no sympathy whatever; and it must

Such was the condition of matters in the sister province previous to 1837; and the question naturally arises, whether, or how far, the "Union" has altered it for the better. The fact is indisputable that very important ameliorating changes have, in many respects, been introduced. The English language has decidedly assumed the aggressive, and is gradually drawing the more educated and commercial of the French population within its influence.

But, although the surface of Canadian society wears a uniform aspect of content at the present time, the antagonism of race merely slumbers beneath to burst out afresh at any moment of great excitement. Yet nothing can be more absurd than this lurking desire for a French-Canadian national existence. Even were the desire accomplished, no French nation would long be permitted to exist by the Anglo-Saxon nations surrounding it on all sides. The true policy of the Lower Canadians is to form an influential nation in connection with the people of the upper province—to fuse the population of both Canadas into one compact whole. The interests of all the inhabitants of the valley of the St. Lawrence are identical. Their wisdom should always be shown in the surrender of mutual prejudices, in the general adoption of the English language, and in their efforts to perpetuate the national independence, which, in their connection with Great Britain, they now so happily possess. In any case the British inhabitants of Upper should never desert those of Lower Canada. Their true policy is union if possible of all our North American provinces: if otherwise, at least of the Canadas, and representation on the basis of population. In their case union is strength, national influence, and national credit: while disunion must always lead to dissension, weakness, and the absence of national importance. Two millions of people have more weight in the family of nations, than one could possibly possess. The true Canadian patriot instead of weakening the influence of his country by breaking it into fragments, should sedulously apply himself to consolidate its strength, to increase its population, and consequently its moral and physical power, and, by the cohesion of all its parts, to give

be said, in justice to the body of officials, who have been so much assailed as the enemies of the Canadian people, that, however little I can excuse the injurious influence of that system of administration, which they were called upon to carry into execution, the members of the oldest and most powerful official families were, of all the English in the country, those in whom I generally found most sympathy with, and kindly feeling towards the French population. I could not therefore believe that the animosity was only that subsisting between an official oligarchy and a people; and again, I was brought to a conviction that the contest which had been represented as a contest of classes, was, in fact, a contest of races. Lord Durham's Report, p. 10.

it due importance in the great family of nations. If this policy is steadily and vigorously pursued, our nationality must continue to be of a positive and aggressive character, and, when the slavery agitation and other causes shall have sundered the American Union, it may possibly absorb the Northern States.

THE LOWER CANADIAN REBELLION OF 1837-8.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD GOSFORD, CONTINUED.

Madam, said the eminent Irish lawyer, Curran, to a lady 1837. client, to succeed in a law-suit you must have a good cause, a good counsel, and plenty of money to pay him. The same requisites are essential to successful rebellion. The prudent merchant, before he embarks in any new speculation, will maturely calculate the prospect of profit; the statesman, before he adopts a novel line of policy, will sagely scrutinise its bearings, and weigh well its probable results, otherwise neither can look for success.

In driving his simple and impulsive countrymen into a contest with Great Britain, and a hardy Anglo-Canadian population, it is evident that Louis Joseph Papineau, the great master-spirit of the crisis, had never counted the cost. Like Curran's client he had neither a good cause, a good counsel, nor money to reward his friends. He was a brilliant orator, but no statesman; a clever partisan leader, but a miserable general officer; a braggart in the form—a coward in the field. He excited a storm which he neither knew how to allay nor direct.

As the Canadian rebellion differed in all respects from the American war of independence, so was the impassioned, prejudiced, and imprudent Louis J. Papineau, the antipodes of the sober, impartial, and prudent George Washington. One loved himself, the other his country. The Canadian advocate, whose battles had ever been one of words, regardless of his countrymen, desired to raise himself to supreme power in the state, the American soldier, who had faced many a danger by flood and field, sought only the happiness of his fellow citizens.

Nor had Papineau the excuse of youth to plead in extenuation of his folly. In 1837 he was forty-eight years of age, a period of life when the intellect stands at its meridian. He appeared to be formed by nature for the eloquent agitator, but not for the wise or prudent legislator—to act upon the passions and prejudices of his ignorant and unreflecting countrymen, not to make them happier, wiser, or better. In height he was of the middle size, with features of a Hebrew cast; while his large dark eyebrows, shaded, in a higher arch than

common, a keen lustrous eye, quick and penetrating. Deeply read in general literature, familiar with the old Canadian lore of Hennepin and Charlevoix, and the other learned Jesuit Fathers who had written of *La Nouvelle France* in by-gone days, he appealed to all the feelings and prejudices of his countrymen with irresistible effect, and carried them captive by the force of his oratorical and conversational powers.

Yet Papineau knew little of the people of Upper Canada after all, a knowledge essential to his schemes, and was ignorant of the feeling of loyalty to the Queen and constitution which ran like a deep under-current beneath their political squabbles. In organising insurrection, he only saw that the military force in both provinces was very weak, and invited rebellion. In Upper Canada, 1,300 regular troops, including artillery-men, were scattered here and there from Kingston to Penetanguishene : in Lower Canada about 2,000 garrisoned Quebec, or, at other points, awed nearly half a million of partially or wholly disaffected Habitants. Nor was the government better off in other respects, as regarded defensive or offensive military operations. Twenty-two years of profound peace had made sad havoc with gun-carriages, limber wheels, and all manner of warlike munitions. The powder in the musty magazines was damp ; muskets, swords, and bayonets had long rusted in inglorious ease ; and bedding and blankets had disappeared before successive generations of moths. Not a royal ship, nor boat, nor oar was at Kingston, where Yeo had fitted out his squadron, and the government dockyard had been converted into a pasture.

The appointment, however, of Sir John Colborne to the military command of the provinces, made up for many deficiencies. This appointment was received, when, after surrendering the administration of Upper Canada to Sir Francis Head, he had arrived at New York on his way to England. In July he proceeded from Quebec to William Henry, that he might be nearer the centre of sedition, should necessity for military interference arise during the Fall or Winter.

As summer progressed, the dark shadows of coming civil war were falling more plainly on the province. Lord Gosford saw the gathering storm ; and desirous to avoid the grave responsibilities it must entail, requested his recall. "It is evident," said he, in his letter on the 2nd September to Lord Glenelg, "that the Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession, that does not place them in a more favorable position to carry into effect their ulterior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England, and the establishment of a republican form of government. The Executive requires more power, and under my present impression, I am disposed to think that you will be under the necessity of suspending the constitution. It is with deep

feelings of regret I state this, but duty compels me to communicate it to you."

During September the *Patriots* continued to hold their meetings, at which Papineau labored to increase their animosity. On some of these occasions a Frenchified Englishman, Wolfred Nelson, was also an orator, and warned his heroes to be ready to arm. The dismissed militia officers were elected by the peasantry to command them again: at St. Hyacinthe the tri-colored flag was displayed: tavern-keepers in St. Denis and St. Charles substituted eagles for their former signs: and mobs paraded the streets of Montreal, (now without a police, its act of incorporation for a limited term having been allowed to expire,) singing revolutionary songs. Still, the firm attitude now assumed by the Roman Catholic clergy in favor of the government, and of obedience to the laws, retained the great mass of the *Habitants* in sullen neutrality, and reduced Papineau's real supporters to a very small minority. These became more and more restive as they felt clerical influence setting decidedly against them. Priests were insulted in the churches, and, on one occasion in the presence of Papineau himself. Law and religion were on the side of the government, rebellion and infidelity on that of the luckless *Patriots*. The rebellion might be said to be extinguished ere it had begun, and the military had only to trample out the smouldering flame, which had exhausted its strength in the vitals of the building ere it burst forth.

On the 6th of November, a riot in Montreal brought matters rapidly to a crisis. A few Constitutionalists were attacked by a French-Canadian association, called *Les Fils de la Liberté*, (the Sons of Liberty) some 250 strong, led by a Thomas Storrow Brown, an American resident for some time in the city. Stones were thrown, two or three pistol shots fired, the Constitutionalists compelled to retreat, owing to the number of their antagonists, and windows of obnoxious parties broken. Tidings of the affray speedily spread, the Loyalists gathered to the rescue; but the Sons of Liberty had disappeared. They captured their banner, however, in a house, where also were found several guns which were handed over to the authorities. The office of the *Vindicator* was next assailed, and its printing material thrown into the street.

On the 12th of November a proclamation was published by the Governor, directing the suppression of all unlawful meetings; and, on the 21st, a new "commission of the peace" for the District of Montreal was issued, weeding the magistracy of about sixty persons supposed to be disaffected. Bodies of armed men now began to assemble near the Richelieu River, particularly at St. John's and Chambly; and Sir John Colborne, perceiving that the crisis was near, moved to Montreal,

where he had gradually been concentrating the troops withdrawn from Upper Canada, and all that could be spared from Quebec. At the same time, volunteer companies of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, were formed, and rapidly filled up by 'the loyal inhabitants, while addresses, and offers of assistance, poured in from the militia of the sister province. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the same loyal spirit prevailed.

Meanwhile, warrants had been issued, on the 16th of the month, for the apprehension of Papineau, Brown, O'Callaghan, the editor of the defunct *Vindicator*, and some others on charges of high treason. The three first managed to evade the officers charged with their apprehension, and fled to the Richelieu, where the insurgents were now fully prepared to rise at the bidding of their chiefs. At the same time, a party of eighteen volunteer cavalry were detached to St. John's to capture two persons there, accused of treasonable practices. They quietly effected their purpose, but as they returned next day were attacked by a body of armed Habitants, securely posted behind a fence, who, after wounding four of their number and several horses, compelled them to retreat, and rescued the prisoners.

This success greatly elated the insurgents, and the flight of Papineau, and several of their other chiefs from Montreal, becoming known, they collected in considerable numbers at the village of Debartzch, in the Parish of St. Charles, where Brown commanded; and at St. Denis, on the Richelieu, where Doctor Wolfred Nelson, who had thrown by the scalpel and taken to the sword, directed their movements. The Doctor was a person of importance among the Habitants of this neighborhood. He owned an extensive brewery and distillery, and thus, as a manufacturer of beer and whiskey, produced many diseases, which he was afterwards called upon to cure in his medical capacity. One trade created employment for the other. Ill-natured people said that he found neither very profitable, and verified the homely old adage about having "too many irons in the fire."

The disputes touching the Maine boundary line, and the number of persons thrown out of their ordinary mode of living in the United States, by the late commercial disasters there, led the rebel leaders to be very sanguine of succor from that direction. Both St. Charles and St. Denis were favorably situated for keeping open their communication with the frontier, and General Colborne, being aware of this advantage, determined to check the movement ere it became more formidable, despite the wretched state of the roads and bad weather. Colonel Gore was accordingly detached from Montreal with 200 infan-

try, a party of volunteer cavalry, and three guns to attack St. Denis. While Lieutenant-Colonel Wetherall, recently stationed at Chambly, was directed to move down the Richelieu against St. Charles. The positions to be attacked were about seven miles apart.

A steamboat conveyed Gore's detachment to William Henry, on the afternoon of the 22nd. At this point it was reinforced by a company of infantry stationed there, and at ten o'clock at night, amid stormy showers of sleet and rain, which froze as they fell, proceeded along a wretched clay by-road to St. Denis, distant sixteen miles. This route was taken in order to avoid the intermediate village of St. Ours, where a body of insurgents were strongly posted, and several bridges along the principal road, which it was supposed had been broken down. During all that night did the troops march through mud and half-frozen slush, at the rate of a mile and-a-half an hour, and next morning, at half-past nine o'clock, found themselves in the neighborhood of St. Denis.

Meanwhile, Wolfred Nelson had been apprised of the simultaneous movement against his post and St. Charles, and threw out scouting parties, before day, on the morning of the 23rd, to watch the approach of the troops, and break down the bridges, which were of wood, to retard their advance. About two o'clock on the preceding night, Lieutenant Weir, charged with despatches for Wetherall, was captured by the insurgent guards, and taken to Nelson's house. He was dressed in colored clothes, stated his name and rank with considerable reluctance, and after declining to partake either of refreshment or retire to rest, was given in charge by the Doctor to "*three trust-worthy Habitants*" to be retained as a prisoner.*

Shortly before day the alarm spread far and near, and bodies of insurgent peasantry pushed rapidly in from the surrounding country to support their comrades already in the village, where a force of three or four hundred men† was soon collected, and posted with great judgment in buildings flanking and covering one another. In recommitting the advancing troops, breaking down bridges, and taking up defensive positions, Nelson showed considerable military skill, and was evidently better adapted by nature for a partisan leader, than for a physician or a distiller. He had decidedly mistaken his vocation. The courage of the Doctor appeared in strange contrast with the cowardice of Papi-neau, who since his flight from Montreal had lurked at St. Denis. Here he remained as Nelson's guest till the appearance of the troops, when, instead of heading his misguided followers like a brave man, and

* Wolfred Nelson's Narrative.

† It does not appear that at any period of the attack there was a larger number than 600 Habitants in the village.

showing them that he could fight as well as talk, he abandoned them in the moment of danger, and fled to Yamaska on the St. Hyacinthe river, whence he subsequently made his way into the United States. No excuses—no sophistry can palliate this act. No consideration should have made him desert his friends at such a time. Had he gallantly stood his ground, and borne himself like a man, the circumstance would have atoned in the opinion of posterity for much of his folly, whereas, the fact of his cowardly flight must stamp him with enduring ignominy.

A strong loop-holed or many windowed dwelling house, or building of any kind surrounded by others affording positions for a flanking or cross-fire, is always an admirable defensive position, when an assailing force lacks heavy artillery. Colonel Gore found this to be the case to his cost in the attack on St. Denis. The single field gun he had been able to bring on, made little impression on the buildings of the village, and although he attempted again and again, from ten o'clock in the forenoon till four in the afternoon, to turn the insurgents' position, he was completely foiled, and thought it prudent to retreat as the peasantry were now rapidly collecting, having sustained a loss of 6 killed, 1 officer (Captain Markham) and 16 men wounded. Five of the latter were left behind, and treated with the utmost humanity by Nelson. After endeavoring for several hours to drag it through the horrible roads, the gun, a brass one, was spiked and abandoned.

The loss of the insurgents was much greater than that of the troops, being 13 killed and several wounded. Still, the victory was decidedly on their side, and they had effectually prevented the Sheriff from executing the warrants for the apprehension of Nelson and others. But they stained their triumph by the cowardly and cruel murder of the unfortunate Weir. When the firing commenced his guard pinioned his arms with a rope, and put him into a cart, with the view of taking him to the rebel head-quarters at St. Charles. Possibly disliking his uncomfortable position, or fancying he might be able to make his escape, he jumped from the cart ere it had quit the village, and, as it is said in defence of the barbarous act of his murder, struck at his guards, though how, unless with his feet, it is difficult to imagine, as his arms were still bound. In the scuffle he was mercilessly shot, sabred, hacked, and stabbed, as though he had been a mad dog, and not a pinioned and defenceless human being; and when the wretched man, maimed and bleeding from numerous wounds, sought shelter beneath the cart, he was dragged forth and foully murdered in the presence of a crowd of spectators. No more savage act marks the whole annals of Canada. And yet, one of the barbarous villains who perpetrated it, was subsequently acquitted, at Montreal, by a perjured jury of his countrymen.

Such was the devilish spirit aroused by the Papineaus and Mackenzies of 1837-8. May a merciful Providence preserve this fair Canada of ours evermore from such horrid atrocities.

Their victory at St. Denis raised the courage of the insurgents, and their scouting parties swept the country in every direction. The steamer *Varennes*, laden with supplies for Gore's harassed force, was fired at from St. Ours, and compelled to put back; and the communication with Montreal was extremely difficult and irregular. But the insurgents had achieved their last success in this ill-advised and wretchedly organised rebellion. Wetherall, pursuant to his instructions, moved down the Richelieu from Chambly, with some 300 infantry, a small body of cavalry, and two guns, to assail the intrenched position of the enemy at St. Charles. At St. Hilaire he learned of the repulse of Gore before St. Denis, and halted to await the arrival of some other troops, whom he directed to join him, and fresh instructions from Montreal. But receiving no new orders from head-quarters, he pushed forward to attack the insurgents. Desirous to avoid the shedding of blood, he sent them word if they dispersed peaceably they should not be molested. Their general, Brown, sent a message in return, to the effect, that if Wetherall's troops laid down their arms they should be permitted to pass unmolested.* His conduct immediately afterwards did not correspond with this piece of braggadocio. He fled ere the action had almost begun, leaving his followers, who might number 1000,† to take care of themselves.

A few rounds from Wetherall's guns breached the poorly constructed intrenchment, when his troops swept rapidly through, and scattered the wretchedly armed insurgents with the bayonet. Fifty-six of their dead was counted on the ground, and several others died miserably in the burned houses. Their wounded and prisoners were few in comparison. The troops gave little quarter, and bitterly revenged the murdered Weir: their loss was 3 killed and 18 wounded.

On the following day Wetherall dispersed a body of armed Habitants at Point Olivier, and captured two small guns. On the 2nd of December Gore paid another visit to St. Denis with a stronger force than before. He found it abandoned: Nelson had fled, and his buildings, as well as the others from which the troops had been fired at, were given to the flames, and sacked by the enraged soldiers and vol-

* Narrative of Thomas Storrow Brown.

† Brown appears to say in his statement that the number was much smaller. But as he endeavors to conceal his own cowardice, it is difficult to believe him. The number seems to have been as above.

unteers. The abandoned gun was now recovered, as well as the body of the unfortunate Weir, which had been thrown into the river, and kept down by large stones.

On the 5th December the Governor issued a proclamation, declaring martial law in force in the District of Montreal. Large rewards had been already offered for the capture of Papineau, and divers others charged with the crime of high treason. £500 were now offered for the apprehension of the murderers of Weir, and £300 for the capture of the persons who had barbarously killed Joseph Chartrand, a volunteer private of the parish of St. John.

The prompt measures taken by Sir John Colborne crushed out rebellion, for the time, in the counties along the Richelieu, and before it could receive aid from the United States. Meanwhile, a body of sympathisers from Swanton in Vermont, composed principally of refugee Canadians, had taken post at St. Armands, under the command of Bouchette and Gagnon. Lieutenant Colonel Hughes, of the 24th, was directed to dislodge these with 600 troops; but the loyal volunteers of the frontier townships had already defeated and dispersed them, and captured a few prisoners, among whom was Bouchette, before he could march from St. John's. The disaffected Counties were now swept in every direction by the military and volunteers, and the gaol of Montreal was soon crowded with prisoners. Among these was Wolfred Nelson who, after traversing by-roads and woods for ten days, swimming rivers, and sleeping in the snow, was captured in the Eastern Townships, the militia of which, having obtained arms from the government, were now thoroughly on the alert.

In Quebec, the British inhabitants had come forward unanimously to offer their services to the government, and were promptly formed into volunteer companies. A portion of these were embodied in a corps one thousand strong, which with the other volunteers were soon able to perform the garrison duties of the city, and allow the troops to be withdrawn to Montreal. Aided by this reinforcement, and the insurgent gatherings on the Richelieu having been effectually suppressed, General Colborne now resolved to make a movement against St. Eustache, lying nineteen miles to the north-west of Montreal, where a considerable body of the disaffected had established themselves, under the leadership of Amury Girod, appointed by Papineau to command north of the St. Lawrence. A large number of the loyal inhabitants in this direction had been plundered by the insurgents, still ignorant of the disasters on the Richelieu, threatened in many cases with massacre, and compelled to take refuge in Montreal.

Every preparation having been completed, Sir John Colborne, on

the 13th December, quit Montreal amid the cheers of its loyal citizens, at the head of 2000 men, including a body of cavalry and artillery. The ensuing night was passed at St. Martin's, and next morning the troops crossed the Ottawa on the ice to St. Eustache. The principal position of the rebels, who numbered about 1000, was at the village church, now surrounded by a strong barricade, which was soon breached, however, by the fire of the artillery, when it was promptly carried by storm, and its defenders slain, captured, or driven out. The parsonage and manor houses, also occupied by the enemy, shared the same fate, and all these were soon wrapt in flames. A fresh wind blew at the time, and sixty adjoining buildings were speedily enveloped in one general conflagration. Some of the insurgents had taken refuge in the steeple of the church, and perished miserably in the flames, to the horror and distress of the spectators, who were unable to rescue them. Their entire loss was upwards of 100 killed, nearly the same number wounded, and 118 prisoner. Their leader, Girod, like Brown at St. Charles, deserted them soon after the firing commenced, under the pretence of bringing up reinforcements; but finding it impossible to escape, so narrowly was he pursued, he shot himself in the head, four days afterwards, a short distance below Montreal.

General Colborne next moved upon St. Benoit, which had been the hot-bed of sedition in that quarter, where 250 men, drawn up in line, with white flags, surrendered and implored clemency. With exception of their leaders they were all humanely dismissed. Detachments of regulars and volunteers were also sent to other parts of the district, to disperse any bodies of insurgents which might still keep together. Several of the volunteers had been injured, in their properties, by the insurgents, and now took vengeance on the latter by burning their dwellings. Having completely dispersed the armed assemblages, and awed the disaffected, Sir John Colborne returned on the 17th to Montreal.

The firm attitude assumed by the government, and the success which now so invariably attended the military movements, made a salutary impression on the Habitants; and, in several quarters, meetings were held at which loyal resolutions were passed. In Vermont a proclamation was issued by Governor Jemison enjoining strict neutrality on the population: but it had very little effect in subsequently restraining the turbulent and ungovernable brigands, who had now collected on the frontier, and were ready for anything which promised plunder, or unpunished robbery.

In accordance with his wishes, the Colonial Secretary while fully endorsing the course he had pursued, recalled Lord Gosford

of which measure intelligence reached Quebec on the 13th of 1838. January. He left for Boston, *en route* to England, on the 26th of February, receiving several addresses prior to his departure. Sir John Colborne assumed the reins of civil power till another Governor should be appointed.

Martial law was still continued in the District of Montreal. On the 22nd of February a general order was issued, directing the Habitants of the counties of Lapraire, Chambly, and L' Acadie to deliver up their arms to the nearest justices of the peace, or militia officers, within one month.

On the 28th, a body of 600 Refugees, who had fled the province in December, re-crossed the frontier under the leadership of Robert Nelson, a brother of Wolfred, and a Dr. Cote, with 1500 stand of arms and 3 field pieces, to organise another outbreak. But finding the gallant frontier militia, and some troops, gathering to oppose them, they returned into the United States, were met by General Wool, who had pursued them from Plattsburg, (the American government being at length shamed into active interference,) and compelled to surrender their arms and warlike munitions. Nelson and Cote were arrested, and delivered over to the authorities of their State, but were soon again at liberty. "A declaration of independence" was issued during this brief inroad by Nelson, to which he appended his name as "president of the provisional government."

Meanwhile, an act had been passed by the Imperial Parliament, in the beginning of February, suspending the constitution of Lower Canada, and making temporary provision for its government, by the creation of a Special Council, whose decrees were to have the same force as the acts of a legislature. At the same time, the Earl of Durham was appointed Governor General, and her Majesty's High Commissioner, "for the adjustment of certain important affairs affecting the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada." On the 29th of March, the "Act suspending the Constitution" was proclaimed in the *Quebec Gazette* by authority, and, on the 5th of April, the Special Council, composed of an equal number of persons of French and British origin, were summoned to meet at Montreal on the 18th. This Council at once decreed that their ordinances should take effect immediately on being passed: their next step was to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act until the 14th of the following August, in order to allow Lord Durham to adopt more summary measures with regard to the insurgents in prison.

Matters having by this time assumed a more peaceable aspect, the volunteer militia were permitted to return to their homes. On the 3rd of May a proclamation discontinuing Martial Law was published.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF DURHAM.

The Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec on the 27th of May, assumed charge of the government, and two days afterwards issued a proclamation, briefly stating the policy he proposed to pursue. "The honest and conscientious advocate of Reform, and of the amelioration of defective institutions, will receive from me," he said, "without distinction of party, races, or politics, that assistance and encouragement which their patriotism has a right to command : but the disturbers of the public peace will find in me an uncompromising opponent. People of British America I beg you to consider me as a friend and an arbitrator, ready at all times to listen to your wishes, complaints, and grievances, and fully determined to act with the strictest impartiality. If you, on your side, will abjure all party and sectarian animosities, and unite with me in the blessed work of peace and harmony, I feel assured that I can lay the foundation of such a system of government, as will protect the rights and interests of all classes, allay all dissensions, and permanently establish, under Divine Providence, the wealth, greatness, and prosperity, of which such inexhaustible elements are to be found in these fertile countries." He amply redeemed his promise. Never did any public man act more disinterestedly than Lord Durham. His celebrated Report is a lasting monument of elaborate research, impartial scrutiny, and historical worth.

Considerable reinforcements had already arrived from England and Halifax, as well as several vessels of war, and the prospect of successful revolt was now more slender than ever. Still, disaffection had not yet ceased to exist, and Papineau's partisans were already organising another armed force with a view to the establishment of the Republic of Lower Canada.

One of Lord Durham's first measures was to procure an accurate return of the prisoners in the several gaols of the province, with the depositions against each, and a list of the unexecuted warrants against parties who had fled the country. The old Executive Council was next dissolved, as well as the Special Council recently constituted under the Suspension Act. A new Executive Council was, however, soon appointed. A commission formed to enquire into the mode of disposing of Crown lands brought many abuses to light. Its report was favorable to the squatters, and recommended that they should be allowed the right of pre-emption.

Up to the present, no persons had been tried for high treason, and large numbers still remained in the Montreal gaol to be disposed of.

In the excited state of the public mind, it would be difficult to find an impartial jury, should they be brought to trial, and Lord Durham's mission being one of peace, he was unwilling to resort to Court Martial. In this dilemma he had recourse to an expedient which being at variance with all established precedent and law, created a large amount of criticism both in Canada and England. It was determined to release the minor offenders, and the principal ones were induced to place themselves at the disposal of the Governor General, waving all right to a trial. A new Special Council was accordingly summoned, in order to give its sanction to the line of policy Lord Durham now determined to pursue. On the 28th of June, the day in which this council assembled, they issued an edict banishing Wolfred Nelson, Bouchette, Gauvin, Viger, and five others of the leading insurgents, then in prison at Montreal, to Bermuda, and threatening the penalty of death on Papineau and others, if they returned to Canada without permission. This was certainly a high-handed procedure: but, at the same time, it released the Governor General from a serious dilemma, leaned to mercy's side; and, although it established an arbitrary and dangerous precedent, was, therefore, to a great extent excusable.

The Home Ministry approved of these measures. Not so with the British Parliament which subsequently annulled the ordinance, while, at the same time, it passed an act of indemnity to shield the Governor and his Special Council, from any future proceedings which might arise out of their illegal course. In Canada the general feeling was that the act exiling the principal offenders, and releasing the others, on giving security for good behaviour, was one of clemency, and necessitated by the condition of the country. The trial of the murderers of Chartrand, and their acquittal in the face of clear evidence against them, in the course of the Summer, went far to exonerate the Governor, as did also the acquittal of one of the murderers of Weir at the following term.

The censure passed upon his conduct by the Imperial Parliament, led Lord Durham to determine on his immediate resignation. After elevating Mr. Stuart to the position of Chief Justice of the province, vacated by the retirement of Mr. Sewell, he departed for England, on the 3rd November, leaving Sir John Colborne, who was soon afterwards appointed Governor General, in charge of the government.

Princely in his style of living, indefatigable in business, energetic and decided, though haughty in manner, and sincerely desirous to benefit the Canadas, Lord Durham's departure was deeply regretted by a large proportion of the inhabitants, who looked upon him as the man adapted for the crisis. Yet, short as his administration had been no individual ever benefitted Canada more. His admirable Report led, to

a great extent, to the subsequent union of these provinces, by which both have gained so largely, commenced the fusion of the two races, which should have begun at the Conquest, led to Responsible Government, and a general amelioration of the colonial policy of Great Britain. The present prosperous condition of this country affords the best commentary on his wisdom and disinterested patriotism; and the almost total absence of political excitement, and the contented condition of the people at large, constitute the most durable monument to his memory. He did not long survive his mission to Canada. His health was naturally delicate. The voyages to and from England, and the censure on his administration by the Imperial Parliament, increased the irritation of his system, and he died on the 28th of July, 1840, regretted by many friends.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR JOHN COLBORNE.

Countenanced by the unprincipled portion of the American border population, secret associations had been formed along the frontier of both Canadas, and a combined system of insurrection organised. The departure of Lord Durham would appear to have been the signal for a second outbreak, which this time was headed in Lower Canada by Dr. Robert Nelson, who was to be president of the new republic. It commenced at Beauharnois, on the evening of the 3rd of November, with an attack on the *Henry Brougham* steamer, which had put into that place as usual, by 400 insurgents, who made prisoners of her passengers, and injured her machinery to prevent her from proceeding. They next surrounded the house of the seignior, Mr. Ellis, made prisoners also of its inmates, and captured sixteen stand of arms. The rising was general throughout the whole District of Montreal, owing to pre-concerted arrangement, and from all directions the British inhabitants flocked into the city for protection. Near La Prairie a man of the name of Walker, who had become particularly obnoxious to the rebels, was murdered in his house, but his wife and family were enabled to escape, owing to the sudden appearance of a party of the 7th Hussars. The rails on the St. John's railroad was torn up for some distance to prevent the passage of the cars, mail carriers were stopped, and bodies of men assembled at different points on the Richelieu, expecting to be there supplied with arms. Being disappointed in this respect the greater part returned home: a few, however, pushed on to Napierville, a short distance within the Canadian frontier, where Robert Nelson had established his head-quarters. On the following day (Sunday) a well-armed body of insurgents, moved from Chateaugay, against the Indian

village of Caughnawaga with the view of seizing the arms and stores there. Fortunately their approach was discovered by a squaw, who returned swiftly to apprise the warriors, then at church, of the approach of a hostile force. These promptly rushed out, seized the muskets, tomahawks, axes, and pitchforks, next to hand, and raising their terrible Iroquois war-whoop, charged the invaders, put them to flight, and disarmed and captured sixty-four of their number. This gallant action materially damped the ardor of the insurgents, and inspired the loyal with renewed confidence and courage.

Martial law was now put in force a second time in the District of Montreal, and a number of parties arrested on suspicion of disaffection. On the 9th the Special Council again assembled, and passed an ordinance suspending the Habeas Corpus law throughout the province, while the rebellion continued; giving a discretionary power to the Governor, however, to restore it in any, or all, of the districts when he deemed proper.

Meanwhile, General Colborne having previously directed the movement of troops against Napierville, where Nelson had now collected a large body of insurgents, and also issued a second declaration of independence, which caused a run on the Montreal banks, proceeded on the 6th to take the command in person. On the St. Lawrence the rebels still retained possession of Beauharnois: but this post the General left to be disposed of by the gallant Glengary militia, two regiments of whom under Colonels M'Donald and Fraser, were already moving down against it, together with a detachment of the 71st regiment.

While these prompt measures were being taken for the immediate suppression of this second rebellion, the brave militia of Odelltown had organised themselves, with the view of interrupting the communication of Nelson with Rouse's Point in his rear, and from whence he expected to receive both reinforcements and supplies. Cote and Gagnon, two of the rebel leaders, collected here a considerable body of American sympathisers and Habitant insurgents, and resolved to dislodge a body of the Odelltown militia who had taken post at La Colle Mill, the scene of Wilkinson's defeat in 1814, and thus open a communication with Nelson. They accordingly advanced against the Mill at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 6th, with a force 500 strong and one small gun, and speedily drove in an outlying picquet of the militia. But, a reinforcement of the Hemmingford militia soon coming up, to aid their comrades, the insurgents were gallantly charged, their gun, 400 stand of arms, and a quantity of ammunition captured; and their whole body driven into rapid and inglorious flight across the lines, leaving 11 dead

and 8 prisoners behind. On the side of the loyalists 2 were killed, and 2 wounded.

Nelson's position at Napierville now became extremely critical. In his rear was the victorious frontier militia; while Sir John Colborne was steadily advancing against his front, with an overwhelming force of regular infantry and cavalry. He accordingly determined to fall back upon Odelltown with part of his forces, disperse the militia, 200 in number, posted there, and thus open his line of communication with the United States, so as to secure a safe retreat in case of necessity. In pursuance of this resolution he moved against Odelltown, on the morning of the 9th, with 800 men armed with muskets and fowling pieces, and 200 more with pikes and swords. Fortunately as this formidable force was about to enter the village, Lieutenant Colonel Taylor, an officer sent out expressly from England to organise the militia, arrived on the ground, assumed command of the 200 loyalists, and posted them in the Methodist church, or in good positions close by.

Nelson began the battle at 11 o'clock by driving in Taylor's advanced picquet, and then moved his force in solid column against the church. The gun captured at La Colle now did good service. Loaded with grape, its first discharge raked the advancing enemy with deadly effect, and opened a long lane through his ranks. Two other discharges were also given with success: but the insurgents pushed boldly on, and soon compelled the gunners to abandon it, and retire to the church, on the road immediately by which it was posted. Again and again did the enemy endeavor to capture this gun: but the militia, although harassed and fatigued by long and arduous duty fought stoutly, swept them back with close and well-aimed volleys, and even sallied out and made repeated charges with the bayonet. For two hours and-a-half did the action continue, and then repulsed in every attempt to carry the church, the appearance of a body of 100 militia, advancing to aid their comrades, on their flank, completely disheartened the insurgents, who fled in every direction—part back to Napierville, another across the lines into the United States. Among the latter was Robert Nelson, who soon procuring a horse rode full speed to Plattsburg. Previous to the battle some of the insurgents suspected he was about to desert them, and were with difficulty prevented from giving him up to Sir John Colborne. He gladly seized the first opportunity, therefore, to escape from his *Patriot* associates and leave them to their fate. In this action the loss of the rebels was nearly 60 killed, besides a large number wounded. The loyalists had 1 captain (M'Allister) and 4 men killed, and 1 Lieutenant and 9 men wounded.

A considerable body of insurgents still remained at Napierville; but

on the approach of General Colborne they betook themselves to flight, with the British cavalry, who made several prisoners, rapidly in pursuit, and which was continued from daylight till the evening of the 10th.

On the same day on which these occurrences took place, 1000 Glen-gary men, and a detachment of the 71st, landed early in the morning near the village of Beauharnois, upon which they immediately marched. The rebels after a brief resistance abandoned the position and fled. A small body of insurgents assembled near Chambly was next dispersed by two companies of the 6th regiment : and, thus, in the brief space of seven days, ended the second Lower Canadian rebellion. Yet short as had been its existence it produced a full harvest of misery and sin. At its commencement the Habitants had abused their temporary power by driving the loyalists from their homes, burning their barns and houses, and plundering them of their cattle and provisions. The latter bitterly retaliated towards its close, and the fire-charred ruins of many once happy homes throughout the County of Laprairie, long bore witness to the miseries of civil war. Nothing but the sharpest injuries can justify an appeal to the sword. Posterity must stigmatise the Canadian rebellion as a causeless one. All the injuries sought to be redressed could have been removed by constitutional agitation. Civil war should never be resorted to, in order to remedy political evils, save in the last and direst extremity.

But, the short though bloody and misery inflicting drama, had not yet been brought to a close. The lenity shown during the previous rebellion had been decidedly abused, and was attributed by those who even benefitted the most by it, to the weakness of the government. Trial by jury was out of the question. Martial Law, the code of the sword, still prevailed, so a Court Martial was now directed by a general order to assemble for the trial of the captive insurgents. It is an impartial tribunal, however, and only admits of the most positive and direct proof. The unfortunate insurgents had a fair trial. Twelve suffered the extreme penalty of the law, and a number of others were sentenced to transportation. Subsequently, during the winter, bands of insurgent robbers occasionally crossed the frontier into Lower Canada, and committed depredations upon the loyal inhabitants, but every semblance of rebellion had now disappeared in that province. On each occasion it was trampled out almost as soon as it reared its head.

CHAPTER XXI.

UPPER CANADA FROM 1836 TO 1838.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR FRANCIS BOND HEAD.

General officers, in the persons of Sir Peregrine Maitland and Sir John Colborne, had not made popular Canadian Governors by any means. Their stern military habits—their stiff and unbending manners, were little adapted to win favor with a community verging towards democracy; and the Home Government were nearly at their wit's end as to who should be the pacificator of Upper Canada, and carry out there the same line of policy to be pursued in the other provinces by Lord Gosford. At length their choice fell upon a man wholly unknown in the arena of politics, a half-pay major in the army, and the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner for the District of Kent, at a salary of £500 per annum, whose public reputation rested solely on his authorship of the "Rough Notes of a ride over the Pampas," and "The Bubbles from the Nassau Brunnen." In November, 1835, this individual, destined to be suddenly elevated to the governorship of an important province of the Empire, and to achieve a large measure of public notoriety, was suddenly awakened one night in a little village inn, on the confines of Romney Marsh, by a King's messenger. To his great surprise Major Sir Francis Head was presented with a despatch offering him the government of Upper Canada, on the strength, no doubt, of his presumed liberal Whig principles, and his being the most pliant individual within reach at the time. If any one could possibly conciliate the Bidwells, the Mackenzies, and the Rolphs of Upper Canada, a poor half-pay major, a dashing superficial author, and an outside hanger-on of the ministry, must be the man. It was an equally strange and imprudent appointment, and had a fitting counterpart in the comic mistake the Colonial Minister had made, in taking an inconsistent Tory for a consistent liberal Whig.

Sir Francis Head knew as much about the people of Canada, their past condition, and present wants, as the bulk of the English people,

and that was nothing whatever. But then, from the moment he had consented to accept of the government Upper Canada, for at first he shrank from the proffered honor, he had studied Mackenzie's Grievance Book with great attention, and had the benefit besides of Lord Glenelg's information and instructions. Thus posted up in Canadian literature, politics, and history, the clever half-pay major, with a sharp eye no doubt to another book, and a light purse, set out, via Liverpool and New York, to supersede Sir John Colborne in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada. He arrived in his province the last days of January, having crossed the river at Niagara. Posting to Toronto he found the Legislature, which had been convened by his predecessor, on the 14th of the month, in full session; and was thus brought into immediate and direct collision with political parties he knew very little about. His appointment had been highly acceptable to the Reform Party. Its press was loud in his praise, and fully disposed to give him a good reception, pursuant to the suggestion of Joseph Hume in a letter to Mackenzie. He was accordingly elevated by the public voice to the position of a distinguished politician, who must, as a mere matter of course, renovate and remodel the whole social and political system of the province.

Sir Francis's own narrative of his gubernatorial fitness, supplies a curious commentary on the sagacity of Mackenzie and Co. "As I was no more connected with human politics," said he, speaking of his first entrance into Toronto, "than the horses that were drawing me—as I never had joined any political party, had never attended a political discussion, had never even voted at an election, nor taken any part in one—It was with no little surprise I observed the walls placarded with large letters which designated me as Sir Francis Head, a tried Reformer." On the other hand, the Conservative Party, which at this period was tolerably well organised, regarded his advent with considerable apprehension, and all looked forward to coming events with the deepest interest.

The political struggle in Lower Canada, and the extreme position assumed by the majority of its Assembly, had undoubtedly tainted the ultra section of the Reform Party of the upper province, with a desire for republican independence. Sir Francis Head consequently soon found, that he was completely astray in supposing he had all the grievances of Upper Canada in the "Seventh Report," and that Lord Glenelg's remedies were the genuine nostrums for the occasion. Mr. Bidwell's language to him during a private interview, shortly after his arrival, completely undeceived him on this head. He stated "that there were many grievances not detailed in that book, which the people

had long endured with patience; *that there was no desire to rebel*, but a morbid feeling of dissatisfaction was daily increasing. The fact that Sir Francis Head was the bearer of new instructions, had alone induced him and his friends to alter their determination never to meet in the Assembly again." Mackenzie was equally indisposed to abide by his own report,* and it was plainly evident that his and Bidwell's immediate party, like Papineau in Lower Canada, had already caught at the idea of a total independence of Great Britain.

Sir Francis Head was a tolerably shrewd judge of human nature, and thus let completely behind the scenes by Bidwell and Mackenzie, he had little difficulty in discovering they had an ulterior object in view. It was unfortunate for the credit of the Reform Party, and for his own reputation, that he was thus immediately brought into contact with the leaders of its extreme section. With respect to Canadian questions, the Governor's mind was little better than a mere blank. Naturally superficial, imprudent, and impulsive, he was consequently, to a great extent, completely at the mercy of first impressions, which he frequently carried out with that dogged persistence, so peculiar to Englishmen in general. Circumstances, at the time, unfortunately tended to elevate men like Bidwell and Mackenzie into the post of popular leaders, and to throw such rational and constitutional lovers of liberty, as Robert Baldwin, and others of the same moderate school, into the shade. Sir Francis Head committed a grave error in supposing, that the bulk of the Reform Party was tainted with the same spirit of disloyalty to the Crown, which he had so quickly detected in its ostensible leaders. The conclusion which he thus jumped at, so rapidly and inconsiderately, materially contributed to shape his future policy. His first concessions to the Reform Party may, therefore, be safely regarded as being made more with the view to cloak and justify his course, in a seeming desire for moderation, than with a sincere purpose to conciliate the dissatisfied, or ameliorate the evils complained of. He was destined to exhibit to much more advantage as a galloping, bubbling, half-pay Major unattached, than as a Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. The statesman, after all, is not made by natural intuition, and must receive a thorough training to be really valuable to his country.

One of Sir Francis Head's first public acts was as singular as his appointment to the government, and was evidently the result of his Mackenzie and Bidwell impressions. Instead of making known the authority with which he had been invested in the usual manner by

* Sir Francis Head's Narrative, p. 33-35.

message to the Legislature, he went down to the Council Chamber, summoned the Assembly before him, and made them a second "opening speech" during the same session. The speech itself was almost equally singular with the course pursued in making it. After announcing his accession to the gubernatorial dignity of the province, he informed the House that he had a communication to make them, (alluding to Lord Glenelg's instructions to himself.) "This communication I shall submit to you in a message" said he, "which will at once inform you of the difficult and most important duties, about to devolve upon me as well as yourselves. As regards myself, I have nothing either to promise or profess, but I trust I shall not call in vain upon you to give me that *loyal*, constitutional, unbiassed, and fearless assistance, which your King expects, and which the rising interests of your country require."

The singularity of this speech caused some merriment, and a good deal of doubt among both parties. The Conservatives wavered in their preconceived notions of the Governor: but they, as well as the Reformers, were puzzled by the contradictory and singularly uncertain tone of his instructions. One thing, however, was clear, neither the principle of responsible government nor that of an elective legislative council was conceded. On all other points Lord Glenelg professed the disposition of the Crown to redress the grievances complained of. The Reform majority in the Assembly were dissatisfied with the policy of the Colonial Office, a feeling evinced by their instituting an enquiry as to whether a breach of their privileges had been committed by the Governor, in coming down to make them a speech instead of sending a message? One precedent was found in the whole experience of the English House of Commons, and so the matter ended.

From the tone of his speech, and the general tenor of the Governor's conduct, the astute members of the almost extinct Family Compact, who still continued in public life, and now aimed at the leadership of the Conservative Party, speedily saw they had gained some advantage. With its nature, however, they were as yet wholly unacquainted, not being aware how effectually Bidwell and Mackenzie had been seconding their views, by alarming Sir Francis with the possible contingency of rebellion. They industriously endeavored, nevertheless, to improve their presumed, though indistinct, advantage, by presenting the action of the Assembly touching their enquiry, whether his speech was not a breach of privilege? in the most unfavorable light. That this movement met with some success, was evident by their endeavoring, shortly afterwards, to induce the Governor to strengthen the Execu-

tive Council from their ranks, three of the old members having been dismissed.*

Although there can be little doubt that Mackenzie & Co. had already frightened Sir Francis from presumed Whigism into old fashioned Toryism, the latter shrank from the indecency of at once running counter to every principle of his appointment, and allying himself with the remnant of the Family Compact. Little as he admitted he knew about politics he instinctively disliked such a course, until, at least, he could conceal its more repulsive features, by a show of seeming moderation, and an apparent desire to conciliate the majority of the Assembly. He accordingly offered the vacant places in the Executive Council to Robert Baldwin, John Rolph, and John Henry Dunn, the Receiver General. Mr. Baldwin was eminently popular with Reformers of all grades—moderate, middle, and extreme—and Messrs. Rolph and Dunn were also high in the confidence of their party.

These gentlemen at first refused to take office unless the old Tory Councillors, viz., Peter Robinson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, G. H. Markland, Inspector-General, and Joseph Wells, Bursar of King's College, who were also Legislative Councillors, should be dismissed. This, however, was no part of Sir Francis's plan, who, aside from other considerations, fancied that by pitting three Tories against three Reformers in the Council he would effectually retain all real power in his own hands. In defence of his refusal to dismiss the old councillors, he urged that he had other interests besides those of the Assembly to consider, that they already possessed their own legitimate power, and that to impart to them in addition an exclusive influence in the Council, would be unconstitutional and unjust. "The step," he said, "would also have a tendency to connect him with party feeling, from which as the representative of Majesty he should stand wholly aloof." After maturely weighing their position, Mr. Baldwin and his friends decided to take office, and were duly sworn in.

But Sir Francis Head's policy was a superficial one at best, and the attempt to acquire the arbitrary control of the executive power speedily recoiled upon himself. The old members of the Council had too long ruled Governors to be now ruled by a Governor in turn, and the new ones had no disposition, for the sake of the mere emoluments of office, to make themselves odious with their party by ostensibly giving their countenance to unpopular measures, with which they had in reality nothing to do. The attempt showed a thorough ignorance of his men, was a blunder of the shallowest kind, and tended to draw him into

* Lord Durham's Report, p. 60.

a position which at once compromised him with the people of Upper Canada, as well as with the Home Ministry.

Fancying that the Executive Council would retain place at any price, Sir Francis began to develop his policy, by appointing, on his own responsibility, some members of the Family Compact to vacant offices. These appointments were censured by the Assembly; while the Council, finding their duties were restricted to land matters, and, that they were apparently to be kept in ignorance of all those public measures, which popular opinion, nevertheless, attributed to their advice, remonstrated privately on the subject with the Governor. He requested them to make a formal representation of their views. This they accordingly did, on the 4th of March, in a firm and temperate manner, and the reply thereto left them no choice but to resign.* Four other Councillors † were immediately appointed, who were more tractable, and took office on the Governor's own terms, whom, however, they managed in a short time to subject to a very considerable extent. The irresponsible oligarchy were accordingly again in the ascendant.

The arbitrary course pursued by the Governor, was apparently as unpalatable to the Conservative minority, as to the Reform majority of the Assembly. On the 14th of March, a resolution was passed by 51 in a House of 53 members, censuring the dismissal of the Council, and asserting the principle of responsible government in the strongest and most unequivocal terms. On this resolution, an address to the Governor was based, on the 24th of the same month, regretting the dismissal of the old Council, and declaring a want of confidence in the recent executive appointments he had made.

The excitement now waxed fast and furious, and a recriminatory war of words took place between Sir Francis and the Assembly. But, at this game the former proved an overmatch for his opponents. He bored them with long speeches in reply to addresses, appealed to the sympathy of the public by proclamation, and skilfully created a false and specious issue of the questions at stake.

Never was an author in such a congenial element before. The Lieutenant Governor proved himself an adept at agitation, fairly beat Mackenzie at public meetings, by means of his numerous partisans, and the latter defeated at his own trade, by another little man like himself, was ultimately driven to shelter his dignity in rebellion, and thus

* Executive Council to Sir F. Head, March 4, 1836. Lord Durham's Report, p. 60. Sir F. Head's Narrative, p. 50-60. Canada as it Was, &c., p. 182-186.

† These were Robert B. Sullivan, John Elmsley, Augustus Baldwin, and William Allan.

justified the singular gyrations of his gubernatorial antagonist. The people were really made to believe that the constitution was threatened with imminent danger, that the Crown was menaced in the person of the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada: so forgetful of every other consideration they determined to stand by him to the last.

Sir Francis Head proved himself an excellent actor, and found his hands so strengthened by his growing popularity, that he felt himself in a position to regard with cool indifference an address from the Assembly to the Crown, praying to be relieved of their despotic Governor, and whom they now impeached of sundry misdemeanors, as well as statements in the House, which stigmatised him as a tyrant and impugned his veracity. Having thus been successful in hoodwinking the people of Upper Canada, he labored to produce the same results at the Colonial Office. "It is out of my power," he writes to Lord Glenelg, "to describe the joy and gladness expressed to me by all parties at the constitutional resistance I have made. But, there is one question in everybody's mouth, will the Lieutenant Governor be supported by the Home Government? On your Lordship's decision rests our possession of Canada."

The ostensible leaders of the Reform Party, while they felt their position becoming more and more weakened, owing to the clever slashing demagoguism of Sir Francis, appeared to be quite unequal to the crisis in which they now found themselves. The more prudent, alarmed by the gathering storm, kept in the back-ground, while the conduct of Bidwell, Mackenzie, and some others of the same school, placed them daily in a worse, and more embarrassing, position. Had they assumed a sound constitutional stand, refrained from all overt acts, which could possibly be construed into a tendency to physical violence or rebellion—in short, had they rested solely upon moral suasion, they must in the end have succeeded in defeating the Lieutenant-Governor and driven him from the field, to "bubble" in some other part of the world. Nothing, certainly, could have been more impolitic than Mr. Bidwell's act in laying Papineau's seditious letter before the House of Assembly, and in the endeavor to identify the progressive British Reform Party of Upper Canada, with the non-progressive, French, Anti-British Party of the other province. It showed clearly, as the sequel proved, how little he understood the party of which he was ostensibly the leader, and that he lacked the rare powers of mind, the tact and physical courage, necessary to direct successfully a great social and political movement.

The people of Upper had no real sympathy with the Anti-Executive party of Lower Canada, and however they might have squabbled among

themselves, did not desire the interference of Papineau. Hence, the impolicy of Mr. Bidwell in making his letter public. Sir Francis instinctively seized upon the occurrence, as most favorable for his purpose, and skilfully dovetailed this letter into one of his addresses with considerable dramatic effect. "The people of Canada," said he "detest democracy, revere their constitutional charter, and are consequently staunch in their allegiance to their king." Alluding to Papineau's threat, that the people of the United States would assist a republican movement in Canada, he added "in the name of every regiment of militia in Upper Canada, I publicly promulgate led them come if they dare," This was a clever climax, certainly, and so the curtain dropped on the first act of Sir Francis Head's rebellion.

Had this dramatic outburst—this skilful acting, for such it undoubtedly was, been properly met, the excited loyalty of the stalworth yeomanry of Upper Canada, unused to such strange and stirring appeals, would have settled down into its wonted sober and steady love of liberty, and the people would have taken care equally well of themselves. Unfortunately, however, for the country, the majority of the Assembly completely lost its temper, thus giving the Executive the vantage ground, hurled anathemas at the head of the clever little Governor, and stopped the supplies, the last resort of an indignant Commons, unless they buckle on the sword. But, if they stopped the supplies of the Government, the Government retorted by stopping theirs. Sir Francis refused his assent to every money bill passed during the session,—even to that for their own contingencies, so they had no wages to get this time. He followed up his recent advantages by proceeding in state to the House, on the 20th of April, and proroguing parliament in a speech which severely aminadverted upon the course pursued by the Assembly, and still further reduced them in the estimation of the public.

Sir Francis Head had been only a few weeks in the country, still he had created more political excitement than all his predecessors put together. For a man who admitted he knew little of politics, still less of the science of government, and nothing whatever of Canada, till he set foot on its soil, his progress in statesmanship was, nevertheless, alarmingly rapid. He never reflected that great popular, like individual, excitement never lasts long, and that the period of re-action comes sooner or later, when the calmer judgement again acquires full scope.

In short, he sowed the wind, in exciting the passions of the masses, and reaped the whirl-wind, in the petty rebellion, of which he must ever stand convicted as the chief promoter. Had he taken time to acquire a just knowledge of the condition of the country—had he acted

with calm and impartial wisdom, presuming that knowledge to have been acquired, Upper Canada would not have known the stigma of even partial rebellion. In dealing with the present he lost sight of the future; and in endeavoring to acquire a temporary advantage, he rashly neglected a solid and secure success. The calm and temperate conduct of Lord Gosford, forms a striking contrast to the course pursued by Sir Francis Head. That conduct made rebellion ten-fold more odious and unnatural, while the singular acting of the latter, in a very great measure, produced and justified insurrection. His essay in government was decidedly of the galloping and bubbling school, and failed so completely that no British ministry has since allowed him to repeat it.

While almost every step, taken by Sir Francis Head, tended to complicate the public questions at issue, between the Reform Party and the Colonial Office, more and more, he considered his administration had completely succeeded—that he had knocked the hydra of responsible government on the head at last—chuckled over his success, and vainly fancied he was about to become the pacificator of the province, and thus win golden opinions for himself in Downing street. “I earnestly entreat you” he writes to Lord Glenelg, “to put confidence in me, for I pledge my character to the result, I have overcome every difficulty, the game is won, the battle is gained as far as relates to this country. I would therefore request your Lordship to send me no orders on the subject, but to allow me to let the thing work by itself.” This confident language could only be used by a superficial man, and was very unlike the sober and common-sense despatches of his predecessors.

The stormy termination of the recent session of the Legislature, the stoppage of the road and common school moneys, the disaffection in Lower Canada, and his own exciting proclamations, produced such a ferment of loyalty throughout the province, that Sir Francis Head considered he might safely appeal to the people to rid the Assembly of those persons, whose views he considered were opposed to British connection. Numerous addresses were at this crisis presented to him, expressing confidence in his administration, and requesting him to dissolve the House.

It seems as if he had taken measures to secure the presentation of addresses of this character, for some time before he wrote to Lord Glenelg, that he anticipated such a course would be adopted. “I fully expect,” said he, “that before a month has elapsed, the country will petition me to dissolve the present House of Assembly; but until the feeling is quite ripe I shall not attend to it.” In pursuance of this policy the provincial parliament was dissolved on the 28th of May, and writs issued for a new election, in which the whole influence of the Executive was

brought to bear against the Reform Party. The result was that nearly all its principal leaders, including Mackenzie, Bidwell, and Baldwin, were beaten at the polls, and thus excluded from the House. The following extract from Lord Durham's Report, gives an excellent picture of the state of political feeling in Upper Canada at this period :—

“The contest which appeared to be thus commenced on the question of the responsibility of the Executive Council, was really decided on very different grounds. Sir F. Head who appears to have thought that the maintenance of the connection with Great Britain depended upon his triumph over the majority of the Assembly, embarked in the contest with a determination to use every influence in his power in order to bring it to a successful issue. He succeeded, in fact, in putting the issue in such a light before the province, that a great portion of the people really imagined that they were called upon to decide the question of separation by their votes. The dissolution, on which he ventured, when he thought the public mind sufficiently ripe, completely answered his expectations. The British, in particular, were roused by the proclaimed danger to the connection with the mother country ; they were indignant at some portions of the conduct and speeches of certain members of the late majority, which seemed to mark a determined preference to American over British institutions. They were irritated by indications of hostility to British emigration which they saw, or fancied they saw, in some recent proceedings of the Assembly. Above all, not only they, but a great many others, had marked with envy the stupendous public works which were at that period producing their effect in the almost marvellous growth of the wealth and population of the neighboring state of New York ; and they reproached the Assembly with what they considered an unwise economy, in preventing the undertaking or even completion of similar works, that might, as they fancied, have produced a similar developement of the resources of Upper Canada. The general support of the British determined the elections in favor of the government ; and though very large and close minorities which in many cases supported the defeated candidates, marked the force which the Reformers could bring into the field, even in spite of the disadvantages under which they labored from the momentary prejudices against them, and the unusual manner in which the Crown, by its representative, appeared to make itself a party in an electioneering contest, the result was the return of a very large majority hostile in politics to that of the late Assembly.”

The Reform Party was not a little surprised at the unexpected position in which it found itself placed by the recent election, and the Executive was speedily accused of using undue influence to procure the return of an Assembly favorable to its views. It was stated that patents for lands were issued to make voters for the occasion, and other measures taken of an equally improper character to secure a majority at the polls. Dr. Duncombe proceeded to England, in order to press these facts upon the notice of the Colonial Minister, but without success. Sir Francis Head's representations continued to be received with considerable con-

vidence by Lord Glenelg; and it would appear from statements subsequently made (1839) in the British Commons by Charles Buller, chief secretary to Lord Durham's mission, that the charges made against him on this point could not be, nor had never been, substantiated.

The pleasant sunshine of the Canadian Summer, tempted the Lieutenant Governor to make a tour of the most interesting portions of the province. He descended the tranquil current of the magnificent St. Lawrence, where it meanders amidst its Thousand Islands; sped along its rapids; shot down the timber slides of the Ottawa; bivouaced on the islands of Lake Huron; and held solemn conclave with Indian sachems at the grand council fire, in the Great Manitoulin Island, and there procured the cession of a large tract of fertile land,* much of which has since been settled.

The triumph which Sir Francis Head had won at the recent election, was speedily clouded by the conduct of the Colonial Office, which, even ignorant as it was of Canadian matters, began gradually to arrive at the conclusion, that he had not pursued the wisest course. This was owing in some measure, if not altogether, to the representations of the Gosford commission, which recommended a responsible executive, a political doctrine distinctly repudiated by Sir Francis, who finding himself in this contradictory position offered to resign.† His apparent success, however, puzzled Lord Glenelg, and it was resolved to retain him in his post for the present. Still, it soon became evident, that the principle of responsible government must ere long be conceded. The liberal party of New Brunswick was taking the same ground, to a very great extent, as the Reform Party of Upper Canada, and in the course of Summer, instructions were sent to the governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, to surrender the casual and territorial revenues to its Assembly, and to form a responsible executive. Proceeding on the ground, that a concession to one North American province must necessarily be made to all, the Colonial Office, on the 20th September, forwarded a despatch to Sir Francis Head, instructing him to consider the directions to the Governor of New Brunswick, as also applicable to Upper Canada.‡ Sir Archibald Campbell resigned sooner than carry out these measures, and Sir Francis Head, being equally unwilling to adopt them for his guidance, the Colonial Office had not sufficient nerve to insist strongly on the execution of its resolves, which were permitted to remain in abeyance for a time.

The new parliament assembled on the 8th of November. One of its

* The Emigrant, by Sir F. B. Head, p. 121-153.

† Sir F. F. Head's Narrative, p. 103-106.

‡ London Quarterly Review, April, 1839.

first measures was to pass a Supply Bill. A number of other bills were also enacted during the session, among which was that erecting the first Court of Chancery in Upper Canada. Many of the bills passed were of a very liberal and progressive character, and highly creditable to the industry and talents of the Legislature. Still, owing to 1837. the violent agitation kept up by Mackenzie and others, of the same extreme school, the Reform Party continued indignant and dissatisfied, and the Assembly soon found their popularity was rapidly on the wane, and that the Conservative Party, should another election shortly occur, could scarcely hope for a majority. The rapidly declining health of the King, rendered a dissolution before the four years' term of the existing Assembly had expired, a very probable contingency. Accordingly, the novel expedient was resorted to, of passing an act to prevent the dissolution of parliament, in the event of his death. The only precedent of the kind on record, is that of the parliament which brought Charles I. to the scaffold. The session terminated on the 4th of March. The Governor's speech when proroguing the House, contained little that was remarkable.

The close proximity of Canada to the United States, led to very intimate commercial relations between the two countries. The severe blow which the monied interests of the latter country sustained, in the earlier part of 1837, reacted unfavorably upon these provinces. While Canadians jealously contemplated the rapid progress of the United States, and drew conclusions unfavorable to a monarchical form of government, as not presenting equal facilities with a republic for the development of national prosperity, they had little idea of the sandy foundation on which a portion, at least, of their neighbors' success was based. They accordingly beheld with astonishment their commercial system completely prostrated, banks refusing to redeem their own notes, states repudiating their sovereign monetary engagements, hundreds of mercantile houses becoming bankrupt, and distrust, disorder, and ruin, spreading in every direction, like a black cloud, over the much vaunted prosperity of the Union.

In Lower Canada, the Banks imitated the example of similar institutions in the United States, and suspended payments in specie. The result was that their stocks decreased in value, and public confidence in their solvency was somewhat shaken. In Upper Canada, however, a contrary course was pursued. The banks continued to redeem their notes with specie, contracted their discounts, and boldly and honestly confronted the gathering storm.

Their course, in this respect, led to much dissatisfaction on the part of the mercantile community, and the general feeling was that payment

in specie should be suspended, and discounting resumed. To his great credit, Sir Francis Head was opposed to a procedure of this kind, as a rotten system of bank accommodation, which must sooner or later prove injurious to the community, and produce a re-action of the same disastrous character, as that then in progress in the United States. Still, he deemed it advisable to summon parliament to take the modification of the charters of the banks into consideration, so as to allow them to suspend specie payments. The Legislature was accordingly convened on the 19th of June, and the matter at issue placed fully and fairly before it in the opening speech of the Governor, which was distinguished by much practical sense, although mixed up, it is true, with not a little of its opposite. One of the first measures of the Assembly was to elect Sir Allan McNab as their Speaker, in room of Archibald M'Clean, who had accepted a public situation, and resigned his seat. They then proceeded to take the banking question into consideration, and were at first disposed to chime in with the popular humor, and, in many instances, with their own necessities. Fortunately, however, for the credit and good name of the province, the Governor's policy triumphed. Specie payment was continued, the banks safely weathered the storm, redeemed their bills when presented, and thus preserved the credit of the province untarnished.* The results of this bold and honest policy, was for a short space very trying to the banks. Their notes were eagerly purchased in the United States at from two to five per cent premium, and sent into the province to be cashed. Still, the small agricultural community of Upper Canada, composed of some 450,000 souls, withstood the whole monied power of the Union, continued calmly and honestly to meet the heavy drain upon its industry and its purse, and came out from the ordeal comparatively unscathed.

As the Summer progressed, Mackenzie, like Papineau, sought to increase the existing excitement by holding meetings, and making inflammatory speeches, in various parts of the province; but, more especially in the Home District, where his partisans were most numerous. He was far, however, from being as successful in this way as the popular leader of Lower Canada. At some of the meetings his resolutions were even negatived by majorities.

Still, few suspected that the province was on the eve of rebellion, or supposed, for a moment, that the endeavors of Mackenzie and his friends to create a sympathy in favor of the Papineau party, were to

* During the subsequent disordered condition of the province and commercial depression, produced by the rebellion, the banks were allowed to discontinue payments in specie, but chiefly on political grounds.

result in violence and bloodshed. The Reform Party imagined that these agitators were still desiring the redress of grievances solely by constitutional means, which accounts for the support its press gave them up to the latest moment.

Four-fifths of the Reform Party were attached to constitutional monarchy, and never imagined that Mackenzie, Rolph, and other "red republicans" had formed the design of establishing a republic by a recourse to rebellion, and in this way abandon the legal position, they had hitherto occupied, for an illegal and treasonable one.

Many persons, at the present time, erroneously suppose, that the principles contended for in that rebellion have been conceded. But such has not been the case. The leaders of the extreme section of the Reform Party, in resorting to violence, no longer sought the removal of abuses by constitutional agitation, but aimed at the establishment of an independent republic, and completely failed in the attempt. The true Reformers, however, continued to adhere to legal measures for the removal of grievances; and to their efforts, when the storm had passed over, and not to the insane attempts at rebellion of Mackenzie and others, equally wicked and mischievous, may be ascribed the enviable political condition in which Upper Canada now finds itself.

The months of September and October passed off quietly, so far as outward appearances were concerned; but, nevertheless, the crisis rapidly approached. A constant secret correspondence was kept up by the republican leaders of Upper with those of Lower Canada, and a line of operations agreed upon;* while vigilance committees were organised, and other incipient measures of rebellion quietly taken.

The Lieutenant Governor was now completely at issue with the Colonial Office, on different points. The principal of these was his refusal to place Mr. Bidwell on the bench, and to restore Mr. Ridout, the district judge of Niagara, to his post, of which Sir Francis had recently deprived him, owing to his having used violent and disrespectful language towards himself at public meetings. His Executive Council likewise proved refractory, and the report of the Lower Canada commissioners, now published, placing his position completely at fault with the public, he was induced, a second time, to tender his resignation.

Such was the condition of affairs in Upper Canada, when, in the month of October, Sir John Colborne withdrew the troops from Toronto to Kingston, in order to be more fully prepared to make head against the insurrection, which the Papineau faction was rapidly fomenting. He offered to leave two companies, as a guard, with Sir

* See Mackenzie's Narrative.

Francis Head, but the latter, believing the province to be perfectly safe from rebellion, and that the "moral power" he possessed was sufficient to prevent any overt act, requested these also to be withdrawn, and the troops likewise removed from Kingston.*

In consequence of these measures, nearly four thousand stand of arms and accoutrements, had been left unprotected at Toronto, and were handed over for safe keeping to the corporation of the city, who had them transferred to the Town Hall, and guarded there by a few volunteers. This step was certainly well designed for effect, and a clever piece of dramatic acting; but, at the same time very unlike the cautious prudence, which marked the proceedings of Sir John Colborne. Had Sir Francis Head at once supplied the place of the troops, by embodying a regiment or two of militia for the protection of these arms and of the capital of the province, no charge could be brought against him on the score of imprudence. As matters remained he was wholly unprepared for the coming storm, and continued in blind security to the last moment.†

The withdrawal of the troops was the signal for more prompt rebellious action, on the part of Mackenzie and his immediate associates. During the month of November, rumors prevailed that bodies of men assembled for the purpose of military drill and target practice, in the vicinity of Loydton, and at other places along Yonge Street, the focus of sedition in the upper province, as the counties along the Richelieu were in the lower. Rifles were brought in secretly from the United States, pikes made, and other measures taken for the organisation of a revolutionary force.

The rumors of approaching insurrection in its neighborhood caused a very general feeling of alarm at Toronto, and the Governor was solicited to nip it in the bud by the arrest of Mackenzie, the prime mover in the matter; Bidwell,‡ Rolph, and others, of the same timid

* Head's letter to Colborne, Oct. 31st. 1837. *The Emigrant*, p. 159.

† See his speech to the Legislature on the 28th December. 1837. Sir F. Head's account of his position at this period is very contradictory. In the above speech he states he was taken wholly unawares, as was evidently the case; while in his "Emigrant" he asserts, that he knew of the approaching rebellion, although unacquainted with its details.

‡ Many persons suppose that Mr. Bidwell knew nothing of the violent purposes of Mackenzie, and whose extreme principles and practices he repudiated, through the public press, on his arrival in the United States. There can be little doubt, however, that he was fully conscious of the extreme views entertained by the republican section of the Reform Party, and that he would have been gratified had this province been wrested from Great Britain. An innocent man could scarcely have pronounced a voluntary sentence of expatriation on himself, as he

character, retiring into the back-ground as the moment of real danger approached. Mackenzie as yet, however, had committed no open act of treason; and consequently it was not deemed prudent to cause his arrest. Sir Francis still persisted in supposing that no insurrection would break out; took, therefore, no active measures for its suppression, nor to acquire any correct knowledge of the treasonable measures in progress. His conduct in this respect lacked the appearance of even ordinary common sense, and showed how unfit he was for the post he filled. It was not, most decidedly, owing to his prudence or good management, that the rebellion was suppressed. Had he bestirred himself, he could scarcely have failed to get proof positive of Mackenzie's treasonable intentions, and had this mischievous person been arrested, there is every reason to suppose no insurrection would have taken place, and the province would thus have been spared much bloodshed, trouble, and expense.

At length, finding himself embarrassed by the representations of many persons, and by the general feeling of alarm, which he seems now to have shared in himself, the Lieutenant Governor directed that colonels of militia should hold themselves in readiness for any emergency. He was still, however, in utter ignorance of the insurrection already organised,* and of the hostile preparations making in various parts of the Home District.

The calling out of the militia quickened Mackenzie's movements. Boldly pulling off the mask, he published a list of nineteen successful strikes for freedom, on record in the history of the world, and in plain language called upon his followers to imitate these glorious examples. The Attorney General now informed the Governor, that Mackenzie was within reach of the law, and it was determined to arrest him on a charge of treason. But he fled ere he could be apprehended, and at the head of a band of armed followers, was speedily advancing to attack

did; and however timid he might naturally be, he well knew that the guilty only had anything to dread from British law and British justice. Mr. Bidwell's father, as well as himself, most certainly became Canadian citizens from necessity, and not from choice, and still continued republican at heart. There can be little doubt, on the other hand, that Sir Francis Head desired to force him into exile, to sustain the course he had pursued in refusing to raise him to the bench; but, there seems, at the same time, to have been a secret consciousness of guilt on the part of Mr. Bidwell. With respect to the statements made with regard to the cause of Barnabas Bidwell leaving Massachusetts, the author took the trouble to wait on his son in New York, in order to ascertain whether he could produce any documents to clear his fathers' reputation. Nothing of the kind has been produced, and the author has unwillingly come to the conclusion that the charges against him were correct.

* *Emigrant*, p. 164.

Toronto. The following narrative of the occurrences, at this period, drawn up by Mackenzie while at Navy Island, appears to be correct, with some few exceptions:—

“On the 31st of July last, the Reformers of Toronto responded to the request of their fellow sufferers in Lower Canada, by the appointment of ward committees of vigilance, the passage of resolutions of sympathy and co-operation, and the adoption of a declaration of rights and grievances, which only differed from your great declaration of 1776, in that it did not at once proclaim the Province independent, nor enumerate, in all cases, the same complaints.

“The Reformers had taken great pains to inform the British Government of the true state of affairs in Upper Canada, and many believed that Sir Francis Bond Head would do what he could to remove the chief causes of discontent, until the proceedings of the executive previous to and at the last general election of the House of Assembly, convinced them that nothing but a revolution would relieve the country. This opinion I was confirmed in, by observing that when the Assembly of Lower Canada deferred granting supplies until their wrongs would be redressed, the House of Commons of England, by a vote of about 10 to 1, and the Lords unanimously, (Lord Brougham alone dissenting,) resolved that the proceeds of the revenue raised in that colony, both by Provincial and British Statutes, should be expended without the consent of the representatives of the people, or the form of law, in keeping up a costly foreign government in which the governed had no share.

“In the Declaration of Grievances of the 31st of July, the British Government were distinctly given to understand that revolt might be the consequence of its duplicity. And that declaration was read, considered, and approved at 200 public meetings in the country; 150 branch associations, agreeing to its principles, were speedily organized, and Sir F. B. Head was informed through the press, that the officers of these societies *might* be used as captains and lieutenants of companies, for resistance by force, in case a change of his measures did not soon take place.

“The many scenes of violence and outrage which occurred at our public meetings between July and December I need not recount. Let it suffice to say, that we kept up a good understanding with the reformers of Lower Canada; and concluding that arbitrary imprisonments and a declaration of military execution would follow the anticipated outbreak at Montreal, we resolved to second the Lower Canada movements by others, equally prompt and decisive.

“Some of the members of our branch societies were kept in ignorance of the intended revolt. Others were fully aware of it. Some whose names were attached to no associations were leaders in the revolution—other very active republicans took no part. The presses under my control sent forth nearly 3000 copies of a periodical filled with reasons for revolt, and about the third week in November it was determined that on Thursday, the 7th of December, our forces should secretly assemble at Montgomery's Hotel, 3 miles back of Toronto, between 6 and 10 at night, and proceeding from thence to the city, join our friends

there, seize 4000 stand of arms, which had been placed by Sir Francis in the City Hall, take him into custody, with his chief advisers, place the garrison in the hands of the liberals, declare the province free, call a convention together, to frame a suitable constitution, and meantime appoint our friend, DR. ROLPH, provincial administrator of the government. We expected to do all this without shedding blood, well knowing that the viceregal government was too unpopular to have many *real* adherents.

"Only in one instance did we forward a notice of the intended movement beyond the limits of the county of York, and to Whitby and some other towns in it no circulars were sent. We never doubted the feeling of the province. Sir F. admits in "his speech from the throne," that we would have cheerfully submitted the whole matter to a convention of the people.

"Twelve leading reformers in the city and country agreed, one day in November, that on Thursday the 7th of December last, between the hours of six and ten in the evening, the friends of freedom in the several townships, led by their captains, would meet at Montgomery's, march to Toronto, seize the arms we so much wanted, dismiss Sir Francis, and *proclaim a Republic*. The details were left entirely to my management; and an *executive in the city* was named to correspond with Mr. Papineau and our other friends below, afford intelligence, aid our efforts, and finally, to join the army at Montgomery's. It was also stipulated that no attempt should be made by that executive to alter the time on which we were to revolt, without consulting with me in the first instance.

"The country was rife for a change, and I employed a fortnight previous to Sunday the 3rd December, in attending secret meetings, assisting in organizing towns and places, and otherwise preparing for the revolution. On that day, I rode from Southville (where I had two private meetings on Saturday) to Yonge street; and arrived at Mr. Gibson's in the evening. To my astonishment and dismay, I was informed by him, that although I had given the captains of townships sealed orders for Thursday following, the executive, through him, by a mere verbal message, had ordered out the men beyond the ridges, to attend at Montgomery's with their arms next day, Monday, and that it was probable they were already on the march.

"I instantly sent one of Mr. Gibson's servants to the north, countermanding the Monday movement, and begged of Col. Lount not to come down nor in any way disturb the previous regular arrangement, because neither of the other towns, nor the citizens of Toronto, were in any way prepared for an alteration which if persisted in would surely ruin us. The servant returned on Monday, with a message from Mr. Lount, that it was now too late to stop, that the men were warned, and moving with their guns and pikes, on the march down to Yonge Street, (a distance of 30 to 40 miles on the worst roads in the world,) and that the object of their rising could therefore be no longer concealed.

"I was grieved and so was Mr. Gibson, but we had to make the best of it; accordingly I mounted my horse in the afternoon, rode in towards the city, took five trusty men with me, arrested several gentlemen on suspicion they were going to Sir Francis with information, placed a guard on Yonge Street, the main northern avenue to Toronto, at

Montgomery's, and another guard on a parallel road, and told them to allow none to pass to the city. I then waited some time expecting the executive to arrive, but waited in vain—no one came, not even a message—I was therefore left in entire ignorance of the condition of the capital; and instead of entering Toronto on Thursday, with 4000 or 5000 men, was apparently expected to take it on Monday with 200, wearied after a march of 30 or 40 miles through mud, and in the worst possible humor at finding they had been called from the very extremity of the county, and no one else warned at all.

"About 8 or 9 o'clock I accompanied Captain Anderson of Loyd-town, and three others on horseback down Yonge Street, intending if no one came with tidings from the city, to go there and ascertain how far an attack and seizure of the muskets and bayonets we much needed, was practicable. There were warrants out for my apprehension, but I did not mind them much.

"We had not proceeded far when we met Alderman John Powell, (now the Mayor,) and Mr. Archibald McDonald, late of Kingston, on horseback, acting as a sort of patrol. I rode up to them, presented a double-barrelled pistol, informed them that the democrats had risen in arms, that we wished to prevent information of that fact from reaching the city, and that they would have to go back to Montgomery's as prisoners, where they would be well treated, fed, and lodged, and in no way injured in person or in purse—but they must surrender to me their arms. They both assured me they had none, and when I seemed to doubt, repeated the assurance; on which I said, "Well gentlemen, as you are my townsmen and men of honor, I would be ashamed to show that I question your words by ordering you to be searched;" and turning to Messrs. Shephard and Anderson, I bade them place the gentlemen in the guard room, and see that they were comfortable, after which I proceeded again towards the city.

"Not many minutes afterwards I was overtaken by Alderman Powell, riding in great haste. I asked him what it meant, and told him he must not proceed except at his peril. He kept on, I followed and fired over my horse's head, but missed him. He slackened his pace till his horse was beside mine, and while I was expostulating with him, *he suddenly clapt a pistol quite close to my breast*, but the priming flashed in the pan, and thus I was saved from instant death. At this moment McDonald rode back seemingly in great affright, and Powell escaped from me by the side bar, and by a circuitous route reach Toronto. * * * On arriving at Montgomery's, I was told by the guard that Colonel Moodie of the army had attempted to pass the barrier, that they told him what guard they were, that he had persisted in firing a pistol at them, on which one of the men levelled his rifle and shot him. He died in an hour or two after. I find it stated in many papers that I killed Col. Moodie, although at the time of his death I was several miles distant, as those then present well know. But I fully approved of the conduct of those who shot him.

"Sir Francis Head admits that he was entirely ignorant of our intended movement until awaked out of his bed that night. His informant, I believe to be Captain Bridgeford. He had the bells set a ringing

took up his abode in the City Hall, delivered out a few rusty guns, made speeches, and was in great trouble. Of all which particulars our executive neither brought nor sent us any account whatever.

"About midnight our numbers increased, and towards morning I proposed to many persons to march to Toronto, join such of the reformers there as were ready, and endeavor to make ourselves masters of the garrison and muskets.

"To this it was objected, that I was uninformed of the strength of the fortress, that the other townships had not yet joined the men from the upper country, that we were ignorant of the state of the city, and that gentlemen who had advised and urged on the movements, and even the executive who had ordered this premature Monday rising, stood aloof, and had neither joined us nor communicated with us.

"Next day (Tuesday) we increased in number to 800, of whom very many had no arms, others had rifles, old fowling pieces, Indian guns, pikes, &c. Vast numbers came and went off again, when they found we had neither muskets nor bayonets. Had they possessed my feeling in favor of freedom, they would have stood by us even if armed but with pitchforks and broom handles.

"About noon we obtained correct intelligence that with all his exertions, and including the College boys, Sir Francis could hardly raise 150 supporters in town and country; and by one p. m. a flag of truce reached our camp near the city, the messengers being the Honorables Messrs. Rolph and Baldwin, deputed by Sir Francis to ask what would satisfy us. I replied "Independence;" but sent a verbal message that as we had no confidence in Sir F.'s word, he would have to send his messages in writing, and within one hour. I then turned to Colonel Lount, and advised him to march the men under his command at once into the city, and take a position near the Lawyers Hall, and rode westward to Colonel Baldwin's where the bulk of the rebels were, and advised an instant march to Toronto. We had advanced as far as the College Avenue, when another flag of truce arrived, by the same messengers, with a message from Sir F. declining to comply with our previous request. We were proceeding to town, when orders from the executive arrived, that we should not then go to Toronto but wait till six o'clock in the evening and then take the city.

"True to the principle on which the compact was made for our rising, the order was obeyed, and at a quarter to six the whole of our forces were near the toll bar, on Yonge Street, on our way to the city. I told them that I was certain there could be no difficulty in taking Toronto; that both in town and country the people had stood aloof from Sir Francis; that not 150 men and boys could be got to defend him; that he was alarmed and had sent his family on board a steamer; that 600 reformers were ready to join us in the city, and that all we had to do was to be firm, and with the city would at once go down every vestige of foreign government in Upper Canada.

"It was dark and as their might be an ambush of some sort, I therefore told six riflemen to go ahead of us a quarter of a mile on the one side of the street, inside the fences, and as many more on the other side, and

to fire in the direction in which they might see any opponents stationed. When within half a mile of the town, we took prisoners the captain of their artillery, a lawyer, and the sheriff's horse. Our riflemen ahead saw some 20 or 30 of the enemy in the road, and fired at them, the 20 or 30, or some of them, fired at us, and instantly took to their heels and ran towards the town. Our riflemen were in front, after them the pikemen, then those who had old guns of various kinds, and lastly those who carried only clubs and walking sticks. Colonel Lount was at the head of the riflemen and he and those in the front rank fired, and instead of stepping to one side to make room for those behind to fire, fell flat on their faces, the next rank fired and did the same thing. I was rather in front when the firing began, and stood in more danger from the rifles of my friends than the muskets of my enemies. I stepped to the side of the road and bade them stop firing, and it appeared to me that one of our people who was killed was shot in this way by our own men. Certainly it was not by the enemy.

"Some persons from town, friendly to us, but not very brave, had joined us during the march, and they, unknown to me, told awful stories about the preparations the Tories had made in several streets, to fire out of windows at us, protected by feather beds mattresses, &c. These representations terrified many of the country people, and when they saw the riflemen in front falling down, and heard the firing, they imagined that those who fell were the killed and wounded by the enemy's fire; and took to their heels with a speed and steadiness of purpose that would have baffled pursuit on foot. In a short time not twenty persons were to be found below the toll bar!

"This was almost too much for human patience. The city would have been ours in an hour, probably without firing a shot; hundreds of our friends waited to join us at its entrance: the officials were terror struck; Governor Head had few to rely on; the colony would have followed the city; a convention and a democratic constitution been adopted, and a bloodless change from a contemptible tyranny to freedom accomplished. But 800 ran where no one pursued, and unfortunately ran the wrong way.

"I rode hastily back until I got in the rear of the main body, stopt a number of them, and implored them to return. I explained matters to them, told them to fear nothing, offered with half a dozen men to go between them and all danger, and reminded them that the opportunity of that night would be their last, that the moment it was known in the country that the reformers were timid and fearful without cause, Sir F. would instantly gain numbers. But it was of no use. To successive groups I spoke in vain. Neither threats nor coaxing would induce them to go to the city. I tried to find even fifty or forty to go to the town, but the reply was, "we will go in the light but not in the dark." Of these many went home that evening, and although about 200 joined us during the night, we were 200 less numerous on the Wednesday morning.

"With the steamers in the hands of the Government, the city, 4,000 muskets and bayonets, perhaps 60 experienced military officers, the well-paid officials and their sons and dependants, abundance of ammunition, a park of artillery well served, the garrison, and the aid of all

who are prejudiced in favor of Colonial Government, it had become a difficult task for a collection of undisciplined and half armed countrymen, without cannon, scarce of gunpowder, not possessed of a single bayonet, not even of guns or pikes for half their number, to contend successfully against the enemy for the city; we therefore stood on the defensive on Wednesday. Gentlemen of influence, who were pledged to join us, and even the executive who commanded us to make the premature and unfortunate movement, neither corresponded with us nor joined us. To explain their conduct was beyond my power. It discouraged many and thinned our ranks.

"On Wednesday forenoon, I took a party with me to Dundas Street, intercepted the great western mail stage and took a number of prisoners, with the stage, mails, and driver, up to our camp. The editors state that money was taken from the mail, which was not the case. But the letters of Mr. Sullivan, President of the Executive Council, Mr. Buchanan, and others, conveyed useful information. We found they expected soon to have strength enough to attack us in the country, and I wrote to the executive in the city to give us timely notice of any such attack. Some of the leading reformers in the city had left it, *but not to join us*—others seemed to have lost their energies; neither messenger nor letter reached our camp; the executive was not there. One man on horseback told us we might be attacked on Thursday.

"My chief hope lay in this, that if we were not attacked till Thursday night, vast reinforcements would join us from the outer townships, and that reformers at a distance would march to our aid, the moment they heard that we had struck for self-government. With this view, I sought to confine the attention of the enemy to the defence of the city, and on Thursday morning selected 40 riflemen and 20 others to go down and burn the Don Bridge, the eastern approach to Toronto, and the house at its end, to take the Montreal mail stage and mails, and to draw out the forces in that quarter if possible. I also proposed that the rest of our men who had arms, should take the direction to the right or left, or retreat to a strong position as prudence might dictate. At this moment Colonel Van Egmond, a native of Holland, owning 13,000 acres of land in the Huron Tract, a tried patriot, and of great military experience under Napoleon, joined us, and one of the Captains desired a council to be held, which was done. Col. V. approved of my plan, a party went off, set fire to the bridge, burnt the house, took the mails, and went through a part of the city unmolested. But the counselling and discussing of my project occasioned a delay of two hours, which proved our ruin, for the enemy having obtained large reinforcements by the steamers from Cobourg, Niagara, and Hamilton, resolved to attack us in three divisions, one of them to march up Yonge Street, and the others by ways about a mile to the right and left of the road. Had our forces started in the morning, the party at the bridge would have interfered with and broken up the enemy's plan of attack, and we would have been in motion near Toronto, ready to retreat to some of the commanding positions in its rear, or to join the riflemen below and there enter the city.

"We were still at the hotel, discussing what was best to be done,

when one of the guards told us that the enemy was marching up with music and artillery and within a mile of us. Our people immediately prepared for battle, I rode down towards the enemy, doubting the intelligence, until when within a short distance I saw them with my own eyes. I rode quickly back, asked our men if they were ready to fight a greatly superior force, well armed, and with artillery well served. They were ready, and I bade them to go to the woods and do their best. They did so, and never did men fight more courageously. In the face of a heavy fire of grape and cannister, with broadsides of musketry in rapid succession, they stood their ground firmly and killed and wounded a large number of the enemy,* but were at length compelled to retreat. In a more favorable position, I have no doubt but they would have beaten the assailants with immense loss. As it was, they had only three killed and three or four wounded.† I felt anxious to go to Montgomery's for my portfolio and papers, which were important, but it was out of the question, so they fell into the hands of Sir Francis. All my papers previous to the event of that week I had destroyed, except a number of business letters, and these it took my family upwards of an hour and a quarter to burn. But with all my caution, some letters fell into their hands to the injury of others.

"The manly courage with which two hundred farmers, miserably armed, withstood the formidable attack of an enemy 1200 strong, and who had plenty of ammunition, with new muskets and bayonets, artillery, first rate European officers, and the choice of a position of attack, convinces me that discipline, order, obedience, and subordination, under competent leaders would enable them speedily to attain a confidence sufficient to foil even the regulars from Europe. About 200 of our friends stood at the tavern during the battle, being unarmed.

"Mr. Fletcher, Col. Van Egmond, myself and others, held a consultation near Hogg's Hollow, and concluded that it would be useless to re-assemble our scattered forces, for that without arms success would be doubtful, and I determined to pass over to the United States, and accomplished my purpose in three days, travelled 125 miles, was seen by 2000 persons at least, and with a reward of 4000 dollars as advertised for my head, speedily reached Buffalo.

"It is said we were cruel to our prisoners, 54 in number, but nothing could be further from the truth. They had the largest and best rooms in the hotel, twelve bed chambers were appropriated to their especial use, and bedding, while our volunteers lay in their wearing clothes on the floor of the bar and other apartments—they fared as we fared; and for their amusement I sent them up European, American and Canadian papers, often without reading them myself. Mr. McDonald wrote to his family that he was kindly treated, and it is unjust for any British officers to allow such slanders as have appeared in the newspapers to go uncontradicted."

* This is untrue, only three loyalists were slightly wounded,† and none were killed.

† This is also incorrect. 36 were killed. See Brockville Recorder, Dec. 31st, 1837.

The following statement by Sir Francis B. Head, is also inserted as supplying the substance of the official version of Mackenzie's advance against Toronto :—

"I had taken to bed a bad sick head-ache, and at midnight of the 4th of December, was fast asleep with it, when I was suddenly awakened by a person who informed me that Mr. Mackenzie was conducting a large body of rebels upon Toronto, and that he was within two or three miles of the city.

"A few faithful friends kindly conducted my family to a place of safety, and eventually to a steamer floating in the harbor, and while they were proceeding there, I walked along King Street to the position I had prepared in the market-house.

"As soon as I reached the market-house I found assembled there the armed guard of the town, and a small body of trusty men, among whom were the five judges, a force quite sufficient to have repelled and punished any attack which we were likely at that moment to expect.

"We, however, lost no time in unpacking cases of muskets and of ball-cartridges, and in distributing them to those who kept joining our party. That, however, among us we had at least one whose zeal exceeded his discretion, I soon learned by a musket-ball, which, passing through the door of a small room in which I was consulting with Judge Jones, stuck in the wall close beside us.

"In a very short time we organized our little force, and as we had detached, in advance, picquets of observation, to prevent our being surprised, we lay down on the floor to sleep.

"About eight o'clock in the morning I inspected my followers in the square in which the market-house stands. We were of course a motley group. I had a short double-barrelled gun in my belt and another on my shoulder. The Chief Justice had about thirty rounds of ball-cartridge in his cartouch, the rest of the party were equally well armed, and the two six-pounders were comfortably filled with grape-shot.

"Still, however, our "family compact" was but a small one, and as Mr. Mackenzie's forces were much exaggerated, and as Rumor, with her usual positiveness, of course declared that rebels were flocking to him by hundreds from all directions, and as he had already committed murder, arson, and robbery to a considerable amount, it was evident to us all that a problem of serious importance to the civilized world was about to be solved.

"The sun set without any succor, or any intimation of its approach. My confidence, however, in the people of Upper Canada still remained in the zenith, and I have now the pleasure to show that in that position it was not misplaced.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon, Sir Allan McNab received intelligence, at Hamilton, a considerable town at the head of Lake Ontario, and situated about forty-five miles from Toronto, that I was in the market-place, invested by Mr. Mackenzie and his band of rebels.

"He immediately mounted his horse and rode to the wharf, seized a steamer that was lying there, put a guard on board of her, despatched messengers in various directions to the Canadian farmers, yeomen, &c., in his neighborhood, and at five o'clock sailed, with the vessel heavily

"The bubble had completely burst, and nothing remained to tell of its past history but Mr. Mackenzie's flag—his bag, full of letters and papers advocating "responsible government," and the heaps of dirty straw on which he and his gang had been sleeping.

"Shortly after the column had halted in front of this building, a party from the skirmishers brought to me a couple of prisoners they had captured in the bush. They had come from the interior of the province, had been told all sorts of stories, had been deluded rather than seduced, and now they stood trembling, as if the only remaining problem in this world of any importance was, on which of the innumerable tall trees around us they should be hanged; indeed I think I never beheld two men so arrantly frightened.

"They were all that remained of Mr. Mackenzie's army, and as I had already offered large sums for the apprehension of him and of all his leaders, I felt at that moment—rightly or wrongly it is now too late to consider—that I could not celebrate our triumph more appropriately than by telling these poor trembling beings, after half a dozen of words of admonition, that "in their Sovereign's name I pardoned them." But the sentence came upon them so unexpectedly, that although they were released, they could neither move nor speak, indeed, they very nearly fainted away.

"It was, however, necessary that we should mark and record, by some act of stern vengeance, the important victory that had been achieved; and I therefore determined, that in the presence of the assembled militia I would burn to the ground Montgomery's Tavern, and also the house of Mr. Gibson, a member of the Provincial House of Assembly, who had commanded Mr. Mackenzie's advanced guard, and who with him had just absconded to the United States.

"Mr. Montgomery had also been one of the principal ringleaders; his tavern had long been the rendezvous of the disaffected; it had just been their fortress from which they had fired upon her Majesty's subjects; but far above all, its floor was stained with the blood, and its walls had witnessed the death of Colonel Moodie.

"This gallant old soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Peninsular war, was residing three or four miles up the road on which we stood; and as soon as Mr. Mackenzie's body of armed rebels had passed his house, he determined that—*coute qui coute*—he would ride through them, and give me information that they were marching on Toronto.

"As he approached Montgomery's Tavern his fearless pace clearly proclaimed his object. The rebels called upon him to pull up, but feeling that he was "on her Majesty's service," he professionally continued his course, until he fell to the ground, pierced by several shots from their rifles.

"On being carried into Montgomery's Tavern, mortally wounded, he was treated with barbarous indignity. The rebels called him "*a Bloody Tory!*" and the appellation was correct; but he died as he had lived, an honest, brave, loyal subject of the Crown.

"The whole force which Mr. Mackenzie and his assistant, Dr. Rolph, a practising midwife, were enabled to collect, amounted only to 500 men.

"Now at this moment the population of Upper Canada was 450,000, Toronto contained 10,000, and the Home District 60,000.

"On the fourth day after the outbreak, such numbers of loyal men were flocking towards Toronto from all directions, that I was obliged to publish placards throughout the province announcing that I had no occasion for their services; and on the seventh day after the outbreak I issued a general order, placing (besides her Majesty's troops, who had already departed) the militia of seven counties of Upper Canada at the disposal of Sir John Calborne for the defence of the Lower Province.

"I mention these facts to prove that the advocates of "*responsible government*" had physically been defeated as completely as their demand had several months ago been morally defeated throughout the Province at the hustings."

Immediately after the action at Gallows Hill, Mackenzie fled disguised in female attire towards the Niagara frontier, which after several hair-breadth escapes he succeeded in reaching, and was soon safely housed in Buffalo. A reward of £1000 had been offered for his apprehension, and £500 each for the capture of David Gibson, Samuel Lount, Silas Fletcher, and Jesse Loyd, the other principal rebel leaders. A day or two before the defeat of the rebels, Dr. Rolph fled the province, and a few days afterwards was haranguing an audience at Lewiston, and exciting them to aid in the rebellion;* while Mr. Bidwell voluntarily exiled himself, became a citizen of the United States, and is now an eminent lawyer in New York city, having been admitted to the New York Bar by courtesy.

The country was now in a complete ferment. Although it was the middle of winter, 10,000 gallant militia crowded from all quarters towards Toronto, animated with the most loyal and devoted zeal. The want of transport in numerous cases, of bedding, and of even warm clothing, was unheeded by these brave men; who thus showed themselves to be animated by the same indomitable spirit, which had sustained the Canadian militia, during the trying campaigns of the three years' war with the United States. The loyal feeling so generally manifested alike by Conservatives and Reformers, soon freed Sir Francis Head from all apprehensions with regard to the safety of Toronto, and he directed the militia of Glengary, and of the other districts next to the lower province, to hold themselves in readiness to march to the aid of Sir John Calborne, should he require their services. Kingston, as well as Toronto, was speedily placed in a condition of perfect safety, by the arrival of several militia corps, which under the command of Sir Richard Bonnycastle, the principal military officer

* Upper Canada *Herald* Dec. 11th, 1838.

there, soon constituted a gallant and most efficient force. Never in short was a better spirit evinced. Under existing circumstances, successful rebellion was an impossibility in Upper Canada. Even the capture of Toronto could only have made the struggle more bloody, the result, in the end, must have been the same.

In the London District, Dr. Duncombe, recently returned from England, was extremely active in spreading disaffection, and got up a farcical rebellion. Sir Allan McNab was accordingly directed to march upon this point, with 500 militiamen and volunteers, and suppress whatever armed treason he might encounter. This duty was performed in the most gallant and effectual manner. Dr. Duncombe, like Papineau, Rolph, and others of the same stamp, fled when he found danger approaching, leaving his deluded followers to take care of themselves. The bulk of these were disarmed and pardoned, but the leaders were sent prisoners to Hamilton. Large numbers joined the loyalists, and Sir Allan McNab declared that he had soon ten times the force he required.

The city of Buffalo, standing as it does at the termination of the great canal traversing the State of New York, and at the foot of the upper lake navigation, has always been characterised by a transient population of boatmen, sailors, and "loafers," of very questionable reputation. Mackenzie had little difficulty, accordingly, in soon enlisting a body of American sympathisers and Canadian refugees under his standard. The wretched attempt against Toronto—the ill-planned commencement of a miserably organised rebellion, had not yet cured him of his folly, and in conjunction with Rolph, and some others, he concocted another invasion of Canada from the United States. This invasion was not made as in 1812 by their government, but by a robber border rabble, ready to cut any man's throat for a dollar,* which that government was unable to restrain. Lands, and other inducements, were offered to these; while Mackenzie put the climax on his folly, by also offering £500 for the apprehension of Sir F. B. Head. To the command of this gang, Dr. Rolph, Mackenzie, and the other persons, who formed the Canadian "executive committee" at Buffalo, elevated a clever though worthless scamp, of the name of Van Rensselaer.

Some two miles above the Falls of Niagara, and opposite Chippewa, is a small island belonging to Canada, which at this period was densely wooded. Here it was determined that Van Rensselaer should take post with his force, preparatory to a descent upon Canada. Being without the territory of the United States, nothing need be apprehended

* Buffalo newspaper, January 22nd, 1838.

from any interference on the part of its authorities, while it was most conveniently situated for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Buffalo. At the same time, as no force had been assembled for the protection of the Canadian frontier, little resistance to their schemes was feared from that direction.

The position was judiciously chosen, and numbers of the frontier vagabonds speedily flocked to Van Rensselaer's standard, who were supplied by American citizens of wealth, interested in the movement, with provisions and military stores. To furnish this force, which was some 1000 strong,* with the necessary artillery, the guns were taken out of the State Arsenals in some of the frontier towns, and thirteen were soon in position on different parts of the island, which was likewise further secured by intrenchments and log breastworks. Very few Canadians joined Van Rensselaer, although he had been led to suppose that he would be strongly supported by them.†

No sooner did Sir Francis Head (who at length appeared to understand his position more correctly,) become aware of these occurrences, than a body of militia was hastily collected at Chippewa, under the command of Colonel Cameron, to prevent a hostile descent in that direction,

Reinforcements of volunteers and militia soon gathered at the point of threatened attack, and Sir Allan M'Nab, who presently arrived with his corps, assumed the chief command, and found himself at the head of 2500 men. One of his first measures was to form an intrenched camp in the vicinity of Chippewa, and to provide the necessary shelter for the militia: his next was to remonstrate with the American authorities, with respect to their permitting supplies to be furnished to the lawless force on Navy Island. He urged, that if this force received no succor of this kind, the affair would be closed without bloodshed. His humane remonstrances, however, were wholly ineffectual. Open aid continued to be furnished to the *Patriots*; and in broad daylight a small steamboat, the *Caroline*, was cut out of the ice at Buffalo, and proceeded down the river, to convey men and stores from the mainland to Navy Island. Seventeen American citizens, openly and publicly signed a bond to indemnify her owner, in case she should be captured; and the collector of the Buffalo customs, pandering to the mob, gave her the necessary clearance license.‡

Meanwhile, Van Rensselaer's artillery had opened upon the opposite

* United States' Marshall to President Van Buren, December 28th, 1838.

† See Van Rensselaer's narrative in *Albany Advertiser* of March 30th, 1838.

‡ The Emigrant, p. 234.

Canadian shore, which was thickly settled : but beyond putting several shot through a house occupied by militia, and killing a horse on which a man was riding at the time, who fortunately escaped injury, their fire was perfectly harmless. A fire was likewise opened on the boats, sent from time to time, by Sir Allan M'Nab, to reconnoitre the enemy's position, without, however, inflicting any loss of life.

The gathering at Navy Island produced considerable alarm at Toronto, and the Governor, by advice of his council, proceeded to Chippewa. Here he found the militia, (now supported by the Mohawk Indians from the Grand River, and a body of colored men, come to fight for the true land of liberty,) in the best possible spirits, and was earnestly pressed to allow them to clear the island at the point of the bayonet. He was unwilling to adopt this course : but gave his consent for the capture of the *Caroline*, now openly employed in the service of the *Patriots*. Up to this period not a shot had been fired by the Canadian militia, who had remained strictly on the defensive.* At the same time, not only had they been fired upon from Navy Island, but also from Grand Island, belonging to the United States, where a body of the American militia was posted to preserve neutrality. They were likewise fired upon from Schlosser on the mainland.†

On the 28th of December, Colonel M'Nab directed preparations to be made for the capture of the *Caroline*, and intrusted the command of the party, detailed for that purpose, to Lieutenant Drew, of the Royal Navy, who most gallantly performed his duty. The *Caroline* was boarded, despite the fire of her guard, at Fort Schlosser, where she was moored for the night, and gallantly carried after a smart action, in which five of the *Patriot* pirates were killed, and several wounded. On the side of the Canadians only two or three were badly wounded, and none were killed. It was attempted to tow the steamer across the river ; but owing to the strength of the current it was found necessary to abandon her. She was accordingly set on fire and permitted to rush over the Falls in a sheet of flame, a most magnificent spectacle.‡ The Americans were loud in their condemnation of the violation of their soil, committed in cutting out the *Caroline*, although every circumstance in connection with that event was of the most extenuating character. A person of the name of M'Leod, who falsely avowed himself to have been one of Lieutenant Drew's party, was subsequently tried in the United States for being concerned in the affair, but was acquitted. In 1842

* Sir Francis Head's despatch to the British minister at Washington, January 8th, 1838.

† *Christian Guardian*, Jan. 2nd, 1838. Lieutenant Elmsley to Colonel M'Nab.

‡ *Toronto Patriot*, Jan. 2nd, 1838.

the dispute arising out of the destruction of the *Caroline*, was settled by the British ministry apologising for the act.

On the 28th Dec. the Legislature was convened, in order that proper measures should be taken in the present emergency. The opening speech of the Governor was a long one, and of a more sober and sensible description than those he had previously made on similar occasions. Alluding to the recent interference of American foreigners in Canadian politics, he declared, that it was not to be endured by the people of a free country. "I entertain" he added "no feeling of anxiety for the result. The peaceful inhabitants of Upper Canada will not be left to defend their country alone, for they belong to an empire which does not suffer its subjects to be injured with impunity; and if a national war, which it rests with the American Government to avert, should be the unhappy consequences of an intolerant invasion of our freedom, the civilised world, while it sympathises with our just cause, will view with feelings of astonishment and abhorrence, this attempt of a body of American citizens, treacherously to attack and plunder, in a moment of profound peace, their oldest, most intimate, and their most natural ally." One of the first measures of the session was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

Meanwhile, the prudent Sir John Colborne perceived, that the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada had not formed a proper estimate of matters there, and that he had better attend to the preservation of that province himself. He accordingly directed the march of troops up the St. Lawrence to occupy the more exposed frontier posts, while he still, however, relied upon the local militia as the chief force for the defence of their several districts. Fortunately the season was most unusually mild. The river St. Lawrence remained open till the

1838. middle of January. The upper lakes and rivers also continued free from ice, and thus presented the necessary facilities for removing troops to every threatened point of attack, it being the plan of the American sympathisers to assail the country at different places at the same time, as had been done in all the former invasions of Canada. A strong force of artillery was soon assembled at Chippewa, as well as a body of troops; and General Van Rensselaer finding Navy Island becoming more difficult of occupation, when a fire of heavy guns and mortars was directed against it, evacuated it on the 14th of January, and retired with his force to the American mainland. The loss of the Canadians, was only one man killed and one wounded during the siege.

While these occurrences were transpiring on the Niagara frontier, a Scotchman of the name of Sutherland, who had become an American

citizen, proceeded from Buffalo to Cleveland, at the upper end of Lake Erie, to organise a descent upon Amherstburg. Opposite this town is the Canadian island of Bois Blanc, in the Detroit River, which presented a favorable rendezvous for the sympathisers; on this a body of them moved from Cleveland, the 7th of January, under the leadership of a person of the name of Dodge. At Gibraltar village they were joined by Sutherland, with several boats and scows, on board of which were 3 field pieces, 250 stand of arms, and a very large supply of provisions. A fine schooner, the *Anne*, which had been openly loaded at Detroit with cannon and several hundred muskets, taken from the State Arsenals of Michigan, brought down another detachment of Canadian refugees and American sympathisers. So great was the feeling manifested in favor of these men, that the United States' Marshall was utterly unable to prevent their proceedings, so openly in violation of the treaty of peace and amity of his government with Great Britain.

There were no troops of any arm at Amherstburg at this period, and the militia hastily drawn together for its defence, were indiscriminately armed with rifles, fowling pieces, and pitchforks. After this motley force had been dismissed from parade at 3 o'clock, on the 8th, the alarm spread that Sutherland's gang was advancing from Sugar Island, belonging to the United States, where it had temporarily taken post with the view of immediately obtaining possession of Bois Blanc. This it was resolved to prevent, and 300 militia, among whom were a troop of dismounted cavalry from the London District, hurried into boats and on board a schooner, then lying at the town, took possession of the island, and promptly adopted measures to prevent the landing of an enemy. Sutherland's flotilla, now consisting of the *Anne*, a sloop, the *George Strong*, with several boats and scows, having some 600 men on board, when it was discovered that preparations were made to repel a landing, sheered off after firing two guns at the militia. It was next supposed from his movements, that the enemy would attempt to land on the main-shore, and capture Amherstburg, defended by only 100 men. It was accordingly determined to quit the island, and return to defend the town. But Sutherland's courage failed him when the moment of action came, and instead of making a descent either against Bois Blanc or Amherstburg, he directed his boat flotilla to pull for one of the American islands.* He sent a message to Theller, now commanding the *Anne*, acquainting him with this movement, and directing him to join him.

* Theller's Canada in 1837-8, vol. 1. p. 130.

Instead of sailing round Bois Blanc, which would have involved a considerable loss of time, Theller boldly determined to run up the channel between it and Amherstburg, there being a good breeze in his favor. He was repeatedly fired upon by the militia with rifles. But the distance was too great to do much injury with small arms, and only one of his crew was killed and a few wounded. The Canadians had no artillery, or he would have suffered much more severely. The *Anne* replied to their fire by a few discharges of grape and round shot, without, however, doing any mischief. She also fired upon the *United*, a small steam ferry-boat, which usually ran between Detroit and Windsor.

On the following morning the *George Strong*, which continued to lie under Bois Blanc, was captured, and shortly after the *Anne* again made her appearance, and opened fire upon the heart of the town of Amherstburg, with round shot and grape: but providentially without injury to the inhabitants, although several buildings were struck.

Meanwhile, Sutherland had taken possession of Bois Blanc: so during the day the movements of the *Anne* were narrowly watched by the militia. As night approached, the wind freshened, and blew directly on the Canadian shore. Theller determined to run past the town, being now above it, and cast anchor at the foot of the island. But sharp and repeated volleys were poured into the *Anne* by the militia. Her ropes and sails were cut up by their fire, her helmsman shot down, and she soon drifted helplessly on the lee-shore. Her crew, however, still continued to keep up a discharge of cannon and musketry. The volunteers of the militia, nevertheless, after giving them another volley, plunged into the water, boarded, and carried her in the most gallant manner. 21 prisoners were captured, 3 pieces of cannon, upwards of 300 stand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, with some money, stores, and provisions. The crew had 3 men killed and 12 wounded, some severely. The capture of the *Anne* convinced Sutherland how little impression he was likely to make on the Canadian frontier, and he accordingly retired to Sugar Island, where he was visited by Governor Mason of Michigan, and induced to conduct his men to the main land, where they were dispersed, while he was arrested, but soon again set at liberty, after the farce of bringing him to trial had been gone through with.

Thus terminated the attempt of Sutherland to obtain possession of Amherstburg. The conduct of the gallant militia was beyond all praise; and the exertions of several wealthy citizens of the neighborhood to provision and furnish them with arms and ammunition, merit the warmest gratitude of posterity. Among these citizens was a Mr. Dougall of Windsor, who gave \$10,000 to the commissariat: while

several others came forward to endorse notes to pay the merchants of Detroit for the pork and flour, which this portion of Canada was then unable to furnish.

The capture of the *Anne* supplied the guns and muskets so much needed. Two of her cannon were mounted on Fort Malden, which was, however, in a wretched condition, having been permitted to go to ruin: the other was placed on board a schooner, fitted up by Captain Vidal, a retired naval officer, resident in the district. The militia crowded to protect the frontier in expectation of another invasion, and nearly 4000 were soon posted at various points along the Detroit River. Among these were 200 Indians from Delaware, and a body of colored men, settled in the western part of the province, the poor hunted fugitives from American liberty, who at length found true liberty and security under the British flag.*

Their ill-success hitherto had not taught the pseudo *Patriots* wisdom, and although the jails of both provinces were crowded with prisoners, waiting their doom, others were not warned by their unhappy condition. Secret societies, termed Hunters Lodges, were formed along the American border in order to revolutionise Canada, and maintained an active correspondence with the republicans at this side of the line. Mackenzie, who had moved eastward to Watertown, and who did not yet consider he had done sufficient mischief, and the other principal refugees, were active in organising another combined invasion of their country—a fresh drama of blood and misery: and so certain were some of their followers of success, that farms in Canada were played for as stakes, and outline maps prepared of the townships they thought they were about to receive.†

Early in the month of February, the *Patriots* determined to make four simultaneous movements against Canada from Detroit, Sandusky, Watertown, and Vermont. The last of these has already been described, in the narrative of the rebellion in Lower Canada. The expedition from Watertown rendezvoused at French Creek, to the number of some 2000 men, under the command of the same Van Rensselaer, who had figured at Navy Island, and of Bill Johnson, a most notorious border vagabond. Finding, however, that the militia garrison of Kingston was fully prepared for their reception, the courage of these brigands failed them completely, and they speedily dispersed.

The movement from Detroit, led by a Canadian refugee of the name of M'Leod, was also unsuccessful. He took possession of a small island in the Detroit River, from whence, on the 24th of February,

* Radcliff's Despatch, Jan. 10th, 1838.

† Canada as it Was, &c., vol. 2, p. 69.

he was dislodged by the fire of artillery, and returned to the United States, where his force was dispersed and disarmed by the authorities, now beginning to exert themselves effectually.

The *Patriot* force from Sandusky, under the direction of Sutherland and others, established itself on Point Pele, a Canadian island, eight miles long and four wide, situated some forty miles from Amherstburg and twenty from the mainland. Troops had meanwhile reached the Detroit frontier, and measures were promptly taken by Colonel Maitland, of the 32nd regiment, to dislodge the enemy. Finding that the ice was sufficiently strong, he crossed from the mainland to Point Pele, with a force of regulars and militia, and placed detachments at different points to cut off the *Patriots'* retreat. Their main body, however, after being chased through the woods, succeeded in fighting their way to the American mainland: but with severe loss to themselves, 13 being killed and 40 wounded. Several of them also were taken prisoners. On the side of the Canadians, 2 soldiers of the 32nd were killed and 28 wounded. The *Patriots*, numbering some 500 men, were well armed, and fought desperately for their lives, when they found their retreat cut off by a detachment of the 32nd and some militia under Captain Brown. A day or two after this affair, Sutherland was accidentally met on the ice by Colonel John Prince, and brought a prisoner to the shore.*

Meanwhile, the Home Ministry had recalled Sir Francis B. Head, and appointed Sir George Arthur as his successor. The former prorogued the Legislature on the 6th of March, in a long and inflated speech, in which he reviewed the recent occurrences, justified his course, and so dropped the curtain on his exceedingly unfortunate administration. On the 23rd the new Lieutenant Governor, who had arrived out from England by way of New York, was sworn in at Toronto, and Sir Francis B. Head was relieved of his administrative cares for ever. He immediately prepared for his departure to England, and being informed that parties had determined to assassinate him, should he travel overland to Halifax, he resolved to proceed to New York, via Kingston and Watertown, and embark at that city. He succeeded in safely accomplishing his journey, though not without considerable personal risk, having been recognised at Watertown, and pursued from thence towards Utica. Being a good horseman, however, he soon distanced his pursuers. Once at New York he was perfectly safe, although an object of

* Maitland's Despatches, 4th and 5th March, 1838. *Kingston Chronicle*, March, 1838.

considerable public curiosity, a very large body of its citizens assembling to see him embark.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR GEORGE ARTHUR.

The gaols of Hamilton and Toronto were now crowded with prisoners. In the former town a Special Commission was sitting for the trial of political offenders ; in the latter a Court Martial had assembled for the same purpose. The "Constitutional Reformers" of Toronto presented a numerously signed address to Sir George Arthur, congratulating him on his accession to the government, and asking mercy for the 500 political prisoners held in durance. His answer embodied a sharp rebuke. He stated reform had been made the cloak of the crimes committed by these prisoners ; and, that at the present crisis, it was imprudent to adopt such an appellation. At the same time, he avowed his determination to let impartial justice take its course.

Having been completely foiled in their combined movement to revolutionise the Canadas, the *Patriots* adopted no further offensive measures during the months of March and April. Secret associations, however, continued in full operation along the American frontier. "Hunters Lodges" were organised in every direction, by which covert steps were taken for another attempt against this country. Meanwhile, Sir John Colborne made prompt preparations to meet every emergency—even a war with the United States, now a possible contingency, owing to the ill-feeling excited by the destruction of the *Caroline*, and the Maine Boundary disputes, on the one hand, and the numerous acts of aggression against Canada, committed by American citizens, on the other. Engineer officers were sent to every point where troops or fortifications were required. At Amherstburg, in the course of the ensuing summer, Fort Malden was repaired and strengthened ; extensive barracks were commenced at London ; Fort Mississauga, at Niagara, was put into a good position for defence ; the works at Kingston were strengthened ; additional barracks begun at Toronto ; and Fort Wellington, at Prescott, rendered impregnable to sudden attack.

No sooner had navigation opened, than a large fleet of men-of-war and transports, which had brought troops up the St. Lawrence, crowded the spacious harbor of Quebec. These troops were soon distributed along the frontier, and being supported by 40,000 of the most efficient militia probably in the world, Canada was in a better position to repel hostile invasion than at any former period.

Up 'to the month of May, Lount and Matthews, two leaders of Mackenzie's attack upon Toronto, had alone been executed for treason.

Several others had been sentenced to death at Hamilton and Toronto ; but Sir George Arthur, blending mercy with justice, transferred the greater part of them to the Penitentiary at Kingston. Several political prisoners were acquitted, as being innocent, or for want of proof ; and many of the lesser actors in the drama of rebellion, were released on giving security for their future good conduct. In Lower Canada, martial law had been abolished, and matters generally, in both provinces, bore every appearance of returning tranquillity.

But, as the month of May progressed, rumors prevailed that the *Patriots* were about to make another attempt against the province, for which Mackenzie, Duncombe, and M'Leod, were actively engaged in making preparations. The more secure condition of the frontier, however, left them not the slightest chance of success, and very little apprehension of the result was entertained. While matters were in this state, a most atrocious act was committed, in the burning of the *Sir Robert Peel*, one of the finest steamboats plying on the St. Lawrence, by the notorious Bill Johnson, at the head of a gang of some fifty men, who boarded her before day on the 29th, while taking in wood at Wells Island, seven miles from French Creek, which belonged to the United States.

The passengers, among whom were several females, were compelled to rise from their beds. After dressing hastily the latter were put on shore, and left to shift for themselves on a most inclement night, while the men were confined in the cabin, through the skylights of which muskets were pointed to prevent them from interfering. At length, when the pirates had satisfied themselves no danger was to be apprehended, a panel was broken in the cabin door, through which their prisoners were allowed to pass, one by one, and go ashore. The vessel was then rifled and set on fire, when Johnson and his gang, betaking themselves to their whaleboats, made their escape. The crew of the *Sir Robert Peel* lost all their baggage, and the passengers were able to save very little of their effects.

Governor Marcy, of New York State, on receiving intelligence at Albany, of this barbarous outrage, immediately departed for the frontier, and took active measures to discover the perpetrators, some of whom were apprehended and lodged in gaol, but afterwards escaped punishment for the want of sufficient proof against them. A reward was offered for the apprehension of Johnson ; but the labyrinth of the Thousand Islands afforded him and his gang a secure refuge, and enabled him to elude every step taken for his capture. On the 7th of June a descent was made by him on Amherst Island near Kingston, and three farm houses plundered of money and valuables. On the 10th he

issued a most impudent proclamation, avowing that he had commanded the expedition which destroyed the *Sir Robert Peel*. His opportunities to do further mischief were, however, restricted by Sir John Colborne, who directed a body of sailors and marines to scour the Thousand Islands, and strengthened the various military posts along the Upper St. Lawrence, with troops and picked militia. The American government also sent troops to their frontier to preserve the peace, and prevent the further organization of armed expeditions against the Canadas.

Despite all these precautionary measures, a body of sympathisers crossed over the Niagara frontier, overpowered some Lancers, and plundered a house at the Short Hills of a large sum of money and some valuable property. Thirty of these ruffians, who had concealed themselves in a swamp, were afterwards taken, as well as Morrow their leader who was subsequently executed for the crime. In consequence of these occurrences, Sir George Arthur issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons from travelling in the province without proper passports. At the same time, it was also determined that persons found unlawfully armed, or aiding in or abetting acts of treason, should be deemed prisoners of war, and treated accordingly. Simultaneously with the affair at the Short Hills, bodies of *Patriots* penetrated into the London District, where a number of state prisoners were rescued from durance, and the store of a French trader at Delaware plundered. From this point they were pursued by the Indians, who overtook, routed, and captured several of their number. At Goderich a body of these pirates made their appearance in a sloop, and after committing some robberies in the shops there, escaped in a United States' steamer. Such were the scoundrels sent to liberate Canada by Mackenzie and his refugee confederates.

The remainder of the Summer passed quietly away, and was chiefly distinguished by Lord Durham's tour through the province. Some attempts were made to get up sympathising expeditions in the adjoining states; but these were suppressed by the American military authorities, now exerting themselves most efficiently. With respect to the numerous political prisoners, the same lenient policy was pursued as in Lower Canada: the leaders alone were to be punished, the rest were released. The Reform press again began to agitate the constitutional redress of grievances; and the old machinery of party was gradually coming into full play, in the belief that rebellious and sympathising troubles had terminated. Towards the end of Summer, some excitement was caused by the escape of several prisoners confined at Kingston. Theller and Dodge, captured in the *Anne*, likewise effected their escape from prison at Quebec. On the 22nd of October a pro-

clamation, offering amnesty to certain political offenders, was published by Sir George Arthur.

Meanwhile, Hunters Lodges continued to exist along the border ; and preparations were made for another *Patriot* invasion of the Canadas. Sir John Colborne had received minute information of these proceedings, and the necessary defensive preparations were accordingly made. In Upper Canada, Sir George Arthur called out a portion of the militia, on the 23rd of October, by proclamation. At the same time, the armed vessels now on Lake Erie and Ontario, were put into the most efficient condition for active service.

The final *Patriot* invasion of Canada, like all the preceding ones, was made on the principle of combined movement. In Lower Canada, Robert Nelson established himself at Napierville ; while in Upper Canada, an attempt was made to obtain possession of Fort Wellington, at Prescott, on the St. Lawrence, and of Fort Malden, at Amherstburg.

On the 10th of Nov. a body of armed men embarked at Oswego on board the *United States*, a large steamer plying from Ogdensburg westward. At the same time, two schooners conveyed a detachment of *Patriots* down the St. Lawrence, which were taken in tow by this steamer, as she descended the river. On the night of the 11th they were off Brockville, and considerable alarm was felt lest these men might land and attack that town. This, however, formed no part of their plan, and they proceeded to Prescott, midway between which town and Ogdensburg the schooners cast anchor. Here next morning they were attacked by a small British armed steamer, the *Experiment*, mounting two guns, and compelled to move nearer the American shore. The *Experiment* likewise fired upon the *United States*, which came out from Ogdensburg harbor, apparently with the object of taking the schooners again in tow and of landing the sympathisers she had on board at Prescott, and compelled her to sheer off. Having injured one of her guns, the *Experiment* was under the necessity of running into Prescott to refit, when the *Patriots* promptly landed a body of some 250 men, led by Von Schultz, a Polish adventurer, a little further down the river, at Windmill Point, which was beyond the range of the guns of Fort Wellington. This was an excellent defensive position. The Windmill, a building of great strength, was flanked by several stone dwelling houses and walls, the latter forming good breastworks ; and as the road ran close by this post it commanded both the land and water approaches. Having thus made a solid lodgement on Canadian soil, they expected to be joined by many of the inhabitants ; but were completely disappointed. Scarcely any one aided them openly, while the militia of the

neighboring counties were soon swarming towards Prescott, from all directions, to drive these pirate invaders from their country.

By the morning of the 13th, a force of over 400 militia, and 80 regulars had been drawn together, and supported by the *Victoria* and *Cobourg* armed steamers, moved forward at 7 o'clock under the command of Major Young, one of the military officers sent out from England to organise the militia, to dislodge the enemy from the breastwork he had formed, by connecting the stone walls around the mill with intrenchments of earth. The *Patriots* fought desperately : but were gradually driven from point to point, and finally compelled to take shelter in the stone buildings and mill, where, as the attacking force had no artillery, and the guns of the steamers had made no impression on them they were permitted, for the present, to remain. Strong picquets, however, were posted so as to prevent their escape during the ensuing night. The loss of the Canadians during this action was severe. Two officers and six men were killed ; and three officers and thirty-nine men wounded. The *Patriots* suffered still more severely. Two of their officers and eleven men had been killed, a large number wounded, and thirty-two taken prisoners. During the battle, several boats filled with men had attempted to cross from the opposite side ; but were prevented by the armed steamers. The American shore was crowded with spectators, who cheered vigorously whenever they supposed their countrymen had the advantage of the Canadians. . Meanwhile, the schooners, which had sought shelter near the American shore, were taken possession of by a United States' Marshall, aided by some troops. The steamer *United States* was also seized, and the unhappy adventurers at Windmill Point left to their fate,* although they repeatedly begged to be taken off.†

During the 14th, the enemy was permitted to retain his position undisturbed, the *Experiment* keeping a sharp watch to prevent his escape. On the following day heavy artillery was forwarded from Kingston, as well as a body of troops, under Lieutenant Colonel Dundas ; but owing to some delays these did not reach Prescott till the afternoon of the 16th. As night approached the troops and militia moved forward to the assault, and being supported by the fire of their guns, the *Patriots* were soon driven from the dwelling houses, and compelled to retreat to the mill. This effectually resisted the fire of the artillery, but its destruction being apprehended by the *Patriots*, they surrendered at discretion, to the number of upwards of 100. Several others were after-

* Major Young's Despatch, Nov. 14th, 1838. *Brookville Recorder*, Nov. 15th, 1838.

† See Von Schultz's statement.

wards captured, who had hidden in the vicinity, so that 130 were taken altogether, of whom several were wounded: their loss in killed, was probably about 50, there being no certainty on this point, many of the dead being burned in the buildings. On the side of the Canadians only 1 soldier was killed, and a few wounded.

The attempt to obtain possession of Amherstburg terminated equally unsuccessful for the *Patriots* with that against Prescott. On the 4th of December, a body of about 450 strong, crossed over from Detroit to the Canadian shore, marched upon the village of Windsor, captured the few militia guarding it, burned the steamer *Thames*, lying at the wharf, and two buildings, murdered a negro who refused to join them, and then prepared to march against Sandwich, a village two miles distant, on the road to Amherstburg. But the captured militia soon managed to effect their escape, after shooting the leader of the enemy.

During their march towards Sandwich the advanced guard of the *Patriots* brutally murdered Surgeon Hume, of the regular army, who happened to meet them and offered his medical aid. His dead body was shockingly mutilated. But his melancholy fate was speedily avenged by a detachment of 170 militia from Sandwich, acting under the orders of Colonel Prince, who attacked this portion of the enemy, who had meanwhile established themselves in an orchard, completely routed them, and killed twenty-one of their number. But Colonel Prince stained his victory, by ordering four prisoners, brought in immediately after the action, to be shot. Twenty-six prisoners were shortly after taken. These were reserved for disposal by the proper tribunal. The loss of the militia in this action was trifling: only one man was killed and two wounded.

The *Patriots*, however, still retained possession of Windsor, from which Prince did not think proper to dislodge them, as a part of their force, which had meanwhile made a flank movement towards Sandwich, threatened his rear. He accordingly retired upon that village, where he was soon after joined by a detachment of regulars with a field piece, and again proceeded to seek the enemy. But finding that none of the inhabitants would aid them, and having already had enough of fighting, they had in the meantime either re-crossed the river to Detroit, or concealed themselves in the surrounding woods. Nineteen of the latter, destitute of food, and unable to cross to the opposite shore, were shortly after found frozen to death, around the remains of a fire they had kindled.

Thus terminated the last *Patriot* invasion of Canada. Like the inhabitants of Ogdensburgh, those of Detroit lined the bank of the river during the action at Windsor, and cheered the robber band who

had crossed to assail our gallant militia with such disastrous results to themselves. But, the horrid drama of blood had not yet terminated. Mercy had been too long shown to the citizens of a friendly country, with which we were at peace, who had invaded our soil for purposes of rapine and bloodshed. Court Martials were accordingly assembled at Kingston and London, for the trial of the prisoners taken in arms at Prescott and Windsor. Of the former, the Pole, Von Schultz, and nine others, chiefly Americans, were executed at Kingston. Three were executed at London for the Windsor outrage : several were also executed in Lower Canada : and a large number from both provinces transported to the penal settlements of New Holland. More than half of the prisoners taken at Prescott, being youths under age, were pardoned by Sir George Arthur, and permitted to return home.

Like all rebellions, that of Canada had produced its full harvest of disorder, caused a large outlay to the state, and checked the progress of the country ; aside from arousing mens' evil passions, and drawing a gallant militia from their homes to the injury of their business.

Every true lover of liberty will admit, that rebellion is necessary and justifiable in certain circumstances. When a nation has not security for life and property, when the rights of person are violated arbitrarily and unjustly by the powers that be, when men suffer sharp wrongs, and their liberties are trampled on daily by the iron heel of oppression, then rebellion is a virtue not a crime. It is far preferable to die the death of the brave man, than to live the life of the slave. Thus, the Swiss rebellion against Austrian tyranny was justifiable, as was also that of the States of Holland, and of the United States of America. But there was no analogy whatever between the condition of these countries, prior to their rebellion, and that of Canada. Here trial by jury existed, the law of Habeas Corpus protected personal rights, and internal taxation was vested in the local parliament. In Lower Canada, the French inhabitants enjoyed a larger liberty than their race possessed in any other part of the world ; while, in Upper Canada, the few political evils which existed must soon have disappeared before the pressure of constitutional agitation, the progress of national intelligence, and the increase of national population and wealth.

There can be very little doubt entertained, by any impartial or unprejudiced person, that the singular and very imprudent conduct of Sir Francis B. Head, produced in a great measure the wretchedly organised rebellious outbreak in Upper Canada. His injudicious administration, in the first place, created a large amount of political agitation : in the second, the absence of all military preparation to repress armed riots of any kind, invited the rebellion of a few disaf-

fectured persons, such as must always exist in the best governed countries. But, these circumstances, nevertheless, do not lessen the criminality of the course pursued by William Lyon Mackenzie, who was decidedly the leading evil spirit of the crisis, and who is morally responsible for much, if not all, of the bloodshed in Upper Canada at this period. His career seems to have been ever effective for mischief, and powerless for good. Taken all together, that career stamps him as an indifferent "jack of all trades." Previous to his emigration from Scotland, if rumor speaks correctly, he was simply an unlucky pedler : in Canada he has been an indifferent shopman ; an unsuccessful newspaper publisher ; more injurious to his friends than his enemies as a member of parliament ; and a sorry rebel general. He has failed, in short, in everything of importance he has ever undertaken ; and in no respect more so than in his attempt to establish a republic in this province. His career in the United States was equally unsuccessful ; and at length spurned by the people he had misled with false representations, he was glad once more to shelter his fortunes under the old Union Jack, which he had so impotently essayed to trample in the dust. Nor since his return to Canada has his career been one whit more fortunate. Instead of retiring from public view, and devoting the decline of life to meet penitence and sorrow for all the misery he caused—in the desolated hearths, the childless parents, the widows and orphans his folly had made—he again thrusts himself prominently before the community, quarrels with his former associates in crime, publishes a newspaper which dies out for want of support ; and in his old age, with one foot already in the grave, runs round the country advocating the repeal of the union between the two provinces, the very last measure which any one at all acquainted with the past history of this country should support. Mackenzie's popularity was based upon the passions and prejudices of the hour, and was not the result of sterling virtue, sincere patriotism, nor innate nobleness of nature. Public popularity to be lasting must be pure ; and men like him who seek influence by pandering to the passions and prejudices of the masses, must be content to descend to their original position, if not even lower, when those passions and prejudices shall have ceased to exist, and when cool reflection induces sorrow both for one and the other. William Lyon Mackenzie and Sir Francis Bond Head, were probably the two greatest enemies, in the respective policies they pursued, this province has ever had. But the errors of the latter were the result of inexperience and incapacity for government—the crimes of the former originated in constitutional perversity and a natural turn for mischief, characteristics which received additional development from the position, to which the

excitement of the times, and the paucity of talent in a new country, elevated him.

Mackenzie's abilities are all of a very modicre stamp : he is equally an indifferent writer and a common-place speaker. Under ordinary circumstances he could never occupy a distinguished position in any community. While decidedly superior in ability to his countryman Gourlay, like him he lacked the method and perseverance necessary to command success in any undertaking, and ever showed a disposition to run from one thing to another. He flits changeably before the eye as an itinerant vender of wares in Scotland, as a shopman, a newspaper editor, a bookseller, a member of parliament, an agitator, a political agent to England, a fomenter of rebellion, and a rebel general. In the latter capacity he was chiefly distinguished for the masterly retreat he effected to Lewiston, not at the head of his defeated forces, whom he *magnanimously* left to take care of themselves, but ignominiously disguised in womens' clothes. In the United States he shifted his occupation with the same chameleon rapidity as in Canada, induced many foolish men to jeopardise their necks, while he was remarkably careful of his own precious existence, having received a lesson on the uncertainty of war at Gallows Hill, and disgusted at length as much with the Americans as they were with him, he came to Canada to avow that sad experience had convinced him a constitutional monarchy, after all, was superior to a republic. Since his return to this country his mediocrity has become more and more apparent. While newspapers are carried on in every town and village of Canada successfully by others, whose support is much less than that which he received, his *Message* had a brief existence, and while alive was not distinguished for ably written editorials, such as appear in our leading journals ; but, on the contrary, for snappish and ill-natured articles, querulous complainings, and for being a receptable for all manner of *outré* odds and ends, the fungus of an energetic, yet diseased and ill-balanced, intellect.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE UNION OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA.

Internal rebellion and piratical invasion, had been alike 1839. repressed by the gallant militia of the Canadas, and the firm attitude assumed by its civil government and military authorities. Open violence, and the warlike strength of 8,000,000 of people in the United States, had failed to sever this country from Great Britain in the Three Years' War of 1812-3-4: secret treason and partial internal disaffection had proved equally impotent. The people of the American border, who had hoped to see Canada, in being connected with their country, a fruitful source of speculation and profit to themselves, had at length discovered their mistake in expecting that connection, and saw how egregiously they had been deceived by the representations of the mischievous Mackenzie and others of the same stamp. Their eager thirst for gain had blinded them to the true condition of this country, and led them to twaddle about Canadian freedom, with the shackles of three million of their own slaves—their human chattels, clanking in their ears. The result of all their secret border associations to revolutionise the Canadas, and annex them to the United States, had their finale in the wretched attempts on Sandwich and Prescott. They now sought to cover their defeat, and remove the stigma their improper conduct had cast upon their government, by organising public meetings to prevent further aggression on Canada, as if such a result could be accomplished by the frothy declamations of place-hunting demagogues.

But Canada needed no questionable aid of this stamp; and was just as independent of the public opinion of the United States in 1839, as she was of their military prowess in the Three Years' War. During the course of this year the various military works in progress were completed. All the important defensive positions were re-established; and the entire Canadian frontier, from Maine to Michigan, thus placed in a state of security. A re-organisation of the militia substituted perma-

nent corps for a certain number of years' service, for those hitherto established for a few months or a particular emergency. The militia army list for Upper Canada alone showed 106 complete regiments, with the full complement of officers and staff, the names of the two latter grades filling 83 closely printed octavo pages. There were 4 battalions of Incorporated Militia, organised and clothed like the troops of the line; 12 battalions of Provincial militia, on duty for a stated period; 31 corps of artillery, cavalry, colored companies, and riflemen; while most of the militia corps had a troop of cavalry attached to them. Thus, with a population of 450,000 souls, Upper Canada could easily assemble 40,000 men in arms without seriously distressing the country. She has now about 1,250,000 inhabitants, and a militia force 100,000 strong, could at any emergency be readily raised for defensive purposes. Never was this country in a better position to resist foreign aggression than at the present moment, presuming that resistance was based upon righteous principles.

The regular army in Canada, in 1839, consisted of 17 regiments of the line, 1 regiment of cavalry, and a proper proportion of the Royal Artillery, Sappers, Miners, and Royal Engineers.* On Lakes Ontario and Erie, a naval force had been established, under the orders of Captain Sandom, R. N., to man which seamen and marines were sent out from England. The attitude thus assumed by Canada checked further organised invasion; and beyond isolated burnings of the dwellings of loyalists and outrages on their persons, nothing occurred further to disturb the public peace, the disputes about the Maine boundary excepted. But, our neighbors' blustering, even on this point, was gradually overborne by their good common sense; the matter was left to be settled by arbitration; and international commerce was again commenced between these provinces and the United States, two countries whose true policy should ever be to remain on the most friendly terms, while such a course is consistent with national honor and independence.

On the 27th of February, the Legislature of Upper Canada was again convened. The opening speech of Sir George Arthur was a long one: it reviewed the recent painful occurrences, and pointed out the measures which he deemed necessary for the welfare of the country. He recommended the settlement of the Clergy Reserve question, on which there was still much bitter agitation, and the promotion of education by an improvement in the Common School system. The Government, he stated, looked for speedy resumption of specie payment by

* Canada as it Was, &c., vol. 2, p. 187, 189.

the banks (suspended during the recent troubles) at an early period, and trusted that no difficulties on that head would be experienced. He also alluded to the depressed condition of the finances of the province, and the necessity, nevertheless, of sustaining him in the large disbursements, not provided for by act of parliament, which he had been compelled to make in connection with the defence of the country. There were other claims, he said, also to be provided for; intelligence which was unfavorably received by the House.

The finances of the upper province, at this period, were far from being in a flourishing condition. The construction of the great works, undertaken in various directions, had increased the public debt so largely, that the annual interest thereon amounted to £63,000. The civil expenditure of the preceding year was £20,000 larger than the usual amount; and the deficiency in the resources of the province, (now annually about £80,000,) to meet the expenditure for the current year, would amount to over £90,000 or \$360,000.* Unless some means were devised to remedy this state of things, it was evident that sooner or later there must be a national bankruptcy.

The publication of Lord Durham's report during the Spring, led thinking men to look forward to the union of the sister provinces, as the panacea for many of the evils under which both were laboring. Resolutions approving of this union were introduced into the Assembly and passed there, but thrown out in the Upper House by a majority of two. The session of parliament, which terminated on the 14th of May, was chiefly distinguished for these resolutions, the assumption of the Welland Canal by the government, and an abortive attempt to settle the Clergy Reserve question.

Meanwhile, Mackenzie, who had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a newspaper in New York, had removed to Rochester, where he speedily became so unpopular with the community, that he was finally arrested, indicted, and tried for promoting armed expeditions against Upper Canada to overturn its government. He grounded his defence in part on the presumption, that this province was in a state of anarchy at the time of the outbreak at Toronto, and that no government consequently existed. Alluding, during his trial to the present Queen, he said "I affirm that the girl has forfeited all right to rule over any part of what she claims as her dominions. I was born in the reign of her uncle, and have long been tired of their usurped tyranny." Despite all his quibbles, and all his endeavors to pander to the anti-British prejudices of his audience, the jury found him guilty, and he was sen-

* *Christian Guardian*, 27th March, 1839.

tenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in the jail of Monroe County, and to pay a fine of ten dollars.* It was a tardy piece of justice, brought about chiefly by himself, and was deemed the easiest way to get rid of him by his former admirers. Poor and friendless they made him the scapegoat of others sins as well as his own.

Lord Durham's Report had immensely strengthened the hands of the friends of responsible government in Upper Canada. Meetings were held at which resolutions were passed in favor of its establishment, and it was evident that in future no Canadian administration need look for much public support, unless it was based on that principle. Matters, in the meantime, were gradually assuming their wonted appearance of quiet; while, in addition to this blessing, a most abundant harvest gladdened the hearts of the community.

Meanwhile, Sir John Colborne had been appointed Governor General of the Canadas, and continued to take the necessary steps for their pacification. But his long and arduous exertions for the benefit of this country, and in the service of his sovereign, led him to desire repose, and he accordingly requested his recall. On the 17th of October, Mr. Poulett Thompson, his successor, arrived at Quebec, and relieved him of the cares of government. On the 23rd he sailed for England, where, for his eminent services, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Seaton. Prior to his departure he received the most flattering addresses from all parts of Canada.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM.

The appointment of a plain untitled civilian—a simple British merchant, to be Governor General of these provinces, was unpalatable to many of its inhabitants. Mr. Thompson, too, had long been concerned in the timber trade of the Baltic, the great rival commerce of the Canadas, and this made him unpopular for the moment with some of their principal merchants. And yet, he was the very man suited to the emergency; and, as it subsequently proved, fully equal to extricating these provinces from the critical condition in which they were now situated. Gifted with talents of a high order, deeply versed in matters of finance, and well read in the subtle pages of human nature, it was fortunate for the Canadas that he accepted their government, instead of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, offered him by the Melbourne Administration.

The union of the two provinces had now been determined on by the

* *Rochester Democrat*, June 26th, 1855.

Home Ministry, as well as the concession of responsible government to the British majority, which that union must create. The recent rebellion had shown clearly the attachment of that majority to the mother country, and how safely it could be trusted with every privilege which could be regarded as the birth-right of British freemen. The following extract from Lord John Russell's Despatch, of the 14th October, 1839, illustrates clearly the views of the British ministry on this head :—

“The Queen's Government have no desire to thwart the representative assembles of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make those provinces the resource for patronage at home. They are earnestly intent on giving to the talent and character of leading persons in the colonies, advantages similar to those which talent and character, employed in the public service of the United Kingdom, obtain. Her Majesty has no desire to maintain any system in policy among her North American subjects which opinion condemns. In receiving the Queen's commands, therefore, to protest against any declaration at variance with the honor of the Crown, and the unity of the empire, I am at the same time instructed to announce her Majesty's gracious intention to look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America, as the best security for permanent dominion.

“It is necessary for this purpose that no official misconduct should be screened by her Majesty's representative in the provinces; and that no private interests should be allowed to compete with the general good.

“Your Excellency is fully in possession of the principles which have guided her Majesty's advisers on this subject; and you must be aware that there is no surer way of earning the approbation of the Queen, than by maintaining the harmony of the executive with the legislative authorities.

“While I have thus cautioned you against any declaration from which dangerous consequences might hereafter flow, and instructed you as to the general line of your conduct, it may be said that I have not drawn any specific line beyond which the power of the Governor on the one hand, and the privileges of the Assembly on the other, ought not to extend. But this must be the case in any mixed government. Every political constitution in which different bodies share the supreme power, is only enabled to exist by the forbearance of those among whom this power is distributed. In this respect the example of England may well be imitated. The sovereign using the prerogative of the Crown to the utmost extent, and the House of Commons exerting its power of the purse, to carry all its resolutions into immediate effect, would produce confusion in the country in less than a twelvemonth. So in a colony: the Governor thwarting every legitimate proposition of the Assembly; and the Assembly continually recurring to its power of refusing supplies, can but disturb all political relations, embarrass trade, and retard the prosperity of the people. Each must exercise a wise moderation. The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the As-

sembly where the honor of the Crown, or the interests of the empire are deeply concerned; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures for the sake of harmony, and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain."

In these views Mr. Thompson fully concurred. He saw clearly the necessity of making the Executive Council harmonise with the House of Assembly, by rendering its principal members dependent for their position, as in England, on the majority in the latter. In this way the Canadian ministry would be directly responsible to the people, who in their choice of representatives, pledged to support the ministry or otherwise, could declare at the polls whether they placed confidence in or distrusted the Executive. That he had a most difficult task to accomplish will readily be perceived. There was no party in the country on whom he could confidently rely for support. The Family Compact majority in the Legislative Council, had already shown by their vote they were opposed to the union; an alteration in that council must lead to unfavorable comment in England and Canada, while he was unable to ascertain how far the Reform Party might be disposed to second his views. Many of them were opposed to a union, and there was accordingly no settled party in the country, on whom he could rely to support the policy of his administration. He, therefore, went to work with the means already at his disposal, and made no alteration either in the Special Council of Lower Canada, or in the Legislative Council of the sister province. This course sheltered him from all imputations of using sinister or improper means to carry out his policy, and gave additional weight to the decision of the Canadian legislative bodies in England. His policy was a manly and straightforward one, and deserved the great success which it ultimately met with.

On the Governor General's arrival at Quebec he was presented with several addresses from the inhabitants, one of which urged upon his notice the propriety of making that city the seat of government. He made no stay there, however, and immediately proceeded to Montreal, where he convened the Special Council on the 11th of November, and shortly after directed their attention to her Majesty's message, of the preceding 3rd of May, to both Houses of the British Parliament, relative to the legislative re-union of Upper and Lower Canada. He explained, at the same time, the views entertained by the Home Government on this head, and their desire to have the existing suspension of the constitution put an end to, that the resources of the country might be more fully developed, and the peace and happiness of all classes of its inhabitants effectually secured. "Mutual sacrifices, said his Excellency, "were undoubtedly required, mutual concessions would be demanded;

but I entertain no doubt that the terms of the union would be finally adjusted by the Imperial Parliament, with fairness to both provinces, and with the utmost advantage to their inhabitants."

The Governor General met with little difficulty in inducing the Special Council to second his views, by their favorable action on the union question. On the 13th, the following resolutions were agreed to by the majority, as the basis on which they were willing to unite the lower with the upper province:—

"1. *Resolved*, That under existing circumstances, in order to provide adequately for the peace and tranquillity, and the good, constitutional, and efficient government of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the re-union of these provinces under one legislature, in the opinion of this Council, has become of indispensable and urgent necessity.

"2. *Resolved*, That the declared determination of her Majesty, conveyed in her gracious message to Parliament, to re-unite the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, is in accordance with the opinion entertained by this Council, and receives their ready acquiescence.

"3. *Resolved*, That among the principal enactments, which in the opinion of this Council, ought to make part of the Imperial Act for re-uniting the provinces, it is expedient and desirable that a suitable civil list should be provided for securing the independence of judges, and maintaining the executive government in the exercise of its necessary and indispensable functions.

"4. *Resolved*, That regard being had to the nature of the public debt of Upper Canada, and the objects for which principally it was contracted, namely, the improvement of internal communications, alike useful and beneficial for both provinces, it would be just and reasonable in the opinion of this Council, that such part of said debt, as has been contracted for this object, and not for defraying expenses of a local nature, should be chargeable on the revenues of both provinces.

"5. *Resolved*, That the adjustment and settlement of the terms of the re-union of the two provinces, may, in the opinion of this Council, with all confidence be submitted to the wisdom and justice of the Imperial Parliament, under the full assurance that provision of the nature of those already mentioned, as well as such others as the measure of re-union may require, will receive due consideration.

"6. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Council, it is most expedient, with a view to the security of her Majesty's North American provinces, and the speedy cessation of the enormous expense now incurred by the parent state for the defence of Upper and Lower Canada, that the present temporary Legislature of this province should, as soon as practicable, be succeeded by a permanent Legislature, in which the people of these two provinces may be adequately represented, and their constitutional rights exercised and maintained."

This important question being thus disposed of, so far as regarded Lower Canada, the Special Council was discharged from further attendance for the present. In this settlement, so agreeable to persons of

British birth and origin in Lower Canada, the wishes of the French population were not consulted. They were still, so far as the great majority were concerned, as much opposed to a union with Upper Canada as ever; but, by their recent disaffection, they had forfeited every just right to be consulted in the matter. The feeling of the loyal inhabitants were, therefore, alone taken into consideration, and how the interests of the Canadas, and of the Empire at large, could be best subserved? Yet, there can be no doubt, that this policy was fully as beneficial to the French population, as to any other class of the community. The benefits and privileges it secured, belong to them equally with Canadians of British origin, and in the sober exercise of constitutional liberty, they are far happier and better every way, than they could possibly be as a province of France, as an independent republic, like Mexico, or, as a state of the American Union. The course pursued hitherto by the majority of the French-Canadians, clearly showed they were unfitted for the sober exercise of constitutional government, and that the peace and prosperity of these provinces could alone be effectually secured, by uniting them more intimately with the inhabitants of British descent. The governmental hypothesis assumed by Mr. Pitt, in 1791, had in short been found by experience to be completely in error, and the policy of union, advocated by his great rival Fox, was at length about to triumph.*

* The following letter from Mr. Thompson to Lord John Russell, under date Nov. 18th, 1839, presents a correct picture of how matters stood at this period:—

“MR LORD,—I have the honor to inform your lordship, that having summoned the Special Council by proclamation, to meet on Monday, the 11th instant, I then submitted to them the question of the re-union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and solicited their opinion respecting it.

“On Thursday, the 14th inst., I received from that body the address, of which, and my answer, I have the honor to enclose copies; and I likewise transmit an extract from the journals, from which your lordship will learn their proceedings.

“I beg your lordship to remark, that the members composing the Special Council remain the same as during the administration of my predecessor. It may be necessary hereafter, in the exercise of my discretion, to make some alterations, with a view to increase the efficiency of that body; but I felt that, as the opinions of her Majesty's Government in regard to the union are well known, it was extremely desirable that I should if possible, submit the consideration of that important question to a council in whose selection I had myself had no voice.

“It appeared to me that to secure the due weight in the Mother Country to the judgement of a body so constituted, it was indispensable to avoid even the possibility of an imputation that I had selected for its members those only whose opinions coincided with my own.

“I had moreover every reason to believe, from the motives which guided my predecessor in his choice that the Council contains a very fair representation of the state of feeling in the different districts of the province.

The preliminary steps towards the union having been fully accomplished in Lower Canada, the Governor General proceeded to the upper province, and arrived at Toronto on the 21st of November. On the following day he assumed temporary charge of the administration, and was sworn in at the Council Chamber, in presence of the heads of departments and several of the principal inhabitants, when the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, still the decided enemy of responsible government, placed the great seal of the province in his hands. The Legislature of Upper Canada had already been summoned to meet

"For these reasons I determined on making no alteration whatever; and it is with great satisfaction that I can now refer to the opinions of this body, adopted almost unanimously. Their views as to the urgency of the union, and the advantages likely to result from it to the province, are set forth in their address in terms so forcible, as to leave me nothing to say with reference to their opinion. But I must add, that it is my decided conviction, grounded upon such other opportunities as I have enjoyed since my arrival in this country, of ascertaining the state of public feeling, the speedy adoption of that measure by Parliament is indispensable to the future peace and prosperity of this province.

"All parties look with extreme dissatisfaction at the present state of Government. Those of British origin, attached by feeling and education to a constitutional form of government, although they acquiesced at the time in the establishment of arbitrary power, as a refuge from a yet worse despotism, submit with impatience to its continuance, and regret the loss, through no fault of their own, of what they consider as their birthright. Those of the French Canadians who remained loyal to their Sovereign and true to the British connexion, share the same feeling; whilst among those who are less well affected or more easily deceived, the suspension of all constitutional rights affords to reckless and unprincipled agitators a constant topic of excitement.

"All parties, therefore, without exception, demand a change; on the nature of that change, there undoubtedly exists some difference of opinion.

"In a country so lately convulsed, and where passions are still so much excited, extreme opinions cannot but exist; and accordingly, while some persons advocate an immediate return to the former constitution of the province, others propose either the exclusion from political privileges of all of French origin, or the partial dismemberment of the province, with the view of conferring on one portion a representative system, while maintaining in the other a despotism.

"I have observed, however, that the advocates of these widely different opinions have generally admitted them to be their aspirations, rather than measures which could practically be adopted, and have been unable to suggest any course except the union by which that at which they aim, namely, constitutional government for themselves, could be permanently and safely established.

"There exists, too, even amongst these persons, a strong and prevailing desire that the Imperial Legislature should take the settlement of Canadian affairs at once into its own hands, rather than that it should be delayed by reference to individual opinions, or to those put forward by different sections of local parties.

"The large majority, however, of those whose opinions I have had the opportunity of learning, both of the British and French origin, and of those, too, whose

for the despatch of business on the 3rd December. On that day, the last session of the last parliament of this province, was opened by the Governor General, with the following speech, which showed the intimate knowledge he had already acquired of the condition of affairs:—

“In discharge of the duties of Governor General of British North America, confided to me by our gracious sovereign, I have deemed it advisable to take the earliest opportunity of visiting this province, and of assembling Parliament.

“I am commanded by the Queen to assure you of her Majesty’s fixed determination to maintain the connexion now subsisting between her North American possessions and the United Kingdom, and to exercise the high authority with which she has been invested, by the favor of Divine Providence, for the promotion of their happiness, and the security of her dominions.

“It is with great satisfaction I can inform you, that I have no grounds for apprehending a recurrence of those aggressions upon our frontier which we had lately to deplore, and which affix an indelible disgrace on their authors.

“If, however, unforeseen circumstances should again call for exertion, I know from the past, that in the zeal and loyalty of the people of Upper Canada, and in the protection of the parent state, we possess ample means of defence, and to those I should confidently appeal.

“I earnestly hope, that this state of tranquillity will prove favorable to the consideration of the important matters to which your attention must be called during the present Session.

“It will be my duty to bring under your consideration, at the earliest possible moment, the subject of the legislative re-union of this province with Lower Canada—recommended by her Majesty to the Imperial Parliament. I shall do so in the full confidence that you will see, in the measure which I shall have to submit, a fresh proof of the deep interest felt by the Queen, in the welfare of her subjects in Upper Canada; and that it will receive from you that calm and deliberate consideration, which its importance demands.

character and station entitle them to the greatest authority, advocate warmly the establishment of the union, and that upon terms of perfect fairness, not merely to the two provinces, but to the two races within these provinces. Of the extent to which this feeling with regard to the upper province is carried, your lordship will find a most conclusive proof in the resolution of the Special Council respecting the debt of Upper Canada. By this resolution a large sum, owing by that province on account of public works of a general nature, is proposed to be charged on the joint revenues of the united provinces. Upon other details of the arrangement, the same feeling prevails. It would be, however, useless for me to trouble your lordship with respect to them, until I have had the opinions entertained by the people of Upper Canada. If, however, as I trust, the principle of re-union should meet with their assent, I am of opinion that it can only be in consequence of demands of an unwarrantable character upon their part, that difficulty will arise in settling principal terms. I have, &c.

C. FOULETT THOMPSON,

"The condition of the public departments in the province, will require your best attention. In compliance with the address of the House of Assembly of last session, the Lieutenant Governor appointed a commission to investigate and report upon the manner in which the duties of those departments are performed. The commissioners have already conducted their enquiries to an advanced stage; and the result of them will be communicated to you as soon as they shall be completed.

"I am happy to inform you that her Majesty's Government have concluded an arrangement for opening a communication by steam between Great Britain and the British possessions in North America. In the completion of this arrangement, her Majesty's Government have allowed no consideration to interfere with the paramount object of promoting the public advantage and convenience. I feel confident that the liberality with which the parent state has assumed the whole expense of the undertaking will be duly appreciated by you.

"The answers of her Majesty to various addresses, adopted by you during your last session, and her Majesty's decisions on the bills passed by you, but reserved for the signification of her royal pleasure, will be made known to you without loss of time.

"The financial condition of the province will claim your early and most attentive consideration. To preserve public credit is at all times a sacred obligation; but in a country so essentially dependent upon it for the means of future improvement, it is a matter no less of policy than of duty. It is indispensable, then, that measures should be at once adopted, for enabling the provincial revenue to fulfil its obligations, and to defray the necessary expenses of the government. It will be my anxious desire to co-operate with you in effecting this object; and I feel confident that, by the adoption of measures calculated to promote the full development of the resources of this fine country, the difficulty may be overcome. The officer by whom, under your authority, these obligations have been contracted, will be able to afford you every information; and I shall direct a statement of your financial condition to be immediately submitted to you.

"The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with every regard for economy, compatible with the due execution of the service of the province.

"It is with great satisfaction I find, that notwithstanding commercial difficulties which prevail in the neighboring States, the banks of this province have resumed specie payments; and I congratulate you upon the guarantee thus afforded of the greater security and stability of our pecuniary transactions—a circumstance which cannot fail to be attended with the most beneficial results.

"I am commanded again to submit to you the surrender of the casual and territorial revenues of the crown, in exchange for a civil list; and I shall take an early opportunity of explaining the grounds on which her Majesty's Government felt precluded from assenting to the settlement, which you lately proposed. They are of a nature which lead me to anticipate your ready assent to their removal, and to the final settlement of the question.

"In assuming the administration of the government of these pro-

vinces, at the present time, I have not disguised from myself the arduous task which I have undertaken. The affairs of the Canadas have, for some years back, occupied much of the attention of the Imperial Parliament, and of the government; and their settlement upon a firm and comprehensive basis, admits of no further delay.

"To effect that settlement, upon terms satisfactory to the people of these provinces, and affording security for their continued connexion with the British Empire, will be my endeavor; and I confidently appeal to your wisdom and to the loyalty and good sense of the people of this province, to co-operate with me for the preparation and adoption of such measures as may, under Divine Providence, restore to this country, peace, concord, and prosperity."

The Governor General speedily discovered, on his arrival in Upper Canada, that considerable difficulty would be experienced in procuring the assent of its Legislature to the Union. However favorably disposed the Assembly might be to that measure, the majority of the Upper House were decidedly opposed to it. Responsible government must follow in its wake, and in the re-organisation of the Council, the Family Compact saw that the last remnant of their power must forever disappear. Hitherto, the principal offices of government, and the seats in the Legislative Council were regarded, almost, as the hereditary rights of a few leading families. Members of the Executive who happened to belong to the Legislature, had usually spoken and acted in their individual capacity, without the slightest reference to the views or wishes of the Governor. All this would be changed by the system now proposed to be adopted, which must improve the position of the representatives of the Crown, as well as elevate the people. The oligarchy alone would suffer by the change, and they, accordingly, now felt indisposed to submit to the loss of power it must entail. The Governor General saw at once the critical position of matters, and with great tact published at the right time a despatch from Lord John Russell, which as it placed the majority of the Legislative Council in opposition to the Crown, must necessarily, in consequence of their loyal attachment thereto, compel their submission. Agreeable to the tenor of this despatch, also, such of the members of the Executive, as belonged to the Legislature, were under the necessity of supporting the Union or of resigning their places. The majority of them preferred the former course, and the Union Bill was accordingly introduced as a government measure. Having smoothed the way thus far, his Excellency transmitted the following message to the Legislature on the 7th of December:—

"In pursuance of the intention expressed in his speech from the throne, the Governor General desires now to bring under the consideration of the House of Assembly, the subject of the re-union of this pro-

vince with Lower Canada, recommended by her Majesty in her gracious message to both Houses of Parliament on the 3rd of May last.

"For several years the condition of the Canadas has occupied a large portion of the attention of Parliament. That they should be contented and prosperous—that the ties which bind them to the parent state should be strengthened—that their administration should be conducted in accordance with the wishes of the people, is the ardent desire of every British statesman—and the experience of the last few years amply testifies that Parliament has been sparing neither of the time it has devoted to the investigation of their affairs, nor of the expenditure it has sanctioned for their protection.

"The events which have marked the recent history of Lower Canada, are so familiar to the House of Assembly, that it is unnecessary for the Governor General further to allude to them. There, the constitution is suspended, but the powers of the government are inadequate to permit of the enactment of such permanent laws as are required for the benefit of the people.

"Within this province the finances are deranged—public improvements are suspended—private enterprise is checked—the tide of emigration, so essential to the prosperity of the country and to the British connexion, has ceased to flow—while by many, the general system of government is declared to be unsatisfactory.

"After the most attentive and anxious consideration of the state of these provinces, and the difficulties under which they respectively labor, her Majesty's advisers came to the conclusion, that by their re-union alone could these difficulties be removed. During the last session of the Imperial Legislature they indeed refrained from pressing immediate legislation, but their hesitation proceeded from no doubt as to the measure or its necessity. It arose solely from a desire to ascertain more fully the opinions of the Legislature of Upper Canada, and to collect information from which the details might be rendered more satisfactory to the people of both provinces.

"The time then is now arrived beyond which a settlement cannot be postponed. In Lower Canada it is indispensable to afford a safe and practicable return to a constitutional government, and so far as the feelings of the inhabitants can be there ascertained, the measure of the re-union meets with approbation.

"In Upper Canada it is no less necessary, to enable the province to meet her financial embarrassments, and to proceed in the development of her natural resources. There are evidently no means in this province of fulfilling the pecuniary obligations which have been contracted, but by a great increase in the local revenues. But so long as Lower Canada remains under her present form of government, neither province possesses any power over the only source from which that increase can be drawn. Nor even, were it possible to restore a representative constitution to Lower Canada, unaccompanied by the union, would the position of this province be much improved: since past experience has shown the difficulty of procuring assent to any alteration of the customs laws suggested from hence.

"This province has engaged in undertakings, which reflect the high-

est honor on the enterprise and industry of her inhabitants. The public works which she has completed or commenced, have been conceived in a spirit worthy of a successful result. But additional means are indispensable to avert the ruin of some, and secure the completion of others. Nor will that alone suffice; Lower Canada holds the key to all those improvements. Without her co-operation, the navigation for which nature has done so much and for which this province has so deeply burthened itself, must remain incomplete, and a barrier be opposed to the development of those great natural resources which the hand of providence has so lavishly bestowed on this country.

“With a view to remove all those difficulties: to relieve the financial embarrassments of Upper Canada: to enable her to complete her public works and to develop her agricultural capabilities: to restore constitutional government to Lower Canada: to establish a firm, impartial, and vigorous government for both: and to unite the people within them in one common feeling of attachment to British institutions and British connexion, the union is desired by her Majesty’s Government; and that measure alone, if based upon just principles, appears adequate to the occasion.

“Those principles, in the opinion of her Majesty’s advisers, are, a just regard to the claims of either province in adjusting the terms of the union—the maintenance of the three estates of the Provincial Legislature;—the settlement of a permanent civil list for securing the independence of the judges and to the executive government that freedom of action which is necessary for the public good, and the establishment of a system of local government adapted to the wants of the people.

“It was with great satisfaction then that her Majesty’s Government learnt, that upon the question of the union itself the House of Assembly had pronounced their decided judgement during their last session; and it will only remain for the Governor General now to invite their assent to the terms upon which it is sought to be effected. Their decision was indeed accompanied by recommendations to which the government could not agree; but the Governor General entertains no doubt that, under the altered circumstances, they will no more be renewed. It will be for the Imperial Parliament, guided by their intimate knowledge of constitutional law, and, free from the bias of local feelings and interests, to arrange the details of the measure.

“The first of the terms of re-union, to which the Governor General desires the assent of the House of Assembly, is equal representation of each province in a united legislature. Considering the amount of the population of Lower Canada, this proposition might seem to place that province in a less favorable position than Upper Canada; but, under the circumstances in which this province is placed, with the increasing population to be expected from immigration, and having regard to the commercial and agricultural enterprise of its inhabitants, an equal apportionment of representation appears desirable.

“The second stipulation to be made is the grant of a sufficient civil list. The propriety of rendering the judicial bench independent alike of the Executive and the Legislature, and of the furnishing the means of carrying on the indispensable services of the government, admits of

no question, and has been affirmed by the Parliament of Upper Canada in the acts passed by them for effecting those objects. In determining the amount of the civil list, the House of Assembly may be assured that the salaries and expenses to be paid from it will be calculated by her Majesty's Government with a strict regard to economy and the state of the provincial finances.

"Thirdly, the Governor General is prepared to recommend to Parliament, that so much of the existing debt of Upper Canada as has been contracted for public works of a general nature, should, after the union, be charged on the joint revenue of the united provinces. Adverting to the nature of the works for which this debt was contracted, and the advantage which must result from them to Lower Canada, it is not unjust, that, that province should bear a proportion of their expenses.

"On these principles, the Governor General is of opinion that a re-union of the two provinces may be effected—equitable and satisfactory in its terms, and beneficial in its results to all classes. He submits them to the consideration of the House of Assembly, in the full conviction of their importance, and in the hope that they will receive the assent of that House. Fortified by the expression of their opinion, her Majesty's Government and Parliament will be able at once to apply themselves to the full development of the scheme, and to the consideration of the provision by which it may be carried into effect with the greatest advantage to the people of both provinces.

"If in the course of their proceedings, the House of Assembly should desire any information which it is in the power of the Governor General to afford, they will find him ready and anxious to communicate with them frankly and fully, and to aid, by all the means in his power, that settlement on which he firmly believes that the future prosperity and advancement of these colonies mainly depend."

This message led to the passage of the following resolutions in the Legislative Council by a large majority:—

"*Resolved*, 1—That the events which have lately marked the history of Lower Canada—the consequent necessity for a suspension of her constitution, and inadequacy of the powers of the government existing there, for the enactment of permanent laws, such as are required for the benefit of the people, present a state of public affairs in the sister province, deeply to be deplored by this House, as well from a disinterested anxiety for the welfare of a people so nearly connected with Upper Canada, as in consideration of the injurious consequences resulting to this community, from a continuance of the unsettled political condition of the lower province.

"*Resolved*, 2—That the present derangement of the finances of Upper Canada—the total suspension of her public improvements—the paralyzed condition of private enterprise—the cessation of emigration, and the apparent impossibility of the removal of these evils, without the united efforts of both the Canadian provinces—make the adoption of some great measure necessary, which will restore prosperity to the Canadas, and renew confidence at home and abroad in the stability of their political institutions.

“Resolved, 3—That considering the hopelessness arising from past experience, and from a view of the political condition of Lower Canada, of ever realising in separate legislatures, the unity of feeling or action in measures affecting equally the interests of both provinces, on which the prosperity or safety of either may essentially depend, a re-union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada has, in the opinion of this House, become indispensable for the restoration of good government within these colonies, and for the preservation of institutions in connexion with the parent state.

“Resolved, 4—That for these urgent reasons, the assent of this house be expressed to the enactment of the important measure of re-union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, recommended by her Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, and to the Houses of the Provincial Legislature by his Excellency the Governor General; and that such assent, on the part of this House, be given on the following terms:

First—That there be an equal representation of each province in the united Legislature.

Secondly—That a sufficient permanent civil list be granted to her Majesty, to enable her Majesty to render the judicial bench independent alike of executive power and popular influence, and to carry on the indispensable services of government.

Thirdly—That the public debt of this province, contracted for public works of a general nature, shall, after the union, be charged on the joint revenue of the united province.

“Resolved, 5—That in yielding this ready concurrence to the measure of the re-union of the provinces, strongly recommended by her Majesty, the Legislative Council of Upper Canada rely upon the wisdom and justice of their most gracious sovereign, and of her Majesty’s Parliament, for devising the details of the plan of re-union, and for the establishment of such a system of government in the united province, as will tend to the development of its natural resources, and enable it, with the blessing of Divine Providence, to pursue steadily, and free from the distractions by which the country has lately been divided, the course of prosperity and happiness, which the best interests of the people of Canada, and of the empire, alike require not to be longer impeded.”

The question of the union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, having been satisfactorily disposed of in the Upper House, there was no further difficulty to be apprehended. The House of Assembly had already favorably considered the measure. As its proceedings, however, forcibly illustrate the condition of Upper Canada at this period, and the embarrassed situation in which it was placed, the following resolutions and address, agreed to in committee of the whole, are inserted:—

“Resolved,—That the House of Assembly, at its last session, declared that, in their opinion, a united legislature for the Canadas, on certain terms, was indispensable, and that further delay must prove ruinous to their best interests, and that his Excellency, the Governor General, by

his message to this house, has announced, that with a view to remove the difficulties of these provinces, to relieve the financial embarrassment of Upper Canada, to enable her to complete her public works, and develop her agricultural capabilities, to restore constitutional government to Lower Canada, to establish a firm, impartial, and vigorous government for both, and to unite the people within them in one common feeling of attachment to British institutions and British connexion; the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada has been recommended by her Majesty to the Imperial Parliament; and his Excellency the Governor General has invited the assent of this house to certain specified terms, upon which that union may be established. It, therefore, becomes the duty of the representatives of the people of this province carefully to consider the provisions by which this measure may be carried into effect, with the greatest security to their future peace, welfare, and good government, and the permanent connexion of these colonies with the British Empire.

Yeas, 47 : Nays, 6.

Resolved,—That this house concur in the proposition that there be an equal representation of each province in the united legislature.

Yeas, 33. Nays, 20.

Resolved,—That this house concur in the proposition, that a sufficient civil list be granted to her Majesty, for securing the independence of the judges, and to the executive government that freedom of action which is necessary for the public good. The grant for the person administering the government, and for the judges of the several superior courts to be permanent, and for the officers conducting the other departments of the public service, to be for the life of the sovereign, and for a period of not less than ten years.

Yeas, 43 : Nays, 8.

Resolved,—That the public debt of this province shall, after the union, be charged on the joint revenue of the united province. *Unanimous*.

In accordance with these resolutions the following address was voted to her Majesty, and transmitted to England through the Governor General:—

“We your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament assembled, beg permission to approach your Majesty with renewed expression of our unwavering attachment to your Majesty’s royal person and government.

“During the present session of your Provincial Parliament, a subject more important than any that has ever engaged the attention of the representatives of the people, has been brought under their consideration in pursuance of the commands of your Majesty, by your Majesty’s Governor General of these provinces, namely, the legislative re-union of Upper and Lower Canada. In the message of his Excellency to the two branches of the Legislature, they are informed that “after the most attentive and anxious consideration of the state of these provinces, and of the difficulties under which they respectively labor, your Majesty’s advisers came to the conclusion that by their re-union alone could

these difficulties be removed : that during the last session of the Imperial Legislature they refrained from pressing immediate legislation, but their hesitation proceeded from no doubt as to the principle of the measure, or its necessity ; it arose solely from the desire to ascertain more fully the opinions of the Legislature of Upper Canada, and to collect information from which the details might be rendered more satisfactory to the people of both provinces."

"The House of Assembly deeply feel this additional proof of your Majesty's solicitude for their happiness and prosperity ; and it will ever be held by them in grateful remembrance.

"In pursuance of the message referred to, the House of Assembly lost no time in taking into consideration three distinct propositions submitted by your Majesty's Governor General as the basis on which the re-union might be established, namely : first—equal representations of each province in the united legislature ;—secondly—the grant of a sufficient civil list ;—and thirdly—that the public debt of this province be charged on the joint revenue of the united province.

"In the discussion of these propositions, it happened that some of the members of this House apprehending the greatest danger to our civil and political institutions, and even to our connexion with the parent state, were opposed to the union on any terms, while of those who supported the measure, there were many who were not wholly free from apprehensions as to the result, and who regarded it as a hazardous experiment, unless in addition to terms submitted by the Governor General, certain details calculated to secure their connexion with the Imperial Crown, should accompany their concurrence with the terms proposed. A majority, however, gave their unconditional assent to the propositions above mentioned, in the fullest confidence, that your Majesty, in calling the attention of the Imperial Parliament to the union, would at the same time recommend the adoption of every necessary safeguard to the maintenance of British interests and British supremacy. It is in this confidence that we now humbly submit to your Majesty's most gracious consideration the following propositions which in the opinion of this house, are calculated to secure the great end, in expectation whereof the assent to the union was given :—

"And first, we respectfully entreat your Majesty, that the use of the English language in all judicial and legislative records be forthwith introduced ; and that at the end of a space of a given number of years, after the union, all debates in the Legislature shall be in English. And as a matter of justice to your Majesty's subjects in Upper Canada, we earnestly and confidently appeal to your Majesty to admit their right to have the seat of the Provincial Government established within this province. It cannot be denied to the people of this colony, that if favor is to be shewn to either Upper or Lower Canada, their claim stands pre-eminent ; independent of which, the moral and political advantages of the concession are too obvious and undeniable to admit of dispute.

"It is with the most sincere satisfaction that this House has received from your Majesty's representative the assurance that the bill introduced into the House of Commons during the last session of the Imperial Legislature, is not to be "considered as embodying the provisions which

may hereafter be adopted by the Imperial Parliament." And, "that it is his Excellency's intention to recommend to her Majesty's Government, in the new measure that must be introduced, to adhere as much as possible to existing territorial divisions for electoral purposes, and to maintain the principle of the constitutional act of 1791, with regard to the tenure of seats in the Legislative Council."

"We would further respectfully submit the necessity of providing that the members of the legislature should possess a stake in the country equal to that now required by the laws of this province, that, to the call of public duty, that of private interest may be added, as an inducement to wise and careful legislation; and for this purpose we trust that a sufficient qualification in real estate will be required from any person holding a seat in the legislature.

"We would also respectfully suggest to your Majesty the paramount subject of emigration from the British Isles, which we consider the best calculated to render the united province British in fact as well as in name. No time, in our humble opinion, should be lost, in the establishment and vigorous prosecution of a well organised system of emigration, calculated to afford every possible facility to the settlement of that extensive domain, the proceeds of which have been proposed to be surrendered to the control of the Provincial Legislature, upon certain terms and conditions, which in Upper and Lower Canada, is at present in right of the Crown, at your Majesty's disposal.

"We have no desire to interfere unnecessarily in questions of detail, which more immediately affect the sister province; but we cannot omit respectfully soliciting your Majesty's attention to the introduction of a system of municipal government into Lower Canada, in order to provide for local taxation, and under local management, on the same principles as have obtained in Upper Canada, where the system established by the Provincial Legislature, after repeated and careful revision, has in its operation proved highly satisfactory to the people.

"We would, lastly, desire humbly to assure your Majesty, that to the principles on which our constitution has been established, to the representative mode of government under a monarchy, and to a permanent connexion with the British Empire, and a dutiful allegiance to our sovereign, the people of Upper Canada most faithfully and firmly adhere.

"It is only from apprehensions of danger on these most important matters, that doubt or difficulty has been felt in assenting to the union; and we therefore now humbly trust that your Majesty, fully acquainted with our situation, will not confine your royal consideration to the claims that are referred to in this address, or in any other proceeding of this House, but that continuing to us that gracious and generous protection we have hitherto experienced from your Majesty and the British nation, your Majesty will add such future safeguards as in your wisdom may be thought necessary and desirable to protect your faithful subjects in the peaceful enjoyment of their laws and liberties, and to perpetuate their connexion with your Majesty's Crown and Empire."

Thus satisfactorily terminated in Canada the question of a union of

the provinces. The action of the Imperial Parliament was now alone necessary for its final accomplishment, and the 1840. Governor General lost no time in transmitting to England an account of his success, and a draft of a union bill* principally prepared by Sir James Stuart. The Imperial Parliament was then in session, and Lord John Russell, on receiving intelligence of the proceed-

* It provides for the Union under the name of THE PROVINCE OF CANADA.

For the Constitution of one Legislative Council and one House of Assembly under the title of "The Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada.

The Council not to be composed of fewer than twenty natural born or naturalised subjects of the Queen, the tenure of such office being for life, excepting the member chooses to resign, is absent from his duties without cause or permission for two successive sessions, shall become a citizen or subject of any foreign power, or become bankrupt, an insolvent debtor, public defaulter, or attainted of treason, or be convicted of felony, or of any infamous crime.

The Speaker of the Legislative Council to be appointed by the Governor, who may remove him and appoint another. Ten members to constitute a quorum, including the Speaker.

The House of Assembly to consist of members chosen from the same places as heretofore divided into Counties and Ridings in Upper Canada; but that the Counties of Halton, Northumberland, and Lincoln. shall each be divided into two Ridings, and return one Member for each Riding.

That the City of Toronto shall have two Members; and the Towns of Kingston, Brockville, Hamilton, Cornwall, Niagara, London, and Bytown, one each.

That in Lower Canada every County, heretofore represented by one Member, shall continue to be so represented, excepting Montmorency, Orleans, L'Assomption, La Chesnaye, L'Acadia, La Prairie, Dorchester, and Beauce. These to be conjoined as follows: Montmorency and Orleans into the County of Montmorency; L'Assomption and La Chesnaye, to be the County of Leinster; L'Acadia and La Prairie, that of Huntingdon; and Dorchester and Beauce, that of Dorchester: and each of these four new Counties to return one Member.

The Cities of Quebec and Montreal, to return two members each; and the Towns of Three Rivers and Sherbrooke, one each.

The qualifications of a Member to be those of *bona fide* possession of landed estate worth £500 sterling.

The English language to be only used in all written or printed proceedings of the Legislature.

The passing of any Bill to repeal the provision of the 14th George III., or in the Acts of 31st of the same reign, relating to the Government of the Province of Quebec, and the dues and rights of the clergy of the Church of Rome; the allotment or appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant clergy; the endowments of the Church of England, or its internal discipline or establishment; or affecting the enjoyment or exercise of any form or mode of religious worship in any way whatever; or which may affect her Majesty's prerogative touching the Waste Lands of the Crown, must be first submitted to the Imperial Parliament previous to the declaration of the Sovereign's assent, and that if the Imperial Legislature shall petition the Queen to withhold her assent within thirty days

ings in the Legislature of Upper Canada, laid the bill before the Commons; which with the exception of clauses for the creation of municipal councils, passed both Houses, and received the royal assent on the 23rd

after such Act shall have been received, it shall not be lawful to affix the Royal assent thereto.

The levying of imperial and colonial duties; the appointment of a Court of Appeal; the administration of the civil and criminal laws; the fixation of the Court of Queen's Bench within the late Province of Upper Canada; the regulation of trade; the consolidation of all the revenues derivable from the Colony into one fund, to be appropriated for the public service of Canada.

Out of this fund £45 000 to be payable to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the purpose of defraying the expenses for the administration of the government and the laws on the Civil List, as follows:—

Governor, £7,000; Lieutenant-Governor, £1,000.

Upper, or Western Canada.

One Chief Justice, £1,500; Four Puisne Judges £900 each, £3,600; One Vice-Chancellor, £1,125.

Lower, or Eastern Canada.

One Chief Justice, £1,500; Three Puisne Judges, Quebec, £900 each, £2,700; One Chief Justice, Montreal, £1,100; Three Puisne Judges, Montreal, £900 each, £2,700; One Resident Judge at Three Rivers, £900; One Judge of the Inferior District of Gaspé, £500; One Judge of the Inferior District of St. Francis, £500; Pensions to Judges, Salaries of the Attorneys and Solicitors-General, and Contingent and Miscellaneous Expenses of the administration of Justice throughout the Province of Canada, £20,875.

And a further sum of £30,000 out of the said Consolidated Revenue Fund for defraying the under-mentioned expenses of the Government.

Civil Secretaries and their Offices, £8,000; Provincial Secretaries and their Offices, £3,000; Receiver-General and his Office, £3,000; Inspector General and his Office, £2,000; Executive Council, £3,000; Board of Works, £2,000; Emigrant Agent, £700; Pensions, £5,000; Contingent Expenses of Public Offices, £3,300.

Both sums to be paid by the Receiver-General, upon the Governor's warrants, and the Receiver-General to account to the Lords of the Treasury; and all the expenditure thereon to be laid before the Provincial Parliament within thirty days after the commencement of each session.

The total sum of £75,000 thus raised and paid for the Civil List, to be accepted and taken by her Majesty by way of Civil List, instead of all territorial and other revenues then at the disposal of the Crown.

The first charge upon the consolidated revenue fund to be its collection, management, and receipt; the second the public debt of the two Provinces at the time of the Union; the third, the payment of the clergy of the Church of England, Church of Scotland, and the ministers of other Christian denominations, agreeably to previous laws and usages; the fourth charge, to be the Civil List of £45,000; and the fifth, that of £30,000, payable during the life-time of Her Majesty, and for five years after her demise. The sixth charge to be that of the expenses and charges before levied and reserved by former Acts of the two Provinces, as long as they are payable.

July. Owing to a suspending clause it did not take effect, however, 1841. till the 10th of February, 1841, when it was declared in force by proclamation.

All Bills for appropriating any part of the revenues of the United Province, to originate with the Governor, who shall have the right of initiating the same, as well as of recommending the appropriation of any new tax or impost, and that, having thus been recommended, the Legislative Assembly shall first discuss the same.

The formation of new townships to originate with the Governor, as well as the appointment of township officers. The power vested in the Queen to annex the Magdalen Islands to the Government of the Island of Prince Edward, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the appointment of Governor of the Province of Canada to be understood as meaning Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person authorised by her Majesty, her heirs, and successors, to execute the office of Governor of that province.—Canada as it Was, &c. p. 205-210.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD SYDENHAM, CONTINUED.

The most important Canadian question after the union, was 1840. that of the Clergy Reserves, and it was, therefore, determined to dispose of it if possible. A bill was accordingly introduced by Mr. Draper, now Solicitor General, early in January, empowering the Governor to sell these Reserves; part of the proceeds to be applied for payment of the salaries of the existing clergymen of the Church of England, to whom the faith of the Crown had been pledged. One-half of the remainder was to go to the churches of England and Scotland, in proportion to their respective numbers, the other half, to all other denominations of Christians, recognised by the existing laws, in a ratio to their annual private contributions for the support of their ministers. This bill passed the Assembly by a majority of eight. The measure, however, did not satisfy the Reform Party, and long continued to be a fruitful source of agitation.

Meanwhile, an address had been presented by the Assembly to the Governor General, in order to elicit a distinct expression of his views on the question of responsible government. On the 14th of January he sent down a message in reply, which declared "that he had been commanded by her Majesty to administer the government in accordance with the well-understood wishes of the people; and to pay to their feelings, as expressed through their representatives, the deference that was justly due to them."

Thus, at last, was the principle of responsible government interwoven with the constitution of Canada, a consummation so long struggled for by the Reform Party. The Governor General's message on this head was followed by the removal of Mr. Hagerman, the Attorney General, who had voted against the union in the Assembly. Mr. Draper was appointed to the vacant post, while Robert Baldwin, the principal leader of the constitutional Reformers, was made Solicitor General. Mr. Hagerman for his long services was raised to the Bench. The

business of the session having been satisfactorily concluded, the House was prorogued on the 10th of February. The Governor General shortly after proceeded to Montreal, where he summoned the Special Council to meet, and induced it to pass several useful laws.

On Queenston Heights, near where the gallant Brock had fallen in 1812, the gratitude of the Canadian people had raised a beautiful hollow column to his memory, in the base of which his remains, and those of his aid-de-camp, Colonel M'Donald, had been deposited. It had been removed thither from Niagara. This column was executed by 110 spiral steps. Its summit commanded a prospect of the noblest character, stretching over the blue expanse of Lake Ontario in one direction—in others, over an interminable succession of cultivated fields, and magnificent woods. On the 17th of April, as day dawned, some ruffian, lost to every principle of honor, and influenced only with diabolical hatred to Canada, endeavored to blow up this column with gunpowder. The explosion seriously injured the building. Although a large reward was offered at the time, no clue to the perpetrator has ever been discovered. But the people of Canada West would not consent that Brock should be without a memorial. A grand and imposing meeting, presided over by Sir George Arthur, was held by the militia and others, to the number of 5000 persons, beneath the shattered column on the 30th of July, and a subscription entered into to rebuild it.*

The return of peace and order, had again directed the current of emigration up the St. Lawrence, to add to the population and wealth of the country. During the Summer Mr. Thompson made a protracted tour through the several British provinces, and was very favorably received. While popular with the majority of the Canadians, his measures had also given entire satisfaction to the Home Government, and the Queen was accordingly pleased to raise him to the peerage, by the title of Baron Sydenham of Kent and of Toronto.

Towards the close of the year, the imprisonment in the United States of Alexander M'Leod, who had been Deputy Sheriff of the Niagara District, for his presumed share in the destruction of the *Caroline*, threatened to involve this country in war. His acquittal, however, 1841. ever, although by a court which had no jurisdiction in his case, released Great Britain from a most unpleasant dilemma, and terminated the excitement on this head. As the new year progressed the Conservative and Reform parties began to prepare for the general election, expected to take place immediately on the union of the two provinces being officially proclaimed.

* Another noble column is now being erected after many delays, and will shortly be completed.

This important event took place on the 10th of February. Kingston was to be the seat of government, and preparations were promptly made there for the residence of the Governor General and accommodation of the Legislature. On the 13th, writs returnable on the 8th of April, were issued for a new election. An Executive Council for united Canada* were also summoned, and other appointments made at the same time. With the new order of things ended the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada. Sir George Arthur's rule accordingly terminated. The administration of the Canadas has since been directed by one individual, in the person of a Governor General or his representative.

The elections, at which considerable excitement took place, resulted in the return of a small Reform majority in Upper Canada. The Conservatives returned a large proportion of members, and it was evident that these two parties were of very nearly equal strength. The Family Compact were only able to elect seven members. The French members, numbering 24, held the balance of power completely in their hands, and thus occupied a position somewhat analogous to that held by the O'Connell party in the British House of Commons.

The Legislature was convened at Kingston on the 13th of June. The Assembly chose Mr. Cuvillier, a French-Canadian Reformer as its Speaker. The session was opened by the Governor General in a clever, practical, speech, alike distinguished for moderation and good sense. It stated, with regard to M'Leod, whose case was still undecided, that her Majesty was fully determined to protect her Canadian subjects to the utmost of her power, it recommended a new arrangement for the post-office department, the completion of the public works of the province, for which purpose Great Britain was prepared to pledge her credit for one and a half million sterling, the encouragement of emigration on an extended scale, the creation of municipal councils, and a better provision for education. It also stated, that a large sum would be annually expended by the Home Government for the military defences of the country, and declared the fixed determination of the Queen, to maintain at all hazards, the existing British provinces of North America as part of the Empire. It concluded with a prayer that Providence might so direct their Councils as to insure to the Queen,

* This Council was composed of Messrs. Sullivan, (President,) Dunn, Daly, Harrison, Ogden, Draper, Baldwin, and Day; all holding the higher officers of the state apart from their position of Executive Councillors. Under the system of Responsible Government members of Assembly accepting office are obliged to go back to their constituencies for re-election. If rejected as a matter of course they cannot hold office.

attached and loyal subjects, and to United Canada, a prosperous and happy people.

But, the fiery political ordeal through which Canada had so recently passed, rendered the wisdom and moderation of Lord Sydenham unavailing in at once removing every trace of dissension. He had to contend against lingering Tory prejudice, on one hand, and extreme Reform expectation, on the other, looking at once for sweeping ultra measures. Mr. Baldwin, finding himself at issue on matters with the rest of the ministry, resigned, and joined himself to the opposition, formed by some twenty French members, and fifteen Upper Canadian Reformers. Lord Sydenham had another difficulty to contend with, in the composition of a new Legislative Council, into which many members were now introduced, whose public reputation had yet to be formed, whilst others were excluded who had long been members of former Councils. Some gentlemen, accordingly, refused to sit in the new council altogether, and others delayed being sworn in.

But, Lord Sydenham was not a man to be deterred by the difficulties which met him in every direction, and sedulously applied himself to release Canada from its depressed condition. He procured the transfer of the Welland Canal stock from the private holders to the government, introduced, into the Legislature, through the Executive members, bills for revising the customs' laws, regulating the currency, promoting education, creating an efficient Board of Works, and erecting municipal corporations. In addition, he did much to heal the soreness of party feeling, and to cause the Assembly to unite on measures for the public good. But this benefactor of Canada, and of the Empire at large, was not fated to witness the triumphant results of his labors, in the great prosperity they were destined to produce. Incessant labor, for the preceding two years, had undermined a naturally delicate constitution. The fall of his horse under him, while out riding on the 4th of September, fractured his leg and caused a severe wound above the knee. His weak frame was unable to bear up against these injuries, and Canada, on the 19th of that month, lost the ablest Governor which had hitherto guided its councils.

Short as his administration had been, his wise and vigorous policy had effected an immense improvement in the condition of these provinces. He found them suffering from recent intestine rebellion and foreign lawless aggression, their exchequer empty, their inhabitants mistrusting one another, and left them in the enjoyment of peace, mutual confidence in a measure re-established, restored credit, and the possession of a system of government, which promised the most beneficial results : while, the union with the mother country was placed on

the broad and secure basis of mutual interest and natural affection. The name of Wolfe is a great one in Canadian annals—that of Brock will never be forgotten by its people ; the memory of Sydenham—the merchant pacificator of Canada, is equally worthy of reverence and honor. His reputation was a Canadian and not an English one, and when he desired to be buried at Kingston, he felt he was about to lay his ashes amid a people, with whose history he must be forever associated. No column as yet has arisen to honor him ; but the union itself is a fitting monument to his memory ; and the national peace and prosperity, which it has produced, should teach every true patriot to cherish that memory with gratitude and respect.

On the 18th the Legislature was prorogued by General Clitherow, appointed by the dying Governor General for that purpose. "All is finished !" said the Kingston *Herald* three days afterwards, "Parliament is prorogued, and the Governor General is no more. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Let us now be calm and reflect on these occurrences as men and Christians. The first Parliament of United Canada has ended well—well beyond all expectation, and much good has been achieved. The main positions of the new government have been sustained, and some of the most essential measures of reform effected. Conflicting opinions have not been carried out to an injurious extent, in any way, and the members have all parted in good humor."

It appears as if Providence had decreed, that the pact of union should be solemnly sealed by the death of him who had so triumphantly effected it. No sooner had his hand subscribed the instruments of its first Legislature than it speedily stiffened in the cold grasp of inexorable death. It seems like sacrilege to sunder a union thus so strikingly accomplished. Men should pause ere they rashly make the attempt, and seek lessons of wisdom in the past.

THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR CHARLES BAGOT.

In England the Whigs had been recently driven from office by their political opponents, and the latter selected Sir Charles Bagot, descended from an ancient family, and a High Churchman and Tory, to be Governor General of Canada. He arrived at Kingston on the 1842. 10th of January, and was very favorably received by the inhabitants. The government had meanwhile been administered by Sir Richard Jackson, the commander of the forces.

The new Governor General's antecedents, led the Conservative leaders to imagine that he would speedily lend himself to their views, and aid, as far as his position would permit him, in establishing their ascen

dancy in the ministry. Instead, however, of throwing himself at once into the hands of either party, he passed the Winter and Spring in making himself acquainted with the condition of the country generally, and of its political affairs in particular. Lord Sydenham, the Reform Governor General, had been unwilling to admit any persons at all connected unfavorably to the Crown with the recent rebellion to his councils. But Sir Charles Bagot, the old fashioned Tory, had no scruples whatever on this head. He determined to use whatever party he found capable of supporting a ministry, and accordingly made overtures to the French-Canadians and that section of the Reform Party of Upper Canada, led by Mr. Baldwin, who then formed the opposition in the Assembly.

There can be no question this was the wisest line of policy he could adopt, and that it tended to remove the differences between the two races, and unite them more cordially for the common weal. The French-Canadian element was no longer in the ascendant—the English language had decidedly assumed the aggressive, and true wisdom consisted in forgetting the past, and opening the door of preferment to men of talent of French, as well as to those of British origin. The necessity of this line of policy was interwoven with the Union Act; and, after that, was the first great step towards the amalgamation of the races. A different policy would have nullified the principle of responsible government, and must have proved suicidal to any ministry seeking to carry it out. Sir Charles Bagot went on the broad principle, that the constitutional majority had the right to rule under the constitution.

The course adopted by the Governor General necessarily caused some changes in the ministry. Mr. Draper resigned the Attorney Generalship for Canada West; Mr. Henry Sherwood, Solicitor General for the same province, made way for Mr. Aylwin. Mr. Hincks was created Inspector General of Public Accounts; Mr. Lafontaine became Attorney General for C. E., Mr. Baldwin for C. W. and Mr. Morin Commissioner of Crown Lands. The decided supporters of the new ministry in the Assembly amounted to 60 members, the opposition to only 24. The members of Assembly who accepted office, agreeable to the responsible to the people practice of the British House of Commons, went back to their constituents for re-election.

Meanwhile, the Legislature had been convened on the 8th of September, and was opened by the Governor General with a satisfactory speech. He alluded to the great change for the better which had taken place in the country, stated the very improved condition of the revenue, the advancement of the public works, the progress of educational *facili-*

ties, and the spirit of peace and contentment which pervaded society. After a short session the House was prorogued on the 22nd of October.

Towards the close of the year, Sir Charles Bagot's failing health induced him to request his recall. After a long and severe illness, he died on the 19th of May, in the following year.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD METCALFE.

On the Home Ministry receiving Sir Charles Bagot's resignation, Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed Governor General of Canada, and arrived at Kingston on the 25th of March. Like Lord Sydenham he had worked his way upwards by the force of his natural abilities, and business tact, and not by the influence of great family connections. In 1800 he began the world as a writer in the civil service of the East India Company, and rose step by step from this humble position, till he became, in 1834, Acting Governor General of India, a post he filled for two years. In 1839 he became Governor of Jamaica, which he relinquished in 1842, owing to his ill health and the appearance of a cancer in his face. His partial recovery, however, induced him soon after his return to England to accept the government of Canada.

Little of importance occurred during the Summer. It gradually drew towards its close, and nothing was as yet known of the course Sir Charles Metcalfe might ultimately pursue—whether he would support or repudiate the policy of his predecessor. On the 28th of September, he opened the Legislature with a speech, which was received very generally with favor and responded to in courteous terms by both Houses. As the session progressed, he began gradually to develop his future policy, and exhibited a decided inclination to attach himself to the Conservative Party, of whom Sir Allan M'Nab was now the acknowledged leader. Some appointments from their ranks led to an open rupture with the ministry in November, and they accordingly tendered their resignations.

In this condition matters remained till after the termination of the session, on the 9th December; when, the Governor General, while he declared that he recognised the just power and privileges of the people to influence their rulers, and to regulate, through their representatives, the administration of government, maintained he had the right to select the executive officers of the Crown. He accordingly now received the resignations of the ministry, and sought to form a provisional, or irresponsible, cabinet for the present. Even this he soon found to be a most difficult task, as in the present composition of the

House of Assembly, all the Conservative leaders were unwilling to take office. His conduct, at the same time, created much political excitement, and was vigorously denounced by the Reform Press, as well as by the leaders of the Reform Party.

The determination having been come to, during the recent 1844. session of the Legislature, to remove the seat of government to Montreal, that event accordingly took place after the opening of navigation. Monklands was fitted up as the residence of the Governor General, and he removed thither in the month of June.

After considerable difficulty, a ministry was at length formed, of a complexion to suit Sir Charles Metcalfe, and it was determined to resort to a dissolution of parliament, and appeal to the people for the support of which there was not the most remote chance as the Assembly was then constituted. Writs were accordingly issued for a new election on the 24th of September, and made returnable on the 10th of November following. The election resulted in the return of a small Conservative majority.

On the 28th of November, the Legislature was convened at Montreal, when Sir Allan M'Nab was chosen Speaker of the Assembly by a majority of 3 votes. The speech of the Governor General was very moderate in its tone, and chiefly distinguished for its allusions to the continual improvement in the finances of the country and in its affairs otherwise. The debate on the address was a very warm one : but the opposition, led by Mr. Baldwin, were finally defeated, on a motion to amend it, by a Conservative majority of six. About this period the Governor General was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Metcalfe, in consideration of his long and meritorious services. At the same time, the course he had pursued was fully sustained by the Home Government.

The following year was chiefly distinguished by two most disastrous fires in Quebec, which took place successively on the 28th of May, and on the night of the 28th of June. Several lives were lost during these conflagrations, and the dwellings of 24,000 inhabitants destroyed. Many of the sufferers were reduced to the greatest destitution. To relieve these unfortunate people, many of whom had been reduced from affluence to the most extreme poverty, £100,000 sterling was raised by subscription in Great Britain, and £35,000 collected in Canada and elsewhere. Sheds were promptly erected to shelter the houseless citizens, who gradually took courage, and before the close of Summer, the city again began to rise from its ashes more beautiful than ever.

The progress of this year produced no change in the Conservative

character of the ministry which still continued to conduct the government, although supported by a very feeble majority in the Assembly. Lord Metcalfe saw that his line of policy had completely failed, and very possibly did not regret, that the circumstance of illness covered his retreat to England in the month of November. The cancer on his cheek had again re-appeared, and of which he died shortly after his return home, universally regretted. Although his governmental policy in this country was not a successful one, his kindness of disposition and private liberality, had rendered him generally respected.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF CATHCART.

On Lord Metcalfe's resignation, Lieutenant General Earl Cathcart, commanding the forces in Canada, was appointed administrator of the government. He took no part in the disputes between the rival political parties, and whatever might be his own predilections, left them to settle their quarrels themselves. His administration was chiefly distinguished by an agitation with regard to the payment of losses, caused by destruction of property in Lower Canada during the rebellion. In the preceding year the Conservative ministry had recommended the payment of these losses, and proposed that the special fund arising from tavern and other licenses, should be handed over to the different County Municipalities, which, as regarded Upper Canada, should be charged, in the first place, with their liquidation. The French-Canadian party in the Legislature supported this measure, which put the question at rest in the upper province, on condition, that steps should be taken to pay *just* losses also in Lower Canada.

To this course the ministry agreed; and, accordingly, on the 24th of November, six commissioners were appointed by Lord Metcalfe to enquire into the losses sustained by her Majesty's *loyal* subjects in Lower Canada. Lord Cathcart, subsequently, on the 12th of December, renewed this commission to the same persons, who were now instructed to "classify carefully the cases of those who may have joined in the said rebellion, or who may have been aiding or abetting therein, from the cases of those who did not; stating particularly, but succinctly, the nature of the loss sustained in each case, its amount, and character, and as far as possible its cause." In the course of their investigation, a difficulty arose in the minds of the commissioners, as to the mode of procuring the necessary evidence. On the 27th of February, the ministry decided, "they were to be guided solely by the sentences of the courts of law, and that they had

no powers to call for either persons or papers." Under these circumstances it would seem, that unless parties had been legally convicted of participation in the rebellion, their innocence was to be presumed, and their losses, where any had been sustained, taken into consideration.

On the 18th of April, the report of the commissioners was made. It stated, that they had recognised 2,176 claims amounting in the aggregate to £241,965. These claims were classified under three heads, viz., personal property £111,127, real property £69,961, and damages, not comprised in either of these classes, £61,876. In the last class were included £9,000 for interest, £2,000 for quartering troops, and £30,000 for imprisonment, temporary banishment, interruption of business, loss of goods, account books, and so forth. The commissioners, however, were of opinion, that the sum of £100,000 would be sufficient to pay all real losses. Some of the claims, they deemed to be altogether inadmissible, and others again as entirely too extravagant. Their want of legal authority to investigate methodically and strictly the losses in question, had left them wholly dependent on the statements of the claimants themselves.

This report presented a very unsatisfactory basis for legislation, being altogether of too indefinite and uncertain a character. Nevertheless, the Conservative ministry, with Mr. Draper for its leader, feeling the necessity of French-Canadian support, introduced a bill into the Legislature for the partial payment of the rebellion losses in Lower Canada and which empowered the issue of £9,986 in debentures for that purpose:

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARL OF ELGIN.

On the 1st of October, the Earl of Elgin, the successor of Lord Metcalfe in the government of Jamaica as well as in that of Canada, received the appointment of Governor General. Like his father, who was so distinguished in the matter of the Elgin marbles, Lord Elgin is a person of high educational attainments, and a natural aptitude for public affairs. When member of Parliament for Southampton, an effective speech on the address gave promise of political success, and opened the door of office to him while in England. The death of his father, and his consequent accession to the earldom, removed him from the House of Commons. Still, a slender and embarrassed patrimony for a person of his rank, rendered him desirous to obtain political employment, and the liberal salary of the Governor Generalship of British North America, led him to accept that post very readily.

Lord Elgin arrived at Montreal on the 30th of January, was

met at the outside of the city by a numerous cortege headed 1847. by the mayor, and presented with the usual complimentary addresses. The violent party spirit exhibited during the municipal elections of Montreal, in February, showed him clearly the fierce social elements he had to sooth and reconcile, and the difficulties which beset the gubernatorial task he had assumed. The Draper administration, too, narrowly watched by the Reform press, led on by the *Pilot*, now edited by Mr. Hincks, was tottering towards its fall, and vainly endeavored to derive support from one section or another of the opposition. About this period, also, the Reform Party showed a disposition to ignore Lord Sydenham's settlement of the Clergy Reserves' question, and to agitate for their appropriation to secular purposes.

But, if the people of Canada were divided on political questions, they were unanimous on one of philanthropy—in a desire to relieve their suffering fellow-creatures. From amid the Scottish Highlands—from Ireland's Connemara and Skibbereen, and even from her more fertile districts, arose the appalling cry of famine and the prayer for succor. Canada did not shut her ear to the appeal. A "Relief Fund" was opened, and from every direction—from old-fashioned Tories and modern Radicals, from Conservatives and Reformers—from the Iroquois Indians of Caughnawaga, and the Huron and Delaware of western Canada, and from her colored citizens, came contributions in money or in food. And from many a household altar, also, prayers went up to a merciful Providence, that a sinful and suffering people might receive the aid, which their fellow-men, however liberal, were unable to extend sufficiently.

On the 2nd of June the Legislature was convened at Montreal, and the session opened by Lord Elgin in a short, practical, and clever-non-committal speech. He stated that the Imperial Government was prepared to surrender to the Colonial authorities the control of the Post Office department; and that the House was now empowered by Imperial statute to repeal the differential duties in favor of British manufactures. He alluded to the necessity of providing increased warehouse facilities at inland ports; to the imperial survey of the intended railroad from Quebec to Halifax; to the proposed alteration with respect to the British copy-right question; and to the measures which had been adopted to provide for the large emigration, expected to take place to this country.

The emigration thus alluded to had already commenced, and was throwing a large number of destitute persons upon the charity of the citizens and the humanity of the authorities. Army after army of sick and suffering people, fleeing from famine in their native land to be

struck down by death in the valley of the St. Lawrence, stopped in rapid succession at Gross Isle, and there leaving numbers of their dead behind, pushed upwards towards the lakes in over-crowded steamers, to burthen the inhabitants of the western towns and villages. Up to the 7th of August, 70,000 emigrants had landed at Quebec.

The session of the Legislature terminated on the 29th of July, after the transaction of a large amount of business. The ministry still continued to hold office, though defeated on some important measures, and it was evident they could scarcely hope to carry on the government much longer. The leaders of the Reformers saw clearly the ministry would hardly dare to meet another session of the Legislature, with a "no confidence vote" staring them in the face, and warned their party to be ready for a new election, now evidently near at hand. Reform conventions were accordingly held in every direction, Candidates decided upon, newspapers started in their interest, and every measure taken necessary to success.

In this active state of preparation did the Reform Party meet the dissolution of parliament on the 6th of December. The writs for the election were made returnable on the 24th of the following 1848. January. From the general tone of the public mind, it was confidently expected by Reformers that the Conservative ministry had exhausted its popularity, and would scarcely be sustained at the polls. The result justified this expectation. The Conservative Party was so completely defeated, that it was evident the Reformers were in for a long continuance of place and power. All their principal leaders were returned. Hincks for Oxford, Baldwin for the Fourth Riding of York, Price and Blake for the first and second Ridings, and Malcolm Cameron for Kent. Wolfred Nelson was returned for the County of Richelieu, the scene of his exploits during the rebellion; and Papineau, who had meanwhile come back to Canada, was chosen as their representative by the Habitants of St. Maurice. Papineau had better have remained in privacy. He soon found that he had outlived his once great popularity, and was bearded even as a coward by his former associate in crime, Wolfred Nelson, infinitely the better man of the two; and who has lived sufficiently long to regret his former folly, and to honor the same Victoria against whose troops he so stoutly contended at St. Denis.

Parliament was convened on the 25th of February, and Mr. Morin, a Lower Canadian, was chosen Speaker by the Assembly, on the motion of Mr. Baldwin, seconded by Mr. Lafontaine who had effectually supplanted Papineau in the consideration of the French population. The

speech of the Governor General was again of a brief and non-committal character.

Immediately on the opening of Parliament, the old ministry, whose principal member, Mr. Draper, had meanwhile been elevated to the Bench, resigned, and the task of forming a new one was intrusted by Lord Elgin to Messrs. Baldwin and Lafontaine, who found little difficulty in accomplishing it. Mr. Hincks again became Inspector General, Mr. Cameron was selected to fill the post of Assistant Commissioner for Public Works, and Mr. Blake, the present Chancellor, became Solicitor General of Canada West. The entire cabinet was composed of eight members of British origin and four of French. The latter were Messrs. Lafontaine, Caron, Viger, and Tache. Thus calmly and constitutionally, under the principle of responsible government, was formed one of the most able cabinets, which has ever directed Canadian affairs. After a short session the House was prorogued on the 23rd of March.

While Canada was thus peacefully and prosperously pursuing her onward and upward destiny, the continent of Europe was agitated by revolution. Louis Phillip was driven from France into exile; while a rebellion broke out in Ireland, under the leadership of Smith O'Brien, John Mitchell, and others of the "Young Ireland Party," to be ingloriously suppressed by 40 policemen at Ballingary. In watching the course of these stirring events, party feeling in Canada was forgotten for the moment. Towards the close of the year, however, the repeal of the Imperial Navigation Laws created some discussion and public excitement.

Parliament was again convened on the 18th of January. The 1849. opening speech of the Governor General alluded to the tranquil condition of the country, the speedy completion of the St. Lawrence Canals, and the transfer of the Post Office Department to the Provincial authorities, as soon as the preliminary arrangements should be completed.

Up to this session of the Legislature, no action had been taken by the new ministry, with regard to the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses sustained in Lower Canada during the rebellion. Resolutions were now introduced by Mr. Lafontaine, on which to base a bill for the payment of these losses, which were passed with some amendments. The bill itself was subsequently brought in, and on a motion for its second reading on the 13th of February, a stormy debate ensued. It was contended by the opposition, that parties implicated in the rebellion must receive payment for losses under its provisions; and, that it was unjust to charge this payment on

the consolidated fund of the country, thus making Upper Canada liable for its proportion. On the other hand it was urged, that it was not the intention to pay one shilling to parties concerned in the rebellion, but only to reimburse those whose properties had been wantonly destroyed; that the present ministry were merely carrying out the views of their Conservative predecessors in office; and that, as the payment of the Upper Canada losses had been drawn from moneys forming part of the consolidated fund, it was no injustice to make that fund also liable for the same purpose in the sister province.

However correct these representations may have been, they had little effect in allaying the excitement, which rapidly spread from Montreal westward. Meetings were held in every direction, at which ministers and their adherents were denounced in unsparing terms. "No pay to rebels" became the watchword of the Conservative, and of a proportion of the Reform, Party, and the old antagonism of races burst out with extraordinary virulence. To escape from French domination, as it was termed, the more violent Tory members of the Conservative Party, declared they were prepared to go to any lengths—even to annexation with the United States, a measure which in the passionate excitement of the moment was openly advocated. Thus parties who had long made boast of their loyalty to the British Crown—of their hatred of republican license and extreme democracy, were now seen supporting the same treasonable measures, precisely, for which so many in 1838 had perished on the scaffold. It was a rash procedure, and forms a mortifying epoch in the history of Canadian parties. When the excitement died away, and reason and reflection again resumed their sway, this annexation position was abandoned; but not, however, till the Reform Party had retorted the accusation of treason and disloyalty on their political foes.

But, fierce as the storm was, the ministry, sustained by a majority of both Houses, determined to face it and put the matter finally at rest. The passage of the bill was the condition of support from French members to Upper Canada Reformers; and if it was abandoned, aside from the moral cowardice this course would involve, that support could not be any longer looked for, and the loss of office must consequently follow. The bill was accordingly pushed through its several stages, and finally carried in the Lower House by 48 votes to 32, and likewise passed the Legislative Council.

The preamble of this bill recited the different measures already taken by the Legislature, during preceding sessions, to pay the losses in question, and authorised the issue of debentures chargeable on the consolidated fund, to the amount of £100,000, for their final liquidation.

Alluding to the loose and unsatisfactory report of the commissioners, the preamble further declared " it is necessary and just that the particulars of such losses, not yet paid and satisfied, should form the subject of more *minute enquiry under legislative authority*, and that the same so far only as they may have arisen from the total or partial, unjust, unnecessary, or wanton destruction of the dwellings, buildings, property, and effects of the said inhabitants, and from the seizure, taking, or carrying away of their property and effects, should be paid and satisfied ; provided that *none* of the persons who have been *convicted of high treason*, alleged to have been committed in that part of this province formerly the province of Lower Canada, since the first day of November, 1837, or who, having been *charged with high treason or other offences* of a treasonable nature, and having been *committed to the custody of the sheriff in the gaol of Montreal, submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of her Majesty*, and were thereupon transported to her Majesty's Island of Bermuda, shall be entitled to an indemnity for losses sustained during or after the said rebellion, or in consequence thereof."

The passage of the bill was the signal for rioting and confusion through the upper province. In Toronto, scenes of this description were coupled, by some of the city authorities,* with the recent return of Mackenzie to Canada, and excused on that ground. Baldwin, Blake, and Mackenzie, were burned in effigy, and the windows of the house in which the latter was stopping broken by an infuriated mob. The dwellings of Dr. Rolph and Mr. Brown, (editor of the *Globe* newspaper) were also damaged.

The belief, that Lord Elgin would either refuse his assent to this bill altogether, or reserve it for the consideration of the Home Government, which would no doubt have been the wisest course, as the public mind would have time to cool in the interval, tended considerably to allay the popular excitement. In this respect, however, those who inveighed against the measure were completely disappointed. Navigation had opened very early, and it was deemed advisable that the Royal assent should be given at once to a customs' bill, finally passed on the 26th of April. Lord Elgin accordingly proceeded to the Parliament House, formerly St. Ann's market, on that day, escorted by some cavalry, and gave his assent to the bill in question, and also to the Rebellion Losses Bill, at the same time.

Intelligence of this procedure was speedily circulated, and as Lord Elgin was re-entering his carriage, he was received by a crowd with hootings and groans, while a knot of well-dressed individuals pelted his

* See proceedings of Toronto City Council, March, 28th, 1849.

carriage with the missiles next to hand. Notwithstanding all this outside excitement, the Assembly still continued in session, the majority supposing that no violence would be offered to themselves. But Sir Allan M'Nab held a different opinion, declared a riot might be looked for, and stated that it was advisable to call for military assistance.

Matters remained in this state till evening, no measures having been taken in the meanwhile to suppress a riot, presuming it should occur, owing to the imprudent confidence of government. Towards 8 o'clock the fire bells were rung to create an excitement, and a large number of persons speedily assembled, at the Champ de Mars, where several inflammatory speeches were made. Presently a cry was suddenly raised : "To the Parliament House !" Thither the crowd immediately proceeded, in a state of great excitement, and encountering neither police nor military to check their progress, their loud shouts and yells gave the first information to members, now discussing the judicature bill for Lower Canada, of the commencement of what was evidently a formidable riot. A few moments more, and a shower of stones dashed in at the windows, when the strangers' gallery was immediately deserted. Some of the members also made their escape by this gallery, while others took refuge behind the Speaker's chair.

Meanwhile, stones continued to be thrown, till nearly all the windows were broken. Presently, this mode of attack was discontinued, and the mob began to force their way into the building. A few soon after made their appearance armed with sticks in the Hall of Assembly, at the opposite end of which the remaining members and clerks now disappeared as rapidly as possible. One of the rioters then seated himself in the Speaker's chair, and waving his hand said, "I dissolve this House." The work of destruction was then rapidly proceeded with. Benches were pulled to pieces, and piled in the middle of the floor with papers from the members' desks. Chandeliers and globe-lights were next broken, and the Speaker's mace seized and carried off, despite the exertions of the Sergeant-at-arms, who had the courage to remain.

Messrs. Robinson and Gagy did their best to expel the rioters ; and Sir Allan M'Nab employed himself in saving the Queen's picture, painted by Partridge, and for which £500 had been paid. Presently, the cry was raised "that the Parliament House was on fire !" and a lurid glare from the basement story bore painful truth to its correctness. Several gentlemen now exerted themselves to save some of the valuable books in the library of the Assembly ; but the flames spread so rapidly, that they were soon compelled to seek safety in flight. Some of them, however, remained so long in the burning building, that they were injured by the fire, and had to be rescued with ladders.

The military, who had at length been sent for, were available in keeping back the dense crowd ; but nothing could be done to arrest the conflagration, or save the valuable libraries and public records, the destruction of which inflicted a lasting disgrace and irreparable injury on the country. The Paris mobs, in the midst of revolution and anarchy, respected public buildings, the libraries, and works of art ; and it remained for the vandalism of Montreal rioters to inflict a public injury on themselves, of a character adopted by the Saracens and Huns, and other barbarians of the middle ages, to punish their enemies. Some fire-engines made a useless attempt to suppress the flames, which speedily illuminated the whole city, and threw out dense volumes of smoke, borne by the breeze towards the dark mountain, dimly visible in the background of the magnificent though painful spectacle. When the morning sun arose, the fire-charred and still smoking ruins of the Parliament House, were all that remained of a vast amount of public property—equal in value, it was estimated, to the sum about to be expended under the Rebellion Losses Bill.

Having thus wreaked their vengeance in this quarter, a part of the mob conveyed the mace to Donegani's Hotel, where it was finally deposited, after some quarrelling among themselves, in the room occupied by Sir Allan M'Nab. The *Pilot* office, where the ministerial paper was printed, was also visited by the mob, and the windows demolished, when the work of destruction terminated for the night.

Next day, the commander-in-chief, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, came into the city from his country-seat, and made arrangements for the suppression of further riot. Several arrests were made of parties accused of inciting the mob to violence. The latter threatened to rescue them, and insulted and beat several Reform members, who were so unfortunate as to come in their way. The mob next beset the old government house, where the members of the ministry had assembled in council, but were forced back by the bayonets of the military.

After nightfall the mob received large accessions to their number, and presently a large body moved towards the St. Antoine Suburb, where they completely wrecked the dwelling of the Premier, Mr. Lafontaine, and burned down his stables. The windows of Messrs. Baldwin's and Cameron's boarding houses were next broken. Dr. Wolfred Nelson's house shared the same fate ; as well as the houses of Messrs Hincks, Holmes, and Charles Wilson. Objections being made, next day, to the military doing police duty, a body of French and Irish constables were sworn in, and the rumor that these were being armed and drilled at the Bonsecours Market, threatened for a while to produce a fresh riot.

During the 28th, the Assembly agreed upon an address in connection with the riots, and it was arranged that the Governor General should receive it at the Government House, on the 30th, instead of at Monklands. The following extract from the *Montreal Herald* presents a correct picture of what took place on the presentation of this address :—

“ On the House going to present the address voted on Saturday to the Governor General, showers of stones &c., were thrown over the heads of the soldiers. Capt. Weatheral, who was mounted on a white charger and Mr. Leblanc were the only magistrates present. The latter proceeded to read the riot act which he drew from his pocket, being a small piece of paper. But in our opinion before he could read more than two lines the order was given for the troops to charge, which they did the crowd falling back in double quick time. No damage was done, and the crowd returned shortly after and gave the soldiers three cheers. The members of the Assembly returned to the house soon after when his Excellency's reply was read, and the House adjourned.

“ A long pause occurred in the street while the Governor was in ; which was diversified by several small street fights, at the foot of lanes and streets running from Notre Dame St. to the river side. The people still expected in vain the egress of the Governor General. At length the troops were ordered “ to the right about face,” and the men in the street first learned that the Governor General had left the House. They were immediately on the alert, and with that instinctive decision with which street rowdies discover their object, learned in a moment that, instead of returning through Notre Dame street to the Place de Armes, the carriage had proceeded in the other direction, and was travelling at a fast pace toward Sherbroke Street. Some of the persons who had been standing about Gosford street, were aware of what was going on and these followed the carriage as speedily as possible. Others took cabs, caleches, and every thing that could run. It was a chase. At length his Lordship was overtaken at Molson's corner, between Sherbroke St. and the main street of the St. Lawrence suburbs. At this point a furious attack was made with stones on the carriage ; the back of it was completely smashed in, and its course which appeared first to be directed to Sherbroke street, was changed to the road which goes round the back of the mountain. In this sad manner did his Excellency depart from the capital of her Majesty's dominions in North America.

“ In addition to the foregoing particulars we learn that the Governor General on coming to Town was pelted in Great St. James Street ; and on entering the Government House he carried in his hand a large stone taken from the bottom of the carriage ; and that Col. Bruce received a contusion on the back part of the head by stones thrown into the carriage.”

A dinner given by the ministerial party produced a fresh riot shortly afterwards ; but which was soon suppressed by the military. Mr. Lafontaine's house was also again attacked ; but this time a volley of musketry compelled the mob to retreat ; not, however, till one man

was killed. At the inquest an attempt was made to fire the hotel where it was being held, and to do violence to Mr. Lafontaine during the confusion, but he was saved by a party of the 71st Highlanders.

These occurrences in Montreal caused immense excitement in the country, and numerous addresses were presented to Lord Elgin, chiefly by the Reform Party, expressing confidence in his government, and regret for the dangers and insults to which he had so recently been subjected.

The riots which had so rapidly followed in succession, and the insecurity of life and property at Montreal, induced the Legislature to determine on the removal of the seat of government to Toronto, for the next two years, and for the ensuing four years, to Quebec. Thus, Montreal was most deservedly punished for the insane folly of its mob, instigated by a portion of its press; and at present there is very little prospect of a Canadian Parliament ever again being convened in a city which from its natural advantages should be the capital of the state. The remainder of the session was held in a building temporarily fitted up for the purpose, and on the 30th of May a most eventful sitting, during which a large number of measures were passed, was closed by the Deputy Governor, Lieutenant-General Rowan.

The disgraceful riots in Montreal, and the personal insults to which he had been subjected, led Lord Elgin to tender his resignation to the Home Government. But the Queen and her ministers promptly expressed their entire approval of his conduct, and urgently requested his retention of the position he filled.* Their course in this respect was approved and ratified by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, and by whom the Rebellion Losses Bill was sustained. Sir Robert Peel's ministry, also, subsequently signified their approbation of his conduct, and continued Lord Elgin as Governor General.

The action of the British ministry and Parliament, placed those who opposed the Rebellion Losses Bill completely at fault, and immensely strengthened the hands of the Reform Party. The feeble cry for annexation, speedily raised, had the same tendency. In these occurrences the Conservative Party received a blow, both in Canada and in England, from which, up to the present time, it has not recovered. But, under a constitutional form of government one party cannot retain power for a very lengthened period; and some public question may yet possibly restore its forfeited popularity, and place it again in the ascendant.

The occurrences connected with the Rebellion Losses Bill, were the great Canadian events of 1849. Parliament did not again assemble

* See despatch from Secretary of the Colonies, 18th May, 1849.

during the year, and towards its close the country was rapidly recovering from the injurious results of the violent political ordeal it had undergone. Much bitter feeling it is true remained. Magistrates were dismissed for undue opposition to government, some rioting occurred at public meetings, got up to vote addresses to Lord Elgin, and a Conservative League was organised to give a systematic opposition to ministers. Yet, as the new year approached, time was gently laying its Lethean finger on political asperities, and the sound common-sense of the Canadian people, so practical in their disposition, was gradually reconciling them to the new epoch, which had evidently opened on their country. Meanwhile, a fresh source of agitation had sprung up in the numerous "Sons of Temperance associations," now forming in every direction, and which promised to be of much benefit to the country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONCLUSION.

The final step having been taken for the settlement of the long 1850. quarrel of races, in passing the "Indemnity Bill," the ministry applied themselves to develop the resources of the country. An agent was despatched to Washington to "press Reciprocity," or the free interchange of agricultural products between Canada and the United States, on the notice of the American authorities, and measures were also taken to establish our credit on a broader basis in the London Stock Exchange. Mr. Hincks's exertions in the latter direction met with considerable success, and Canadian securities began to be quoted in the English market. The Montreal riots as yet, however, prevented the extensive investment of foreign capital in these securities.

The Legislature assembled on the 14th of May. The opening speech presented no very remarkable features; exciting political topics were wisely avoided, and a prudent desire to let the past be forgotten was apparent. During the progress of the session, Mr. Papineau again renewed his advocacy of an elective Legislative Council; while a disposition was shown by members to succumb to the cry of retrenchment in the public expenditure, now raised outside of the House. The agitation on the Clergy Reserves' question was again revived, and a strong inclination shown to set Lord Sydenham's settlement of the matter aside, and to devote the Reserves to secular purposes. Mr. Lafontaine, Mr. Baldwin, and others of the older Reformers, opposed the revival of this agitation, and maintained that things ought to be left as they were. But the press of their party, led on by the *Globe*, the *Examiner*, and other able journals, persisted in their discussion of the question. This state of things speedily produced a split among Reformers, and a new party arose into influence, which had already been denominated, in American party phraseology, "Clear Grits."

Still, although the Reformers had quarrelled among themselves, ministers were sufficiently supported to enable them to hold the reins of power firmly in their hands during the session, which after much useful

legislation terminated on the 10th of August. The remainder of the year was not distinguished by any important local events. The question of a federal union of all the British North American Provinces was revived by the Conservatives ; and as January approached, the prospect of an approaching general election began to create some excitement. Among the candidates already in the field was the notorious Mackenzie, whose residence in the United States had cured him of a great many republican notions, and fully reconciled him to the sway of Queen Victoria, touching which he was whilome so indignant, and to the lesser political evils of constitutional monarchy.

The earlier part of the ensuing year was chiefly distinguished 1851. by the efforts of the Roman Catholic population to procure separate common schools, under a recent statute, wherever their numbers were sufficiently large to warrant such a procedure. A very general movement was also taking place in favor of the construction of railways, in various parts of the sister provinces. Hitherto, Canada had been too young a country to provide these costly modes of locomotion. Her noble canals and vast water frontage had also rendered them to a great extent unnecessary : but the great increase in the inland population within the preceding few years, and the difficulty of conveying farm produce and lumber to the front, now rendered railways necessary to develop the resources of the interior. The Post Office had at length been transferred to the Colonial Government, and great improvements had been made in that department. Letter rates had been reduced, and a single, or half-ounce, letter was now conveyed to any part of Canada for three-pence currency. In the Spring, prepayment letter stamps were issued, as in England and the United States. Thus, the country was steadily progressing, and from the numerous improvements observable in every direction, it was evident that the Canadas were rapidly recovering from the effects of partial rebellion and violent political agitation ; and that a long vista of national prosperity was now indeed gradually opening on the view.

Parliament assembled on the 20th of May. The occurrences of the session showed that the "Clear Grit" agitation was beginning to tell upon the House, and, that to satisfy it, more radical changes must be made. Mr. Baldwin fell the first victim to this state of things. Defeated on a measure connected with the Court of Chancery by the Reform members, he resigned his seat in the Cabinet as Attorney General for Canada West. The Clergy Reserve question continued to be the cause of much discussion and ill-feeling. As the session progressed the project of a Grand Trunk Railway was fully developed by Mr. Hincks in a series of resolutions.

On the 30th of August, terminated the fourth session of the third parliament of United Canada. Lord Elgin's speech, when proroguing the House, gave a correct index to the condition of the country. He alluded to the grants for the erection of light houses, improvements in the navigation of the St. Lawrence, remission of light-house dues, reduction of the emigrant tax, and to the favorable state of the revenue, which circumstance had permitted these measures. He congratulated the House on the steps they had taken for the fostering of railway enterprise, on the creditable appearance of Canadian industry at the London Crystal Palace, on the harmony which prevailed in the three branches of the Legislature, and on the removal of prejudices and misgivings engendered by years of disquiet. On his part he declared his resolution to continue to administer the government in conformity with the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives.

The increased prosperity of Canada, was now rapidly attracting the attention of the other countries. With the United States, especially, a large international traffic had sprung up; and Canadian goods, passing in bond over the northern railroads of the Union, formed an important item of their business. The close communion of interests led to the interchange of mutual civilities. In the month of September, Boston distinguished herself by giving a grand fete to numbers of the principal Canadian merchants and public men, at which Lord Elgin was also present, and supported his reputation for oratorical ability by a most happy speech, tending to cement the mutual good-feeling engendered by the occasion, as well as by the more lasting bond of identity of interests.

In October, the Clear Grit element in politics pressed so embarrassingly on the old Reform Ministry on the eve of a general election, that it led to the re-construction of the Cabinet, into which Dr. Rolph and Malcolm Cameron were now received as the exponents of the new party. These changes tended to throw more power into the hands of Mr. Hincks, as the most able of the new Cabinet. He now became Premier, and exercised a large amount of influence on the destinies of his country.

In the general election, which took place in November and December, many new names made their appearance in public, and some old ones disappeared into private life. Among the latter was Robert Baldwin, who was now most ungratefully discarded by the Fourth Riding of York for a Mr. Hartman. And, such has ever been the fate of politicians from the days of Aristides down to the present time. Democratic communities have always been imperiously exacting and eminently ungrateful. The election resulted in the return of a Reform

majority in united Canada, but, in the upper province parties were pretty equally balanced.

An act favorable to the formation of joint-stock companies, 1852. for the purpose of public improvement, had already given a great impetus to the construction of plank and macadamised roads.

Improvements had also been effected in the common school system, the working of which was now directed by Dr. Ryerson ; and a normal school at Toronto afforded the requisite facilities for the training of competent teachers. Reciprocity with the United States continued to occupy a large share of public attention, as well as the construction of railways. Canada was evidently becoming eminently utilitarian. Mr. Hincks had already departed to England to push forward the scheme of a Grand Trunk Railway. His letter to Sir John Packington on this head in June, will yet be remembered by the community. The location of this road continued to be a fruitful source of public discussion.

In July a terrible fire laid a large part of Montreal in ruins, and left nearly 10 000 people homeless. Great exertions were made to relieve the sufferers.

The new parliament assembled at Quebec, whither the seat of government had been removed, on the 21st of August, when Mr. John Sanfield M'Donald was chosen speaker of the Assembly. The Governor General's speech alluded to the necessity of a change in the Seigniorial Tenure system, the expediency of having a line of steamers from Canada to England, an alteration in the currency, and the propriety of increasing the representation. Measures which have since been carried out.

During the session, Mr. Hincks introduced a series of resolutions with regard to the Clergy Reserves which passed, and declared that he felt confident the Home Government would soon bring a bill into the Imperial Parliament, permitting the Canadian Legislature to dispose of this question. An address was unanimously agreed to by the House, requesting the Home Ministry to make no concessions to the American government in the matter of the Fishery dispute, unless in connection with reciprocity. A desire was also shown to retaliate on the United States, for not conceding this reciprocity, by adopting differential duties in favor of British commerce, and shutting the Canadian canals to American shipping. This suicidal policy, however, was not even attempted to be carried out. The income returns for the year, ending in January, showed that the public revenue had now increased to over \$4,000,000, National prosperity had given a vast impetus to Canadian credit, and Canadian government securities, bearing six per

cent interest, were quoted at a premium of sixteen per cent in the English market.

The period occurring between the close of 1852 and the Autumn of 1855, terminated a most important epoch in Canadian history. All the great public questions which have agitated the country for years were at last finally disposed of. The representation has been largely increased on the basis of population, and new electoral districts formed. A large part of the Grand Trunk Railway has been built; while the Great Western Railroad is in full operation, as well as several others. Seigniorial Tenure has been abolished, and the Clergy Reserve question finally settled; the legality of the Rectories established by Sir John Colborne is left to be decided by the law courts, and reciprocity has been conceded by the United States. Party bitterness has disappeared, and the line of demarcation between Conservatives and Reformers has been so narrowed down as to render it difficult to be distinguished. In point of fact there are no political parties in Canada as we write; and a coalition ministry, led by Sir Allan M'Nab, conduct the government of the country. Dr. Rolph has ceased to be a person of political importance; Malcolm Cameron, defeated in Kent by Mr. Brown, has shrunk into the obscurity of private life. Clear Grittism is defunct. Mr. Hincks, driven from power by his own friends, for endeavoring to profit in a pecuniary point of view by his position, after supporting for a while the coalition ministry, has been elevated into a colonial governor; while Mackenzie, unable to find patronage as a newspaper editor, has adopted the repeal of the union agitation as a last resort. Papi-neau finding that his political prestige had forever departed, quit the public arena for life. Wolfred Nelson, as Mayor of Montreal, has become a useful citizen, and signs a proclamation calling upon all loyal subjects to illuminate for the fall of Sebastopol: while Lord Elgin, after a reign begun in storm and ending in sunshine, has given place to Sir Edmund Head. One dark stain alone rests upon this period of Canadian History—the Gavazzi Riots of Montreal and Quebec.

The author has now redeemed his promise, and the people of Canada have a continuous history of their country—the result of a long period of arduous and constant labor. If it falls short of what might be expected, he would plead, in self defence, the peculiar position in which he has been placed. Obligated to attend closely to his business of Bookseller and Printer, to support his family, he possessed no literary leisure, and his ordinary avocations have thus been daily mixed up with his historical labors. Aside from these unfavorable circumstances, he had neither the assistance of a literary friend to assist him in the work of revision or correction, nor of a proof reader to weed out typographical

errors. All this labor he had to perform, himself, in addition to that of research and composition. The educated reader when he meets with an inelegantly rounded period, or an idea or a word improperly repeated, should bear these facts in mind.

There is still abundance of room for historical labor, in connection with Upper Canada, by some talented Canadian who has leisure and inclination to devote himself to the task. The author only designed to make a history of his country for the general reader, presenting as correct a picture as possible, of the events, in regular succession, which have marked its progress in infancy, childhood, and youth. How he has fulfilled his purpose it rests with the public to determine.

In writing a history of Upper Canada, especially, one is writing a history of only two generations. Several even of the first settlers of 1784 are still alive. The author has, therefore, found it impossible to avoid occasional personalities. At the same time, he has acted conscientiously and in accordance with the facts which presented themselves to his notice, and disclaims every description of sectional or party-feeling.

While satisfied that he has avoided numerous inaccuracies into which other writers on Canada have fallen, the author does not by any means claim, on his part, a total freedom from errors. Should any member of the press, or other gentleman, detect these and point them out, he will have much pleasure in making the necessary corrections in a second edition, if the liberality of the Canadian people enables him to publish it.

Canada requires a literature of its own—a sound, practical, instructive, and useful literature, adapted for its School and District Libraries. There is abundance of talent in the country to accomplish this *desideratum* if it were only turned in the right direction. A literature of our own would retain a large amount of money in the country, which is now expended for the purchase of books in the United States and England. But, to have a literature of this kind we must first have respectable publishers, and to have respectable publishers with capital, the interests of the present booksellers of the country must be fostered. Hence, nothing can be more suicidal than the policy of a government book establishment, such as that now in existence at Toronto, under the direction of Dr. Ryerson. By it the Government is meanly taking the bread out of the mouths of a deserving class of men, and seriously injuring the literary prospects of the country for a small pecuniary advantage. The policy is eminently a penny wise and pound foolish one.

We are now arrived at a period when the Canadas are sufficiently populous and wealthy to have their own authors and their own publishers. One large publishing establishment would be of more benefit to the country, than the whole of the paltry sum saved by the present government bookselling system. Will Dr. Ryerson, or the government, purchase copyrights from the young men of talent now being educated at our colleges—will either give them literary employment of any kind? Most certainly not. The government bookselling system is accordingly most destructive to a national literature, and should be abandoned before it inflicts further mischief.

The author has suffered from this system in common with other

Canadian booksellers. His trade has been seriously injured by Dr. Ryerson's government book establishment, sustained by the public moneys—by taxes, too, taken from him and other booksellers. Had the books supplied to this district been procured through him, allowing him a fair per-centage thereon, it would have enabled him, possibly, to employ a proof-reader, in putting this work through the press, and he would thus have escaped from an additional labor which has seriously injured his sight.

Canada may rest assured that it can have no authors without publishers : and there can be no publishers if the public money is employed to ruin them. The author could have disposed of the copyright of this history advantageously in England, but he determined to retain it in his own hands, and thus aid to establish a system of Canadian Book manufacturing, and to keep the money paid to printers and bookbinders in the country. On the first edition alone, of 1200 copies, that will amount to £200, a sum which the writer is satisfied Dr. Ryerson has not yet saved to this country, by all the books issued in the district surrounding Brockville. Booksellers form an important part of every civilised community—they are the printers' greatest help, and any injury done to them must inflict equal if not greater injury on the public at large. If the public desire to see Canadian authors become eminent in the world of letters—if they desire to see a national literature established—if they desire to see employment given by printers and publishers to numbers of respectable young men and women—if they desire to see much money retained in this country, now spent in England and the United States—if they desire all this, then they will suppress this odious bookselling monopoly. This question affects publishers of newspapers more intimately, too, than they may suppose. They can print books as well as newspapers—will they aid in enabling book-publishers to employ and pay them. Even in England and Ireland a system of this kind in connection with the National Schools, had to be abandoned. Nothing of the sort exists in the United States. Shall it be said that Canada is the only nation where such a monopoly is permitted to exist, and where the public money is taken to flood the country with an outside literature to the prejudice of native industry and native talent.

APPENDIX. No. 1.

EXTRACTS FROM ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

27. The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged, by the English Government, to pay their Priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the Government of his Most Gracious Majesty.—“Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion; the obligation of paying the tithes to the Priests will depend on the King’s pleasure.”

28. The Chapter, Priests, Curates, and Missionaries shall continue, with an entire liberty, their exercise and functions of cures, in the parishes of the towns and country.—“Granted.”

29. The Grand Vicars, named by the Chapter to administer to the diocese during the vacancy of the episcopal see, shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns and country parishes, as they shall think proper, they shall at all times be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article.—“Granted, except what regards the following article.”

30. If by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain a British colony the French King shall continue to name the Bishop of the colony, who shall always be of the Roman Communion, and under whose authority the people shall exercise the Roman Religion.—“Refused.”

31. The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have the liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes, as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty’s service, may be required of him.—“This article is comprised under the foregoing.”

32. The communities of nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules, they

shall be exempted from lodging any military ; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their monasteries ; safe guards shall even be given them, if they desire them.—“ Granted.”

46. The Inhabitants and Merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favors and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the countries above, as the interior of the Colony.—“ Granted.”

47. The Negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong ; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the Colony or to sell them ; and they may also continue to bring them up in the Roman Religion.—“ Granted, except those who have been made prisoners.”

APPENDIX, No. 2.

THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION OF 1791.

The constitutional act repealed so much of the Quebec act as related to the appointment of a council for the affairs of the province of Quebec, and the powers given to it to make ordinances for the government thereof.

His Majesty's message expressive of his intention to divide the province of Quebec into two separate provinces, as previously noticed, to be called Upper Canada and Lower Canada, being recited, it was enacted that a Legislative Council and Assembly should be established in each province, with power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government thereof.

The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed by the king for life, and in Upper Canada to consist of not fewer than *seven*, and in Lower Canada not fewer than *fifteen* persons. No person not being of the full age of twenty-one years, and a natural born subject of his Majesty, or naturalised by act of the British Parliament, or a subject of his Majesty, by the conquest and cession of Canada, could be appointed to it. His Majesty was authorised to annex to hereditary titles of honor, the right of being summoned to the Legislative Council in either province.

The governor had the right of appointing a speaker to the Legislative Council. Each province was to be divided into districts or counties, or cities, or towns, or townships, which were to return representatives to the Assemblies, the governor fixing the limits of such districts and the number of representatives to be returned for each. The whole number of members of the Assembly in Upper Canada was to be not less than sixteen, and in Lower Canada not less than fifty, and to be chosen by a majority of votes. The county members were to be elected by owners of land in freehold or in fief or roture, to the value of forty shillings sterling a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same. Members for the town or township were elected by persons having a dwelling-house and a lot of ground therein of the yearly value of five pounds sterling or upwards, or who having resided in the town for twelve calendar months next before date of the writ of election, shall *bona fide* have paid one year's rent for the dwelling-house in which he shall have resided, at the rate of ten pounds sterling per annum, or upwards.

No person being a Legislative Councillor or a clergyman of the church of England or Rome, or a teacher of any other religious profession, was eligible to the house of Assembly in either province, nor was any person under lawful age, to vote at any election of a member to serve in the Assembly, nor eligible thereto; nor was any person eligible as such who was not a natural born subject, or naturalised as aforesaid, or a subject of his Majesty by the conquest.

Power was given the governor to fix the times and places of holding the first and every other session of the Legislative Council and Assembly in each province, giving due notice thereof, and to prorogue the same from time to time, and to dissolve it whenever he deemed such expedient. They were to be convoked once at least, in every twelve months, and each Assembly was to continue four years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the members; subject, however, to be sooner prorogued and dissolved, at the pleasure of the governor.

The governor was authorised to give or withhold his Majesty's assent to all bills, passed by the two branches, and to reserve such as he might think fit, for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure thereon. Copies of all bills he might assent to, were also to be forwarded to the secretary of state; and his Majesty might, at any time within two years after receipt by the secretary, disallow them if he thought fit.

Bills reserved by the governor for his Majesty's pleasure, were not to have effect till sanctioned and notice thereof given by message to the two houses of the provincial parliament, or by proclamation; nor could the royal assent to bills so reserved be given, unless within two years next after the day when presented to the governor for the royal assent.

All laws, statutes and ordinances in force in either province, except as repealed or altered by that act, were to remain in force, as they might be at the time of its coming into operation.

The governor and executive council, which, by an ordinance of the province of Quebec, had been constituted a court of appeals were, in each province, to continue so; liable, however, to such other provisions as might be deemed necessary by the new Legislature.

It was enacted that an allotment of crown lands, in each province, should be made for the support and maintenance of a protestant clergy within the same, and such allotment was to be as nearly as circumstances and the nature of the case would permit, equal in value to a seventh part of the lands granted, and to be granted. This provision of the act became, and, indeed, still is a source of much agitation and discord in Canada. Far better for it had it been, if such enactment had never taken place.

His Majesty was authorised to empower the governors in each province, to erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the church of England, subject and liable to all rights of institution and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, lawfully granted to the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Power was given to the Provincial Legislature to vary and repeal the provisions relating to such allotments for the support of a Protestant clergy, parsonages and rectories, and presentation of incumbents or ministers; but it was provided that no bills in this behalf were to

be assented to by his Majesty, until thirty days after they had been laid before both Houses of Imperial Parliament, nor was his Majesty to assent to any such bill in case of an address from either of the Houses during that period, requesting him to withhold the royal assent from it. The intent of these privileges was to preserve the rights and interests of the established Church of England in both provinces from invasion by their respective Legislatures.

All lands to be thereafter granted in Upper Canada, were to be in free and common soccage, and so in Lower Canada, when the grantees required it.

The British Parliament reserved to itself the right of providing regulations or prohibitions, imposing, levying, and collecting duties, for the regulation of navigation, or for the regulation of commerce, to be carried on between the said two provinces, or between either of them, and any other part of his Majesty's dominions, or any foreign country, or for appointing and directing the payment of duties so imposed; leaving, however, the exclusive appropriation of all monies so levied, in either province, to the Legislature thereof, and applicable to such public uses therein, as it might think fit to apply them.

The governor, pursuant to the King's instructions, was to fix upon and declare the day when the act should commence, which was not to be later than the 31st December, 1791; nor was the calling together of the Legislative Council and Assembly, in each province, to be later than the 31st December, 1792.

The above are the principal provisions of the act which conferred a constitution upon the new provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, respectively, or as much of them at least as it is necessary to quote. By a proclamation dated at the Castle of St. Louis, Quebec, 18th November, 1791, of his excellency the lieutenant governor Alured Clarke, Esq., it was declared that the act should commence within the said provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, respectively, on the 26th December, 1791. The proclamation issued on the occasion stated, that by an order of the king in Council, in August previous, the two provinces was separated by a division line "commencing at a stone boundary on the north bank of the Lake St. Francis, at the cove west of the Point *au Rondet*, in the limit between the township of Lancaster and seigniorie of new Longueuil, running along the said limit in the direction of north thirty-four degrees west to the westmost angle of the seigneurie of new Longueuil, thence along the north-west boundary of the seigneurie of Vaudreuil, running north 25 degrees east, until it strikes the Ottawa river, to ascend the said river into lake Tomiscanning, and from the head of the said lake, by a line drawn due north until it strikes the boundary line of Hudson's Bay, including all the territory to the westward and southward of the said line, to the utmost extent of the country commonly called or known by the name of Canada. Christie's Hist. Can. vol. 2. p. 118-124.

